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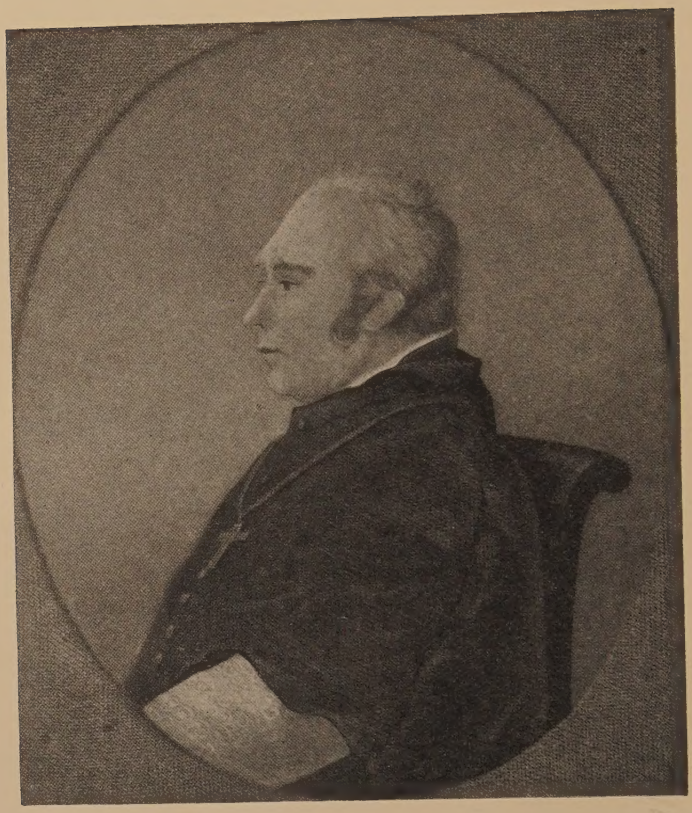

+ John, Bishop of Charleston

THE WORKS OF THE RIGHT REVEREND

JOHN ENGLAND

FIRST BISHOP OF CHARLESTON

Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Index
under the direction of

THE MOST REVEREND SEBASTIAN G. MESSMER
Archbishop of Milwaukee

With Portraits

VOLUME I

WITHDRAWN

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PREFACE

To rescue the memory of a great man and his work from impending oblivion is the primary motive prompting the publication of this new edition of *The Works of Bishop England.* Six decades and a half of years have passed since the "Light of the American Hierarchy," the modern Gregory, the Nineteenth Century Chrysostom ceased his untiring labors for Church and State. In the days in which he labored, he was looked up to as a giant among his fellow-men. Those who lived round about him and held familiar converse with him, those who by his masterful eloquence were brought captive to his feet, those who felt the cutting sting of his keen logic, those who compassed the depth and reach of his thought, were all instinctively aware that from the humble diocese of Charleston there was being sent out a word for ages.

Under this conviction the Right Reverend Ignatius Aloysius Reynolds, the immediate successor of Bishop England deemed it his sacred duty to put forth every effort in his power that the thoughts and the words of his illustrious predecessor should be preserved and handed down to American Catholics.

Bishop Reynolds, announcing the near publication of Bishop England's *Works* says: "I have not undertaken this publication, as a tribute to the memory of a great and good man, an eloquent and learned Prelate of our Church—admired in life and lamented in death, by all who knew him; though a sense of what is due to the memory of such a man has animated my efforts. My chief motive has been, to preserve for this and future ages the labors of a writer, well acquainted with the important subjects which he treated, and singularly gifted with the powers of close and exact logic, and with the happy talent of communicating his thoughts, in a style remarkable for perspicuity and strength,—always easy and natural,—and often charming by its beauty, or warming by its fervor,—and sometimes elevating us by its sublimity. Doctor England possessed in an eminent degree the talent of perceiving, and presenting clearly and prominently to view the principal facts, or most important points in every subject. He had, besides, the admirable tact,—if so it may be called,—of always marshalling his arguments to the greatest advantage, and of accommodating himself to the circumstances, and spirit

of the age, in which we live; thus making everything available for the great and holy cause, to which he had consecrated his life. The truths of our divine religion, and the arguments in their proof,—always substantially the same,—seemed to possess a new beauty and power,—to be a sudden and certain intuition of the mind,—the vision, as it were, of an inspired man, when announced by the eloquent lips, or laid down and explained by the ready and vigorous pen of the late Bishop of Charleston. Hence, to those, whose duty it is to inculcate the truths of Religion, his writings may serve as an excellent model, and a motive to increased zeal and industry; while they are a rich repository of matter, generally presented in the manner most fit to produce the desired effect. They are, moreover, among the first in time,—as in merit,—of the contributions to the Catholic Church in these states, to Literature, Science and Theology;—are a proof to all of the learning and zeal of our clergy in this, as well as in every other age and country, and contain much that will aid the future historian of the American Church."

Two great difficulties, as we learn from Doctor Reynolds's preface, presented themselves at the outset of the undertaking. First, it was necessary to gather the numerous printed publications containing contributions from the hand of Doctor England. Stray pamphlets had to be hunted up and a complete set of the *United States Catholic Miscellany,* the magazine founded by Doctor England, and in which he published nearly all his controversial writings, had to be procured. Fortunately, Doctor Reynolds succeeded very well. But, as he states, "there remained still the more difficult task of ascertaining what pieces were from the pen of Doctor England, and of selecting those most fit and useful for the present collection. This was entrusted to a Committee of the Clergymen of the Diocess. Their accurate memory, intimate acquaintance with Doctor England, and knowledge of his style, are the best, and, in fact, the only guaranty for the authenticity of the few pieces in this collection, not otherwise certainly known, to have been written by that Prelate. The arrangement and preparation of the whole matter for the press, were committed to the Reverend J. A. Corcoran, D.D., and the Reverend N. A. F. Hewit." It speaks a whole volume for the excellency and value of Bishop England's works that these two gentlemen, who, in later years, figured so prominently among the foremost Catholic theologians of the United States, devoted their time and energy to the preservation of Bishop England's writings. It was mostly their labor which enabled Bishop Reynolds to place before the world the first edition, in five large volumes, of Bishop England's *Works.*

This edition has long since been exhausted and, for many years, scholars have sought in vain to enrich their libraries with the rare literary treasury bequeathed by Bishop England to future generations. With profound regret the erudite admirers of Charleston's first bishop have observed that, even among the clergy, the name of Doctor England in its full inspiring significance, has been waning away and that the knowledge of his writings is almost lost. By the best minds in the Catholic Church of the United States a new edition of Bishop England's *Works* has long been a recognized necessity.

In preparing the present edition the merits and demerits of the first edition have been kept in clear view. It has been the constant effort of the editor to improve upon previous labors. A close analysis of Doctor England's writings convinced the editor that his first duty was that of classification. With this object in view each article was critically read, subject was compared with subject and individualizing ideas were carefully noted. As a result the entire matter was arranged under the following leading divisions: Doctrine, Controversy, History, Essays, Occasional Letters and Addresses. Strict fidelity to the original writings has been the dominating idea of the editor. In realizing this idea many difficulties presented themselves. They arose principally from the fact that nearly all the writings of Bishop England appeared originally in the columns of the *United States Catholic Miscellany.* This publication was founded by the Bishop and for many years edited by him, assisted by several scholarly clergymen. At times the Bishop wrote for the *Miscellany* under a *nom de plume*; again he addressed himself to the public over his own name; now he would choose the form of an explanatory letter or of a pungent rejoinder, and again that of an unsigned essay or historical sketch. Those circumstances were the cause of much perplexity. The known mind of the Bishop, his purpose and his distinctive style were often the sole means of determining his authorship of articles contained in the first edition, but thrown indiscriminately among a great mass of writings never penned by Doctor England. All matter of authorship other than that of Bishop England has been rejected, except where it is necessary for the full understanding of the Bishop's own writing. Following this rule some portions in each of the five volumes of Bishop Reynolds's edition have been excluded from the present edition, for instance, the Essays of "Protestant Catholic," the lengthy extracts from Bossuet's *History of the Waldenses,* the testimonials in the Mattingly case, the bulky correspondence in the Hogan and Harold cases, and so forth. Care has been taken also to remove the newspaper character in which several articles appeared in the first

edition. Likewise, it has been deemed advisable to reject the twenty-three principal notes contained in "Additions" or "Appendices" of the first edition. Several of these notes indicate unusual scholarship and deep research; but they are not the writings of Bishop England; in fact, in many cases, they can hardly be called notes, being rather commentaries either to vindicate his position or to substantiate his assertion, and so forth. The notes belonging exclusively to the present edition are signed Ed. The biographical sketches and obituary notices of Bishop England, making up the first fifty-six pages of Bishop Reynolds's edition have been substituted by the Introduction especially written by the Reverend P. L. Duffy, LL.D., of Charleston, S. C., for this edition.

Fully realizing that a publication of the character like the one in hand loses much of its practical merit, unless it be supplied with a copious Index, very special attention has been given to this feature of the work.

The dedication of the first edition has been retained as eminently befitting the purposes of the present edition.

John Thomas McDermott, D.D.

Milwaukee, Wis., October, 1907.

BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

Two generations have come and gone since Bishop England died. That there should exist a demand for a new Edition of the works of a deceased Bishop after such an interval is a unique fact in the history of the Church in the United States, and an extraordinary tribute to this extraordinary prelate.

The value of a man's words, especially if he be a teacher of men, is determined largely by the character of the man. Apart from the wisdom that flowed from his tongue and pen, to be perpetuated in this Edition, Bishop England was one of the most remarkable prelates in the American Hierarchy. There have been few, if any, who have combined and illustrated in the same degree executive ability and missionary zeal.

Few Episcopates have been marked by conditions and difficulties at all similar. When Bishop England arrived in Charleston, December 30, 1820, he found in his extensive diocese, comprising at that time the States of North Carolina, South Carolina and Florida, but two priests and two churches, and after twelve years of apostolic labor he estimated the Catholics of his diocese at eleven thousand souls.

The system of labor employed in the cultivation of the staple products, cotton and rice, discouraged, and the apprehension of the dreaded Yellow Fever deterred, immigration. It should be remembered that his Episcopate antedated railroads. By wagon, buggy, horseback he regularly visited the widely scattered Catholics, organizing congregations as far as possible, officiating in humble homes, and preaching in halls, court houses, and, by invitation, in Protestant Churches.

The few Catholics whom he found in Charleston were without social, commercial, or intellectual prestige in a community whose rigid social barriers were the traditions and antecedents of the Lords Proprietors and the exiled Huguenots.

As Catholics they were discredited for it was only thirty years before, in 1790, that enactments imposing religious disabilities were expunged from the Constitution of the State. Among these Catholics were some recalcitrants who sorely grieved him.

Confronting these adverse conditions Bishop England entered upon

his administration with the courage, zeal, and the personal sanctity of an apostle. However exclusive the society and strong the religious prejudice, there was always in Charleston the aristocracy of the intellect, to which the man of culture, character and courage was cordially admitted. The recognition of these qualities in Bishop England found expression in his membership with the Anti-Duelling Society and the Philosophical Society of Charleston; in his Chaplaincy of the leading military command composed, with a few exceptions, of non-Catholics; in his numerous lectures and discourses on various occasions, and in his invitations to address the Legislature of the State and the Congress of the United States.

The student of today who ponders that period, over three quarters of a century ago, when the Church was far less understood and bigotry far more prevalent, must marvel at the man upon whom such honors were conferred.

Two years after his arrival he felt so secure in the respect and confidence of the community that he established The Philosophical and Classical Seminary of Charleston, attended from its opening by sons of the leading citizens of the city.

His purpose was to maintain with the income from the collegiate department, students in theology, and thus augment his meagre body of clergy with priests of his own training.

We picture this scholarly Bishop, a teacher of classics and professor of theology, during the week, and on Sundays instructing the poor ignorant negroes for whom he celebrated Mass each Sunday himself in his Cathedral.

His intense solicitude for these, induced him to open a school, in charge of the Sisters of Mercy, for the free colored people. It is true that prejudice later closed the school and reduced the attendance at his Academy, but it left him undaunted in his labors and personally uninjured in the respect of the citizens. They could not but admire his sincerity and courage even when he opposed Nullification in a community where men pledged their fortunes and their lives in its advocacy. And their admiration grew to veneration when they beheld this princely prelate, like the humblest of priests, ministering to his stricken people during the direful epidemics that then visited Charleston.

Combined with his marvellous energy and courage was the rare gift of initiative possessed by him in a remarkable degree. He had given striking evidence of this before his ordination and afterwards as priest in Ireland. He was essentially constructive and progressive.

In the same year that marked the opening of his Seminary, unde-

terred by his numerous and arduous duties, he established *The United States Catholic Miscellany,* the first Catholic newspaper published in the United States. It wrought incalculable good in a section of our country where there existed so much inculpable ignorance of Catholic truth among a people naturally disposed to be fair and just.

The natural virtue of honor was a vital influence among these people, one of almost religious force, and Bishop England was recognized as the incarnation of this virtue. They knew he was sincere and true and could not deceive, and so in his expositions of Catholic doctrine and in his controversies, a way was opened for the exercise of his convincing logic, his profound learning and his Christian charity. The dignified, temperate, and conciliatory method and the clear and scholarly style of his controversial articles might well serve as models in our day. He never contended for a petty triumph in dialectics or the humiliation of an adversary, but solely for the establishment of divine truth. Some of the most touching tributes at his death were rendered by former opponents.

The salutary influence of the *Miscellany* among Catholics and non-Catholics extended beyond the diocese of Charleston, and its publication imparted a far-reaching impetus to Catholic journalism. It was distinctively the precursor in our land of the Apostleship of the Press whose mission is so momentous today. The preservation in this edition of the *Works of Bishop England,* of his principal articles in the *Miscellany* invests it with a special value.

His desire coupled with his ability to initiate, was exemplified in his earnest efforts, finally crowned with success, to have a Provincial Council convened in Baltimore. He was the moving if not the leading spirit in the first four of these.

This is one of many evidences that his apostolic zeal for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ was not confined to the limits of his diocese or dwarfed by his many duties and difficulties at home. His advocacy of a Provincial Council suggests his genius for organization and administration.

He formed the scattered Catholics throughout his diocese into little groups and appointed members of these to read prayers and teach catechism; pending the holding of the Council he formulated a Constitution for his diocese, defining its relations to Civil and Canon Law and had it incorporated by the State and adopted by the several congregations; he organized a Convention of representative clergy and laity in each of the States of his diocese to meet annually, and in 1831 held a synod of his clergy. His signal executive ability was recognized in his

selection as Apostolic delegate to Hayti and Vicar Apostolic to East Florida when difficulties were to be adjusted.

In the interests of charity and education he established in Charleston the Order of the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy in 1830 and introduced the Ursulines in 1834. There is one phase of Bishop England's episcopate which should not be overlooked by priests or people, namely his heroic personal struggles to support religion in his impoverished diocese. This cultured, refined and scholarly gentleman, this consecrated prelate, who worthily bore his princely dignity, went forth as a beggar for his diocese to the principal towns and cities of the United States, crossed the ocean four times to seek aid from the Holy Father, the Propaganda and the Society of Vienna and appealed to the charity of the faithful in England, Ireland, France and Italy.

His last visit to Europe was made in 1841. The return voyage was long and stormy. Through his constant attendance upon the many sick passengers he became seriously ill and arrived greatly debilitated. Notwithstanding, he preached seventeen nights consecutively in Philadelphia, and four in Baltimore. He returned to Charleston broken in health, and though he resumed his duties, his strength gradually failed until, having solemnly and affectionately taken farewell of his clergy and made his profession of faith, he died fortified with the Sacraments of Holy Church, April 11, 1842. Born at Cork, in September, 1786, he had spent nearly forty of the fifty-five years of his life in the service of the Church. Having enjoyed all the advantages of a thorough education, he had dedicated his talents to the betterment of mankind.

When Bishop Reynolds compiled and published the works of Bishop England, he rendered to his predecessor the highest tribute possible, and to Catholicity the greatest service in his power.

Those volumes were read then and a generation afterwards by those whose memory of Bishop England or whose knowledge of him through public and private report, especially of his fearless championship of his Church, vivified the printed page.

There must be a motive to study. Back of the reading there must be an incentive to read and a further incentive in the manner in which the subject matter is presented. In the works of Bishop England we have the motive to read in the life and character of this wonderful man. It was not only the perfect periods of his rhetoric and the crystal clearness of his reasoning that crowded old St. Finbar's Cathedral with the elite and the literati of Charleston. It was belief in the man as well; in his sincerity, his singleness of motive, his spirit of sacrifice, his absolute consecration of himself to the service of God and the salvation of souls.

All this was in his daily life as they saw it and this passed into his works and gave them a living force. Such a man could persuade as well as convince.

His learning was profound and varied. In the words of Chancellor Kent: "Bishop England revived classical learning in South Carolina." He was a master of logic. But his personality dominated all these and inevitably impressed itself upon his students, priests and people.

Non-Catholics who had been pupils in his Academy and afterwards attained prominence in public and professional life loved to the last to render grateful tribute to his memory.

The writer has listened to many of these tributes in public and private discourse. The educational value of Bishop England's *Works* cannot be over-estimated. There may be found statements of divine truths illuminated by his erudition, his flawless logic and finished style, and there are the words of his matchless eloquence. It is hoped that this brief outline of his saintly life and apostolic labors may quicken the knowledge of him and thus urge a motive to welcome the forthcoming volumes.

Writing from the city whither he came from his beloved Ireland and which he made his cherished home; where his remains repose and his memory is the proudest heritage of his descendants in the faith while his name is still revered by those outside of the Church, I would bespeak the gratitude of our people to those who have undertaken the publication of this new edition of the *Works of Bishop England.*

P. L. Duffy, LL.D.

Charleston, S. C.
December 6, 1907.

THE WORKS OF
THE RIGHT REVEREND JOHN ENGLAND

PART I

DOCTRINE

DOCTRINE

INFALLIBILITY OF THE CHURCH

[The finest specimens of Bishop England's presentation of Catholic doctrine come to us through the medium of the letter. The Bishop stands a peerless master in the field of doctrinal letter-writing. A simple inquiry often calls forth from him expositions of doctrine unique in their thoroughness, accuracy, and vigor. We introduce his works with an example in point. — Ed.]

[The following letters first appeared in the *United States Catholic Miscellany*[1] for 1825. — Ed.]

SAVANNAH, May, 1825.

To the Editors:

Gentlemen: — I have recently been one of the numerous auditors of the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Charleston, while on his visit to this city. His eloquent reasonings have done much towards removing my early prejudices against the Roman Catholic Church; but, before I could fully and freely adopt its faith, there are some questions which I could wish the Bishop, or some competent authority, would solve, through the medium of your paper. These questions relate to the *Infallibility of the Church*. By this, am I to understand a moral certainty that what the Church, in all ages, has held as Christian doctrine, must be such? Or, am I to believe, that by virtue of the Infallibility of the Church, what are now her doctrines must have been so from the beginning? If it be the former, I would embrace it with all my heart, and should in no case require a better proof of any article of Faith, than to be shewn a sufficient evidence that such an article was held by the Catholic Church in the beginning. But, if it be the latter, I should be gratified to be

[1] The *United States Catholic Miscellany* was a weekly paper established and conducted by Bishop England assisted by several clergymen. The purpose of the paper was to uphold the cause of Ireland at home and of Irishmen abroad. But, in a particular manner, the *United States Catholic Miscellany* was edited to defend the Catholic religion throughout the world. The paper was published on a large sheet of eight-page, containing twenty-four columns of letter press.—ED.

shewn the *evidence,* upon which my belief is required, that such Infallibility is an attribute of the Church. To illustrate these questions, I would select any one of the tenets by which the Roman Catholic Church is distinguished from other Christian Societies — say, the Primacy of the Pope in the Church of Christ. Am I required to believe this because the Church, being infallible, declares it to be true; or, because the Church furnishes me with direct evidence that such a tenet or doctrine was held from the beginning? This inquiry, as you will perceive, might be extended to all doctrines, even that fundamental one, the Truth and Inspiration of the Sacred Scripture. Thus, am I to believe the Scriptures, because the Church, being infallible, declares them authentic and inspired, or, because the Church gives me direct evidence that they were so esteemed from the beginning? By inserting these questions in your *Miscellany,* and assisting me to their solution, you will greatly oblige an honest inquirer after

TRUTH.

REPLY TO INQUIRIES OF "TRUTH" RESPECTING THE DOCTRINE OF INFALLIBILITY.

I. IN answer to the above inquiry, we would suggest, that the doctrine of our Church regarding her Infallibility is generally misrepresented by her controversial opponents, and misunderstood by most of our separated brethren.

We shall endeavor to give a clear notion of its nature, before we proceed to shew our reasons for embracing it.

Our first principle is, that man is not bound to believe any doctrine as of Faith, unless that doctrine has been revealed by God. Thus, a Roman Catholic does not acknowledge any power or right in the Church, nor in any portion thereof, nor in any Angel, nor in any Being, except God himself, to require his belief of a doctrine which is above his reason's discovery. When, then, he says that the Church is infallible in giving her doctrinal decisions, he does not mean to say that she can make that which God did not reveal become an article of Faith. He does not mean, that she can add to the revelations of God, and will be infallibly correct in this addition.

But man is bound to believe what God teaches. Yet, as man is a reasonable being, and must have a sufficient motive for his assent or belief, he is not required to believe without evidence. Thus, for his faith, evidence is necessary, otherwise his belief would have no foundation upon which it could rest.

We next ask, what evidence is required. Certainly, if our reason could discover the truth of the doctrine submitted to our minds, it would be quite superfluous for God to teach what we could discover without his teaching. Did we discover the truth of this doctrine, without the teaching of God, and solely by the exertion of our intellect, our belief would be founded upon the evidence of reason, and further evidence would be superfluous. But, if we did not make the discovery by our own exertion—if no exertion of our minds could reach so far—and we received sufficient testimony of the truth from some persons who had seen and known and testified;—and, moreover, this witness was as incapable of deceit, as he was beyond its influence;—this testimony would be, to us, sufficient evidence of the truth of this doctrine.

We would, then, require evidence that such a witness gave such testimony,—and that evidence would be the sure foundation of our faith. Our belief would then be rational.

It will not be questioned that God is such a witness. It will be admitted that his knowledge is more extensive than ours; that his knowledge is not mere rational conjecture, or high probability, but is undoubted, certain assurance of fact; and, that it is unalterable;—so that what He once asserts as truth, will be truth—forever.

These principles are manifestly true. We come now to matter of fact and deduction. God did reveal his knowledge. They to whom he revealed it had evidence of the fact. They were bound. Why? Because they had an infallible certainty that the Lord spoke, and an infallible certainty of what he said. Thus, the principle of obligation is founded in the infallible certainty of God's declaration.

From this we perceive the indissoluble connexion of faith with an infallible certainty of truth. Take away the certainty, upon what will faith rest? Give the infallibility, and we see the basis of faith. Conjecture is not faith; probability is not faith; faith is certain knowledge resting upon the testimony of God. It must be founded upon an infallible certainty that God made a revelation—and upon an infallible certainty of what that revelation was. Suppose we ascertain that he spoke; and, moreover, that he revealed the contents of a certain book; but great doubts arise as to the meaning of certain passages of that book, and learned men give to the same passage contradictory meanings; so that, of these words—"Behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world," one division asserts the meaning to be, that Christ would preserve the visible body of his Church, who were teachers of his doctrine, in his truth, all days, to the end of the world;

and other divisions assert that such is not the meaning, but that, during ages in succession, long before the end of the world, this visible body would be false guides and teach the doctrines of Antichrist. Suppose an hundred such passages can be produced, upon which there are flat contradictions. Suppose the very copies were so called into question, that several passages of a most important nature, are by learned men said to have been introduced in dark and superstitious times, by cunning priests, to impose upon the credulity of a besotted people, and to bring persons to believe that God had taught what he never had revealed. Suppose equally learned and equally numerous and zealous men assert these passages to be genuine. We are left without any infallible guide to give us certain evidence. Upon what will our faith rest? Thus, we repeat, there is an indissoluble connexion between faith and infallibility.

This leads us to a correct view of what we hold, in the Roman Catholic Church, viz—that when God required man to believe mysteries upon his testimony. He furnished man with an infallible mode of knowing exactly what he taught, and what man was to believe; in other words, that God gave to man evidence, as the foundation upon which his faith should rest. And, if God did not furnish man with an Infallible Guide, it would be unreasonable to make faith necessary for salvation. It would be, as if God should say to man: "You must believe firmly all that I teach; but, although I can establish several modes by which you can know my doctrine with infallible certainty, still, I will not furnish you with an infallible guide. I shall leave you to conjecture, to probability, to speculation, and to doubt."

Our doctrine, then, is, that God did establish this Infallible Guide; and that, in the New Law, the great majority of the Bishops who succeed to the Apostolic Commission, together with the Bishop [2] of Rome—either in Council assembled, or teaching in their Sees,—form this Tribunal.

[2] It behooves the reader to attend to the fundamental distinction between the Infallibility of the Church and the Infallibility of the Pope. In this article, and elsewhere, our illustrious Bishop, at times, seems to unduly exalt the Infallible Church—to make it a self-sufficient power into which the idea of the Roman Pontiff does not essentially enter. The Infallibility of the Pope is absolutely independent of the entire Episcopal body. The Supreme Pontiff, in himself, apart from the Bishops, is vested with the divine right to give out infallible declarations, and these declarations have binding power whether the Bishops consent or not. The Infallibility of the Church is wholly dependent. Its validity, its very existence, pre-supposes Papal Infallibility. Neither as an antecedent, nor as a concomitant, nor as a subsequent factor, is the Infallibility of the Pope associated with the Infallibility of the Church. Though all the Bishops in the world be united in Council, they are not vested with Infallibility save through union with the Pope. Bellarmine says: "Though the Council, in time of Schism, can determine who is the true Pope, still it cannot define new dogmas of faith." The Infallibility of the Pope is absolute, independent, primary. The Infallibility of the Church is relative, dependent, secondary.—*Ed.*

They have no authority to change what God has revealed; they have no authority to add to what God has revealed: but, they will, in all cases of doubt, lead us with infallible certainty to a knowledge of what God has taught. Individuals amongst them may err, and have erred, but the great majority will infallibly guide us to truth.

II. We now proceed to show the grounds of our assertion, that the great majority of the Bishops of the Church, together with the Bishop of Rome, form that Tribunal which will, with infallible certainty, give to us those doctrines which are of faith.

We feel that it is unnecessary to prove that there can be no faith without having an infallible certainty of what God has revealed. We cannot have this certainty, unless we can find a witness, whose testimony of that revelation will be infallibly correct. Thus we are brought to the dilemma—There can be no faith, or there must be an infallible witness of doctrine. Hence, we are reduced at once to total want of evidence of what God did say (for conjecture, or opinion, is not evidence); or, we must find an infallible witness. We must place upon the same level, the Pagan, the Diest, the Socinian, the Arian, the Macedonian, the Mahometan, the Roman Catholic, the Jew, the Nestorian, the Presbyterian, the Quaker, the Methodist, the Anabaptist, the Baptist, the Sabbatarian, the Church-of-England-[man], the Protestant Episcopalian, the Sup-Lapsarian, the Lutheran, the Swedenborgian, the Southcothonian, the Shaker, and the thousands of others, whose names and systems vary. Yet all profess to hold truth, and all contradict each other; still, truth is single and not contradictory.

Has God revealed truth, and commanded us to believe his Word, and yet placed it out of our power to know with certainty what he said? This, clearly, must be the case, if we have no Infallible Witness to tell us what he said. However, a thousand of those divisions will arise, and with one accord say: "We have an Infallible Witness. God is good, and wise, and merciful. He has given us this witness—stand aside —move from amongst us, you Pagans, Deists, Jews, Mahometans, and Papists, you will not receive this witness—it is the Bible."

Obedient to the mandate, we move aside, with our companions. We ask not how they know that book to contain the doctrine of God to man, because the experience of centuries gives us the plain certainty of what will occur. At an humble distance we listen. One of the persons who remained now calls upon his fellows to adore the Lord Jesus; another protests against such idolatry. The book is produced; pages are read; each explains them in contradiction to the other. Their associates interpose, to allay the ire of the disputants. One voice is heard, calling on

them to hear the opinion of an English Bishop; another voice asks whether his ordination can be proved good: a shrill rebuke of tyranny is now issuing from another quarter—whilst another solemnly advises reference to a Synod of Presbyters and Elders. "Why not each congregation decide for itself," cries another voice; "Scripture does not warrant the subjection of the freedom of the Gospel to such a yoke." Before the lapse of an hour, there will be as many contradictions as there are individuals. All appeal to the book; yet the Book is silent, but is made by each to speak in favor of his opinion.

The Diest calmly asks: "Is this the consistency of the Christian Religion? Is this the manifestation of evident Truth? Is this the uncontradictory code to which I am to sacrifice my reason?"

"Great Allah!" cries the Mahometan, "I bless thee for the words of thy Prophet. They are light to mine eye; they are fountains in the desert; they are wafted in perfumes from Arabia; they are lovely as the houris of Paradise; they sound in my ears as the first music with which thou wilt greet my soul, when it will be borne from the Angel of Death."

The Pagan looks first at the crowd in mute astonishment, and [then] asks, whether the God of the Christians was he who sowed the teeth of the Dragon, and whether this Book partakes of the same qualities as were found in those teeth; and he runs to unlock the temple of Janus.

"Friends of the old Christianity," said the Israelite, turning to us, "when I shall be too idle to labor, or poor enough to become a hypocrite, and shall go to the new farm which the good Christians of America have purchased, to ameliorate my condition, which of those people shall I join?"

"Neither of them," was our answer.

"Then are we to give up that blessed Book?" asks the Diest, with a sneer.

"No!" was our reply.

"Shall we go and join in the fray?" said the Pagan.

"Stop!" cried the Mahometan, "there is serenity in that man's countenance: lo! he is about to speak—the multitude is appeased."

There arose, indeed, a man who stilled the tumult; and, as the noise subsided, his words were more plainly caught. The following passages were plainly heard:

"Let even the Catholic be invited to the holy work. We all agree that the Book contains the Word of God; so does he. Let each take and read it for himself—let us have no strife—let us send it to the Mahometan, to the Jew, to the Pagan, to the poor, benighted Deist. Let each

read for himself—let each interpret for himself—let each believe as he likes—we will all be Christians—we will all agree. It contains one precept which we can all practise. 'Love one another,' this is enough."

"Now," said the Deist, "there can be no necessity of a Bible; 'love one another,' is, it appears, all the necessary part of its contents; why print any more?"

"Why," said the Mahometan, "there is the great principle of Freemasonry. I have learned this in my Lodge; the Koran teaches more than the Bible. Alas! how ignorant are those Christian dogs!"

"And, brother," said the Jew to the Pagan, "you know that in our Lodge we teach that Pythagoras, and Hiram, and Solomon, knew this principle as well as any sublime Master since the day of Noah, or even of Adam. Of what use, then, is Christianity?"

To be serious: we must choose between the Infallible Guide to Truth, who can speak and decide, or we must give up the cause of Christianity, of Divine Revelation; and though it is fashionable to profess to be a Christian, we unhesitatingly assert, that a vast portion of the more intelligent and enlightened of those who make this profession cannot see their way through the difficulties which surround them, any more than could the Jew, or the Pagan, or the Mahometan, know what sect they should join, in the contest—and the peaceful plea of distributing the Scripture, leaving to all the interpretation, is but, in other words, making a very rational compact not to fight about what they do not understand. But this sentence destroys the authority of Revelation.

We want an Infallible Guide:—the Bible is not, and cannot be that Guide; because, although it contains the Words of Truth, those Words are susceptible of contradictory interpretations, and, in fact, are interpreted contradictorily.

We stated that we could leave unquestioned the fact that this book, which is thus triumphantly appealed to, was the communication of God's will to man. But why should we assume or admit this fact without evidence; and, if we have no Infallible Witness to testify this to be such a Divine Communication, how shall we have this evidence? Several of those divisions [above enumerated] contend, that this Book differs in several places from the original which is supposed to have been given. Several assert that it contains books never given by God. Several contend that it it quite defective. What authority have we to assert with one, in preference to the other, unless we have some motive superior to those which they adduce? They adduce opinion. We want fact; and fact which will be fully, indisputably established by infallible authority: because, if our authority be fallible, we might be led into error; and,

if we are liable to be led into error, we have no certainty that we are not so led.

This view of the want of foundation for Christianity, leaves it as baseless as any chimerical vision of fancy. This view has produced, and still produces, more infidelity than any other cause that we know of. We avow, that if we had nothing more substantial than opinion to rest upon, we would not be Christians.

What, then, is our view?

We find an unquestioned fact; and upon that fact we build.

The fact is, that there now exists in the world, one very large Society of Christians, spread through all its nations, and forming but one body.

We build upon this fact, by a series of others, equally plain.

Fact 2.—That body has now an uniform code of doctrine.

Fact 3.—That body has existed during several centuries.

Fact 4.—All the other divisions of Christians have gone out from this body, either by separating from it, or by sub-dividing from some division which had previously separated.

Fact 5.—These divisions all oppose each other upon the matter of doctrine, i. e. respecting the fact of what God told man to believe and to practise.

Fact 6.—Though they all agree in asserting that the great body from which the separation has been made, did err in faith, no two of them are agreed, as to what those errors precisely are, though many of them concur in stating that the doctrinal errors of this great body are, in teaching a variety of articles which they contradict; yet, one of them will always assert that what the other calls error, is truth, in the doctrines of the original code which God has revealed.

Fact 7.—They all assert that her errors consisted in changing from what was originally given by God.

Fact 8.—They have never been able satisfactorily to point out the date of those alleged changes, nor, that at the period of such alleged change, there continued together any large body of Christians who condemned this alleged change, and who preserved the True Doctrine.

Fact 9.—This great body has clearly pointed out the date of all the changes which she alleged the separatists to have made in doctrines; also, the special doctrines, the author of the change, and all the circumstances of the separation.

Fact 10.—This great body traces its unbroken existence to the days of Jesus Christ.

Fact 11.—Such of the separated divisions as attempt to do the

same, are obliged to graft themselves upon the stock of that great body, at the time that is pointed out as the period of their separation.

Fact 12.—Those bodies have at different times since their separation changed their doctrine; that is, at one period, they stated that [God] did not reveal what, at another time, they stated he revealed; and, no one of them lays claim to be infallible in showing what God taught.

Fact 13.—This great body alleges that it has never altered its doctrine, and that, at this day it holds to every doctrinal declaration which it has made during eighteen centuries; and that, it will infallibly teach what God has revealed: and, an imputation which other divisions frequently make upon it, and which it acknowledges to be—to itself—a source of gratification, is, that it obstinately holds to what it first taught, and will make no reformation in its doctrine, to suit the change of times and the progress of science.

We next view another body of facts, which are in full evidence, respecting which there can be no doubt.

Fact 1.—Jesus Christ existed, and was put to death in Judea, about eighteen centuries ago.

Fact 2.—He proved by miraculous works that he had a divine mission.

Fact 3.—He wrote no book of doctrine; but he instructed a number of persons whom he had selected; and he, in a special manner, gave particular instructions to some whom he had chosen from amongst these disciples.

Fact 4.—He commissioned them to teach his doctrines to all mankind.

Fact 5.—They did teach; and they, too, wrought miracles.

Fact 6.—They instructed vast multitudes of others; some of whom they selected and commissioned as teachers, and associated with themselves.

Fact 7.—Their mode of instruction was not by giving to the people a book, which, they said, contained God's Word, and telling them to interpret for themselves; and that whatever they thought to be the meaning of the book was to be followed, though that meaning should be contradictory, as the opinions of the readers might be contradictory.

Fact 8.—A few of them wrote abridged histories of the acts and sayings of Jesus Christ, the copies of which were very scarce; others wrote some Epistles on particular occasions; and an imperfect history of some of the Acts of the Apostles was also written; together with a long and darkly mysterious history of a prophetic vision; but, of all these, the copies were few, and the circulation very limited.

Fact 9.—Several other histories, epistles, and visions, were also

circulated, which have been generally acknowledged, long since, to be compilations of falsehood, and many of them of folly; and have been rejected as such.

Fact 10.—During more than two centuries, these productions continued to circulate, without any public distinction having been generally made between them.

Fact 11.—There was a dispute amongst the early Christians, in the days of the Apostles, as to what was the doctrine of Christ, respecting the observance of the law of Moses, and several other subjects.

Fact 12.—This dispute was terminated, not by referring persons to any books of authority, and leaving the individuals to judge for themselves, but by the authoritative decision of the teachers, who gave a judgment, in which they asserted they had the aid and co-operation of the Holy Ghost.

Fact 13.—The persons who would not submit to that judicial decision, were cut off from the Church.

Fact 14.—All other disputes were terminated in like manner; and all who would not submit were cut off in like manner, and thus formed new sects, calling themselves Christians, but not recognized by the great body.

Fact 15.—More than three centuries elapsed, before the books which are recognized as containing the Word of God, were separated from those which were spurious.

Fact 16.—This selection was made by the successors of the Apostles, and was an act of judicial, authoritative declaration.

Fact 17.—Hitherto, those successors and their predecessors had been considered as the only authority, through which men could certainly know what Jesus Christ had taught.

Fact 18.—Their recognition of the truth of what the selected books contained could not and did not destroy any authority which they previously had, and which they and their successors were to have to the end of the world.

Fact 19.—After this selection, they continued to exercise their authority as before.

Fact 20.—At this period, several nations, containing several millions of Christians, had a full knowledge of the doctrines of Christ, although they had never seen a copy of the Scriptures; and then, their faith was found to agree with that of the persons who, belonging to the great, or universal, or Catholic body, had also the Scriptures.

From these Facts we draw the following conclusions:

1. That Christ did not establish as the mode of knowing his doc-

trines, the publication of Bibles, and leaving to individuals to interpret them as they thought fit; or—what is but a modification of the same—establish those individuals as judges, to know from Bible-reading whether the teacher gave them his doctrine or not.

2. That he sent teachers, to whom the people were to listen, and from whom and upon whose authority, the people were to receive his doctrine.

3. That this authority of their's was approved by miracles, and therefore had the sanction of heaven.

4. That it was by its exercise nations were converted and truth preserved.

5. That it is only by its recognition we can know what Scripture contains the Word of God.

6. That without its recognition we have no certain knowledge that the New Testament contains the doctrines of Christ.

7. That if it be a fallible tribunal in what concerns faith, we have no certainty that the books which we receive are inspired, and [that] those which we reject are not God's word.

8. Therefore: if the great body of the teachers of the Church cannot give us with infallible certainty the doctrines of Christ, we have no certainty that these doctrines are contained in the New Testament, or are now taught any where in the world.

III. We have now seen general considerations founded upon facts, which lead us to conclude: (1) That we cannot have a certainty of what God has taught, without having a witness who will give us with infallible certainty the doctrine which he revealed. (2) That we cannot have faith, without such infallible testimony. And (3) That the facts of the establishment of Christianity evidently suppose the public teachers of the Church, as a body, to be a witness of this description: and, [that] if they be not, we have no certainty that the Scripture is the Word of God; nor, have we any certainty that we now find the true doctrines of Christ.

In every human society, men not only make laws; but, however plain those laws may be, a tribunal from which there is no appeal decides for all the members, what is the meaning of that law. And, although this tribunal is liable to error, society causes it to be regarded as infallible. Society cannot make it infallible; but it can have it treated as if it were an infallible tribunal; otherwise, the law would be useless, if not mischievous. What would be thought of two litigants and their advocates who would come into court, and, each producing his law book, decide in his own favour, when the tribunal had [already] decided; the one whom the decision favoured, [remaining] satisfied [with this decision,

while] the other party said: "The tribunal has erred; I know the law —the judges are but men, I will not abide by their decision?" How long could society hold together? Who would live in a country, where the order of the court could not be inforced? Yet, we all agree, this tribunal might err. Still, the good of society requires that it must be treated as if infallible. Indeed, if it could be made infallible, it ought to be made so; and, in practice, it is made so. No one goes before such a tribunal merely for advice or instruction: recourse is had to it for authoritative decision. To go for advice, or instruction, would be giving it no power to effect the object of its creation: because you might be unwilling to follow the advice, and might not consider the instruction good, nor the evidence sufficient. The Supreme Court of the United States, generally publishes the grounds of its decisions; but the judge never asks the parties whether they consider those grounds sufficient. The decision is made by authority of the court, and not by the admission of the parties. Common sense, peace, truth, justice,—the public good require this.

We have seen that the contests as to what is the meaning of passages of the Bible are as numerous as the contests about the meaning of the law of our States; and a tribunal is as necessary to give the one with accuracy and certainty, as to give the other. And, if it be important to know what God teaches, as it unquestionably is, it is important that the tribunal [appointed] to tell [us] what he teaches, should not err. Why are the courts of society fallible? Because society, from which they derive their power, and by which they are erected, could not gift them with infallibility. The tribunal of the Church is erected by God, who is all-powerful. It derives its commission to teach from him who could make it infallible; and his wisdom shows the necessity of doing what his power can effect. He must, then, have made the tribunal of the Church infallible in testifying what he has taught. Single individuals are liable to err in their decision; but the tribunal is infallible: not, because composed of a number of infallible individuals, but because Almighty wisdom saw the necessity, and Almighty power can effect the great object. Now, this tribunal consists of the Church, i. e., of the teaching portion which suceeds to the Apostles—viz: the Bishop of Rome, and the great majority of Bishops in his communion. The successors of the Apostles have always formed this tribunal. Infallibility is then not a raising of these individuals as tyrants over their brethren, but the Providence of God securing that their united testimony shall give us a certain knowledge of what God has proposed to us as doctrine of faith.

We shall conclude this portion of our remarks by stating another fact, which we could prove, but which might not be so easily admitted

by our opponents as those unquestionable ones which we laid down before—viz: [That] from the beginning the great body of Christians testified that this Tribunal was Infallible. Our correspondent will then perceive that the doctrine of Infallibility goes beyond what he would originally have had no difficulty in granting, viz: that the authority of the Church was very high as a witness. But he appeared to reserve to himself the right of pronouncing upon the sufficiency of the evidence in every case. This made him the judge; and the Church but a fallible witness. But the doctrine is—that the Church is an infallible, authoritative tribunal, which herself examines and decides upon the evidence, and then declares to him the fact, by the authority of God, who made her infallible, and who gave to her the authority. But this authority extends only to matters which have been revealed by God: it does not reach to mere concerns of this world.

Let us take another view of facts:

1. There was a Christian Church before there was a Christian Bible.

2. That Church was organized, and perfect, and widely spread abroad, before one particle of the Christian Bible was written.

3. It was upon the authoritative testimony of that Church that the Bible was received.

4. If that testimony had not been given, no person could have any certainty that this book, which was selected from several scattered writings, contained the Revelation of God to man.

Whence we conclude:—If that Church was not infallibly correct in giving this decision and testimony, we have no infallibly certain foundation for our Faith. Therefore, if the Church was not infallible, the Christian Scriptures are not a certain Rule of Faith. And, when Luther asserts that the Epistle of St. James is a book of no authority, and does not contain the Word of God, perhaps he is right; and the Church of England, which receives it as the Word of God, perhaps, is in error. How are we to know which we should believe? The Presbyterian Church gives to us, as the Word of God, the seventh verse of the fifth chapter of the first Epistle of St. John;[3] and a great many learned men, and whole congregations, tell us this is an impudent forgery which contradicts the Word of God. How are we to know which of them to believe? The Roman Catholic and other Churches tell us that, of the Old Testament, Baruch, Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and the two books of the Machabees, contain the Word of God; the

[3] And there are three who give testimony in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. And these three are one.—I *Ep. John*, v. 7.

Church of England and several others tell us they are apocrypal and of no authority. Which are we to believe?

In the days of St. Jerome, that is, about fourten hundred years ago, several persons rejected the last chapter of the Gospel of St. Mark; and now, it is received; but an entire sentence which it then contained has been omitted. Upon what ground was this chapter received? Upon what ground was this sentence omitted? In the same age, and the previous one, were to be found several copies of the Gospel of St. Luke, which omitted two entire verses of the twenty-second chapter, and one word of the nineteenth chapter, all which are most important, and are in all the modern Bibles. By what authority were they introduced? Which held the true doctrine, they who omitted, or they who inserted those passages?

The principal portion of the eighth chapter of the Gospel of St. John, as now found in the Protestant and Catholic versions, is said to have been taken from an old and rejected Gospel, which no one now pretends to be the Word of God.[4] How are we to know whether this is God's Word, or a fable? Marcion, Arius, Luther, Brentius, Kemnitz, and their followers all assert that St. Paul never wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that it does not contain the Word of God. Calvin doubts if it was written by St. Paul, but asserts that it does contain the Word of God, and is a part of Holy Scripture; and that it is an error in the Lutherans to reject this canonical book. The Church of England puts it into her canon. Which of these are we to believe? Luther and his early adherents asserted that the Epistle of Jude was undoubtedly—not the Word of God. He also rejects the first Epistle of St. Peter, but receives the second, and has great doubts as to whether the second and third Epistles of St. John contain the Word of God. Calvin receives the two of Peter, the three of John, and that of Jude, as undoubtedly the Word of God. So, too, does the English Church. Which are we to follow? The Marcionists, the Alogians, the Theodotians, rejected the Apocalypse, or Revelation of St. John, as a forgery, and not containing the Word of God. Luther, in his first preface, rejects it as not the Word of God, nor the production of an Apostle. Brentius and Kemnitz hold with these; but, in his second preface, Luther doubts upon the subject. Calvin has no doubt whatever: he is certain that it is the Word of God; and so are the Centuriators of Magdeburgh, who were Lutherans: and so is the Church of England, which received it as one of which there never was question. Yet, strange as it might seem,

[4] The Gospel used by the Nazarene and Ebionite heretics called the "Gospel according to the Hebrews."

there is not in the entire Canon a book upon which there was longer and more serious question in the Church. Now, take away an infallible tribunal which is to give us a decision, and what are we to do? How is a question to be decided, where the litigants not only cannot agree in the interpretation of the book which contains the Law, but cannot even agree as to the precise passages which are of authority? Of what value is a book said to be authority upon any subject, which book has been collected from amongst many rejected documents, which were at one time in equal circulation[5] with the rejected portions: and, the collectors of which book, neither had any authority to make the collection, nor any author to point out with certainty what was a document of truth, and what was a fabulous composition? Such a collection could be no evidence —no authority.

The Church existed before the Scriptures. The Church had authority to teach before the Scripture was written. The Church did teach before the Scripture was written. If the Church was not then Infallible, she might have taught error for true doctrine. When the Scripture was written, it was by the teaching of the Church that writing which contained the Word of God was separated from that which did not contain it. If the Church was not infallible in distinguishing the truth from the error, she might have given to us error for truth. If we do not follow the distinction of the Church, we, who are not infallible, may take what is not God's Word, for that which really is his Word. Thus, if the Church is not infallible, we have no certainty what God has taught: we cannot know Scripture from foolish and blasphemous forgery.

To this reasoning, we humbly apprehend, there can be no alternative by which the conclusion can be combated, except by saying that every individual will infallibly discover that which the whole body of the Church cannot. Thus, instead of having an aggregate body infallible, we shall have every individual infallible. And those infallible individuals will have a thousand contradictions, and all these contradictions will be true. Now, upon our doctrine, we have an aggregate body, which has existed in unbroken succession from the days of Christ to the present day, testifying to us with infallible and authoritative certainty what are the doctrines which he taught, and in what books they may be found,

[5] "Equal circulation." These words are not to be taken strictly, or in the sense that the writings, finally rejected by the Church, were at any time of equal authority in the whole Church, with those books declared canonical by the Holy Council of Trent. Notwithstanding the doubts of some particular Churches, or of some learned Christians, and even doctors in the first ages, the great current of tradition in the Church, from the Apostolic times, was in favor of the true canon now received.

and what is the meaning of the doubtful and obscure passages. And this body has not, in any one of those cases, during eighteen centuries, contradicted its testimony upon any of those heads. We further humbly apprehend, that we have no choice left between embracing this doctrine, and asserting—that we cannot now know with any certainty what are the doctrines of Christ, nor where they are to be found.

But, does not this monstrous and arrogant doctrine of infallibility enslave mankind?—No. Suppose we were to go into any court of the United States, and say to the presiding judges:—"You shall not sit here; because we are a free people.—You are arrogant tyrants, who presume to tell us that we shall not quote the statutes of Congress, until you will please to recognize their authority. Ambitious, haughty fools, will you presume to set yourselves over Congress, and say that those laws shall not be pleaded before your honors, until they shall receive the fiat of your ephemeral omnipotence? Are you not the creatures whom the law has formed? Are we not the source of that power from which the law emanates? And yet, you tell us that we shall not plead that law before you, who are equally subject to it as the meanest of those over whom you are elevated, until you shall have examined and told us whether you will recognize the fact that it is the law of the Nation. But, mark! what is more intolerable than your proud and insolent monopoly of the gifts which Heaven has freely bestowed upon us all! You vouchsafe now to tell us that this book contains the law. Admirable condescension! As if it was not equally law, before you said so! Surely, you will not pretend that it was your nod which made it binding? No. If you never saw it, still it would be law. But, we must not interpret it, except according to your good will and pleasure! What! Have we not eyes to read as you have? Are we more dull than you are? Will you deny to us what God has given to us, perhaps with less stinted measure than to yourselves—intellect? So forsooth—it is law; but you alone are to expound its meaning, and to apply it to our several cases. Why then was it printed? Why are we called upon to read it? Is it to be to us a closed book; a sealed volume! You insult the Legislature, by supposing they cannot write or enact laws which can be understood by those for whom they are to be a code of instruction. You arrogate to yourself a dominion which we will not submit to; a power to say that the law means what you please to say is its meaning, and, that we must submit to your caprices. We want no well-paid arrogance such as yours, to intervene between a Congress which writes plain English, and a people to whom that language is most familiar. Your law-craft has created artificial difficulties. We can understand the *Law of God.* Shall we be unable

to understand the laws of men who live amongst us? The despotic arrogance of Romish Infallibility has been annihilated—why should yours survive? The principles of Popery and all Courts of Law are the same. One has fallen—the other must follow. The march of mind has commenced. The mariner's compass, and the art of printing, the Reformation and the blow-pipe, calorics and gases were unknown to the ancients. Despotism must shrink back to its congenial darkness; Truth is effulgent—Gothic barbarism must give way. Leave those seats, from which you darted the lightning of your threats, and hurled the thunder of your despotism! Man must be free!"

What would be thought of us, should we make such an address to the Supreme Court of the United States of America?

Are our citizens enslaved?

IV. We now take up another view of this subject. It is possible to discover the Doctrine of Christ, or it is not. Shall we assert that it is impossible to discover now with certainty what the Saviour taught? Then we must say that Christianity has been lost. Revelation is now of no use. For, if we cannot know with certainty what God has revealed, of what use is it to know that he did formerly make a revelation? If we find it impossible to know with certainty what Christ has taught, Christianity has been lost. We assert that it is possible to know with certainty what our Saviour has taught. It must be by Testimony—not by any new Revelation. What is that testimony? The Roman Catholic says, it is the testimony of all Catholic nations informing us what has been preserved by all the Christian Churches, through all ages, since the death of the Saviour.

The Separatist says this will not infallibly lead you to truth. Then we are without any certain and assured mode of knowing truth; and therefore, it is impossible to know for certain what is truth. We can only have conjecture: Faith is built upon certain knowledge, not upon conjecture: therefore we cannot have faith.

But another person says—"we may receive with infallible certainty what the Bible contains; and thus we, by that blessed book, are brought to a certain knowledge, and to faith."

Our answer is very short. First—that any particular portion of that book contains God's Word, will, upon the principle of the Separatists, depend only upon the opinion of one or more persons who are individually and collectively liable to err. And, next—the meaning of the passages of that portion will depend only upon the opinion of one or more, who, taken individually or collectively, are liable to err. But opinion of persons liable to error, as well in their aggregate as in

their individual capacity, is not a ground of certainty. Thus, there can be no Faith. In order, then, to be certain, we must either admit the whole body to be infallible in its testimony, or we must assert that a portion of that body is infallible. The Roman Catholic says that the whole body is infallible, but the authoritative testimony is given by the established tribunal in the name of the body. That Tribunal is the head and the great majority of the commissioned Teachers, speaking in the name of the whole body. We now ask, which is more arrogant—to make this assertion, or to claim infallibility for every individual who says—"I know this book is canonical; and I know this is its meaning; and I am right, and all who differ from me are wrong?"

Yet must we take up one or the other of the following propositions:

(1) It is now impossible to know with certainty what Christ has taught.

Or (2) It is from the Catholic Church we will know with infallible certainty what God has revealed.

Or (3) Every individual who reads the Bible with good dispositions will infallibly know that his dispositions are such as will insure to him a knowledge of truth; also, he will be infallibly correct in ascertaining what books contain the Word of God, and also, the full meaning of all the passages of those books.

Or (4) Although the Roman Catholic Church may err, and individuals may err, yet a particular body will give us with infallible certainty a knowledge of what God has revealed, and that body is ———.

Each reader is at liberty to fill the blank as he pleases.

If we support the first proposition, we destroy faith. If we maintain the third, we shall have to reconcile myriads of contradictions. We do not know any one who will maintain the fourth. Therefore the second must be true, or our distinctive proposition is inaccurate. We shall believe it to be accurate until it shall be amended by giving us some fifth proposition.

Arrogance, tyranny, superstition, priestcraft, and some other words of this kind used in these States, have no definite meaning. The ear is accustomed to the sound; those sounds are declaimed against and written at. The perpetual playing upon them reminds us of the music of a drum, where there is great noise and great vacuity—but yet this noise excites to arms. To us the whole of what is thus written appears to mean as much as the philosophic question—*Utrum chimaera, bombilians in vacuo, potest comedere suas primarias intentiones?* or as the following definitions: "A Covenant is a cord to tie us to God; and now God hath made an iron whip of these cords, which we have broken asunder to

whip us withal." "The Gospel to a nation is like the Book of Canticles, which begins with a kiss, and ends with spices."

Let us examine facts. The object is to discover what has been taught by an individual who has plainly taught what it is necessary for us to know. He wrote nothing; he commissioned a number of Apostles; they associated a number of others to their commission; they and their associates spread those doctrines through the world. In the course of nature they and their associates gradually died; but new Apostles arose in their stead, who, by the survivors were duly instructed, and by the faithful were fully recognized; and whose doctrine, given in public, was, by all those who had heard the original Apostles, declared to be the same which they had from the beginning. The body of teachers and of hearers is thus continued, like the human frame, continually changing by loss and increment, but still always the same, though always in process of insensible change of the particles of which it is made up. This body of the Church pervades several nations, sometimes at war, sometimes at peace, having conflicting interests, discordant tastes, mutual prejudices, tongues generally unintelligible to each other. In every place, persons separate. The separatists are condemned by those from whom they first went out. Their allegation is, that the great body changed the original doctrine. They cannot say who was the author of the change; they cannot tell the time when it took place; they find no body which they can point out as holding their new tenets; they succeed to no body; they build upon their own opinion of the meaning of a text. Their neighbors inform the whole body which has subsisted from the beginning, that these men have made an innovation. This great body, so divided by worldly distinctions, and yet united in faith, examine, each, what was given by the founder of his Church; what has been held from the day of the foundation to the day of the examination; every record is searched—every monument is examined—every document is unfolded. The meaning which those alleged texts had from the beginning is established. The vast majority of the Bishops from every nation, perhaps the whole body without an individual exception, all concur in stating that these innovators have made a mistake; that they have erred; that man has no authority to change what God has given. Rome—which possesses the original documents of centuries, collected from every Church which now exists, and from thousands now no more; Rome—where Peter established his tribunal, presiding by divine appointment in the midst of his brethren, and whose successors, as history demonstrates, have always sat at the head of this vast society; Rome—gives the testimony and the assent to this decision.

Yet, this is arrogance; this is presumption; this is priestcraft; this is tyranny. But it is no arrogance for the innovators to declaim against this universal testimony! No presumption for one or two men and their adherents to call this assembly the Synagogue of the Devil! No priestcraft can be where there is no priesthood; nor is it tyranny to oppose common sense, common order, every principle of reason, every principle of law.

We would put one plain question. Which is more arrogant, the man who says "If certainty can be had, it must be obtained by such evidence as this: it is impossible that there could have been so extensive a conspiracy against truth, and yet no one to discover it: it is impossible that all these documents could have been fabricated, and yet, no one to detect: it is impossible that God should have given man a revelation, and yet, have provided no mode for its certain transmission: that certain mode cannot be by a book which he never wrote, and which can be interpreted into contradictions; about the meaning of which millions are disputing; and whose meaning will never be settled but by authoritative explanation: it is impossible, if this Church has perished, that it could be re-established, except by himself, or by his commission sufficiently attested. We have no such testimony: but here is evidence of succession; here is evidence of consent; here is evidence that there could not have been conspiracy or fabrication: here are congregated millions, on one side, following up their predecessors; and on the other, here are a few bold men, following no person, and opening a new path, from which, they assert without any evidence of the fact, that those millions, and the myriads of their predecessors, have deserted. I will submit to this authority."

The other side exhibits some men, who tell us: "Let every man judge for himself, and though we should contradict each other we are all right."

Or, perhaps: "Take and read; but follow our interpretation, or you will be in error."

Is there common sense in the assertion that contradictory propositions are true? Is there no arrogance in saying: "though the Catholic world did mislead you, yet we cannot;—hold to us, for we alone are right?" This leads to our former conclusion—without infallibility there is no foundation for faith; and if infallibility exist any where, it can only be found in the Roman Catholic Church.

The distinction between anarchy and government consists in the subjection of individual will to law, in government; and the absence of law, and the licentiousness of individual will, is anarchy. If we

have no rule to which the will is to be subject in religion, it is a state of anarchy. If we have a rule to which individual will must be subject, we have order and government in religion. If the Scripture is said to be that law, the first question is, which books of Scripture are that law. If every man is free to accept or reject and book he pleases, this is anarchy. If man's individual will is regulated by any law upon the subject, what is that law, if the Church has no authority? If the Church has authority, but may err, in giving those books which do not contain God's law, or, in withholding those which contain it, we are reduced to a complete uncertainty of what the law is;—we are left in a state of anarchy. Nothing short of Infallible Authority can relieve us from this state.

Suppose this difficulty got over. The Scripture is now the law to which individual will must submit. Two individuals read the same passages: one believes their meaning to be that Christ is God, and that if man refuses to adore him, he will be punished eternally;—the other believes their meaning to be that Christ is not God,—that if he adores him he will be guilty of idolatry, and will be damned for the breach of the first commandment. Thus, private interpretation is subjecting the law to the will of the individual, and not subjecting the will of the individual to the law. This is anarchy. If God gave revelation to man, it certainly could not be upheld by anarchy.

Despotism is where one master acts without any fixed rule to control his will, and, where the will is restrained by the necessity of having the previous consent of others, there can be no despotism; and where this consent must be given in a particular manner, well known and clearly ascertained, the persons who are guided by a council of this description are under a government of law, and not under the sway of a despotism; and, where this body is restrained to pass its judgment upon only one or a few ascertained subjects, and to make its laws only upon given and defined topics, so far from being a despotism, it is an extremely limited government of ascertained law, and a defined Constitution, which is the more likely to be free from cabal, and intrigue, and faction, as the members of that council reside in different nations, have conflicting local prejudices, and local partialities, are wedded to distinct theories and forms of human government, belong to States which have no common language, recent common origin, or common interest, but are frequently in open hostility with each other. As we find all these characteristics in the government of our Church, we must call it anything but a despotism; and will presume to say, that when such a body of teachers, together with their head unite in deciding after the examination of

evidence, that those are the doctrines which God revealed to their predecessors, they will be infallibly correct in their decision; and, that if the decision is opposed or impugned, the arrogance is more likely to be upon the side of the opponent, who upon the strength of his opinion or that of a few of his companions would say—"I am right, and all these are in error;" and if there be despotism, it is more likely to be the despotism of the individual, who, bloated with his self-opinion tells his followers—"All these have erred; the millions who adhere to them err; I am right; follow me."

We do not think the doctrine of Church Infallibility is a doctrine of despotism or arrogance.

The Apotsles framed a creed, that is, a form of doctrine, to which they required implicit assent to be given. Was this a piece of advice; or, a recommendation? No; it was an act of authoritative decision; and no person was permitted to join the Christian body, until he gave his assent to this: and, if a Christian doubted of the truth of any of its propositions, he was to be separated from the society. This document contained the following as one of those indubitably true propositions: "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." The meaning is obvious, that there was but one Church; and that this Church was Catholic or Universal: and, for a very plain reason—because God Almighty gave but one set of doctrines. They were the same for the whole world. He did not tell the people of England one set of propositions, and tell the people of Rome another set, which contradicted those which he revealed to the English. Of all the extravagant notions that ever were admitted into the human mind, none is more puerile than that which is thoughtlessly cherished by many persons, viz: "there can be two or more true Churches." The true Church teaches the true doctrine. God has revealed the true doctrine. Let us suppose we were to say—"God has told the Unitarians that He is but One person. God has told the Trinitarians that He is three persons. He has told the former that Jesus Christ is not God, and is not to be adored: He has, however, told the latter that Jesus Christ is God, and is to be adored. Is not this absurdly puerile, to make God guilty of ridiculous contradiction, because we desire to yield to our prejudices, and to assume the appearance of liberality? God reveals to the Episcopalian that Bishops are a different order from Priests, and Priests different from Deacons. But He reveals to the Presbyterian that all this is perfect delusion. God revealed to the Church-of-England-men in the first days of the change of religion under King Edward's Protectors, that the sick were to be anointed; but in the reign of Elizabeth, He revealed that there was to be no anointing,

and yet He left the injunction in the Epistle of St. James. Are we then to say all those and a million more of contradictions are the "Holy Catholic Church?" Yet, every division of these makes its "Confession of Faith," or its "Articles of Religion;" and it tells us, "This is the true faith;—yet I may have erred: still, it is true;—and you must believe it, though I am not infallible."

We can understand how an infallible Church might feel warranted in drawing up a formulary to be received; but we are totally at a loss to know how a body which claims no infallibility can presume to say: "Though we are fallible, yet we are so certain that we give you what God has revealed, that unless you receive it, you are in gross error." If one could be amused at so melancholy an exhibition of inconsistency, this is indeed ridiculous. Nothing but a consciousness of infallibility could warrant such an act. Yet, from the days of the Apostles to the present, it has been done, but with this essential difference, viz: all the Catholics, whilst they laid down the doctrine, claimed to be infallibly correct:—all the separatists laid down the doctrine with equal precision, and said—"Neighbors, we are certain we are right, though we say not that we are infallible; and, we are quite certain that Rome is wrong; and we are quite certain that all other separatists are wrong. We alone are right."

Thus, they condemned each other, and inveighed against the great body; each proclaiming that he was certainly right, and that his neighbor was certainly wrong. The world could not tempt them to say that they were infallible; but they always acted as if they were, and they killed more Catholics for not yielding to their infallibility, than Catholics killed separatists for denying their's. The Catholic Church always said she was infallible; and acted in full accordance with the principle. The separated Churches say they are not infallible; but they act as if they were. Thus, if we view the acts of all Christians, we shall find their conduct exhibiting the doctrine which only the great Catholic Church professes to believe, and has always professed, and upon which she and her opponents have always acted; and, without holding which we could never know what was inspired Scripture, or the doctrine of God.

V. Let us keep our principles in view. Faith is the belief of what God has revealed: to believe what God has revealed, we must certainly know what it is: to know with certainty what God has revealed, we must have infallibly correct testimony: infallibly correct testimony cannot be given by a fallible or by a fallacious witness. Therefore, if my witness be not infallible, that is, one that cannot be deceived, and—not fallacious —or incapable of deceiving me, I can have no faith in God's revelation.

Now, the Bible can give no testimony of itself; but suppose we have it testified to. One fact is indisputably clear, viz: all those who assert that the Bible is plain, differ with each other in its interpretation, and they contradict each other as regards the plain meaning of several of its passages, and those contradictions are of such importance that they have caused them to break off communion with each other. For instance:

The Episcopalian says:—"It is plain from the Scriptures that God revealed that Bishops, Priests and Deacons are necessary in the Church; and, that Priests have not the same power as Bishops have; and, that Priests cannot ordain a Bishop, nor ordain another Priest."

The Presbyterian says:—"It is plain from Scripture that your Prelacy is arrogance and impious domination; the word "Priest" is Jewish and Heathenish; Presbyters and Bishops are but two names for the same description of persons, and the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery is Scripture Ordination."

The Methodist says:—"It is plain from the Scripture that Bishops and Presbyters and Deacons are distinct orders; it is not true that Bishops and Presbyters are but the same name for one class of persons—they are different classes; but, though the Episcopalian is right in this, he is wrong in asserting that Bishops only can ordain. Nay, even Presbyters can ordain a Bishop; John Wesley was only a Presbyter, and he ordained a Bishop, and, when that Bishop was ordained, it became his usual duty to ordain other Bishops and Presbyters; but there was plain Scripture for the act."

All these will tell us that there is plain Scripture for baptizing infants. The Baptists will say there is plain Scripture against baptizing any who have not been taught and converted to God. Here, then, are four divisions, each claiming plain Scripture for what he says is essential, the others asserting that the Scripture is plainly against what—his opponent states—it plainly alleges. These four agree that there is plain Scripture for the Divinity of Jesus Christ. The Unitarian alleges that the Scripture is plainly in condemnation of this error. They all agree that upon this point it is essential to be correctly informed. We have now five divisions forming a Bible Society, giving us a book which, they say, is so plain that it may be safely put into the hands of all persons, that they may form their faith from its contents; that it contains only plain truth, and will infallibly lead us aright; and yet, they contradict each other, and refuse to be of one Church, of one communion, because this plain book has taught them those contradictions, by plain texts, upon the most essential doctrines. We might bring five hundred sects in

lieu of five, if necessary. This is to us a greater mystery of the constitution of the human mind, than many that we meet with.

Thus: we can have no faith, without an infallible witness; and yet, the simple view of an obvious fact, convinces us that the Bible cannot be this witness.

Before the Bible was written, such a witness was necessary; even if this book—when it should be written—was to become what we see it could not. Faith was necessary, as soon as God spoke to man. Now, we know as matter of history that God made some promises and declarations to Adam. Promises and declarations were made known to his children; sometimes, by special revelation of God, sometimes by other testimony. These were not written: God did not reveal them specially to each individual. Yet, these persons had faith, founded upon these promsies and declarations; and of these they had abundant evidence to create an infallible certainty. There was no public tribunal; but there was public testimony as to the special facts. And there was special, and renewed, and frequent revelation to a well known public character, whose communication with God was matter of public and important notoriety to all concerned; not mere fanaticism of the imagination. Thus, from the days of Adam to the days of Moses, no generation passed away without such evidence; and this evidence gave infallible certainty of what God told man. Thus, man was not left to conjecture. He had an infallible witness; and a witness who could not deceive him Upon this, he believed with certainty. This was Faith.

The people in Egypt, at Sinai, had undoubted evidence of the fact that God spoke to Moses, and commissioned him to write his communication. When written, it was read for them. God gave them evidence that it contained the communication of his will. By the direction of God himself, several tribunals were established, and the individuals to form them were selected and placed in office, and their administration was commenced.

Let us now view this matter historically. Before the law was given at Sinai, Moses had received the evidence of God's Law, by the tradition of his nation; and had also had several special revelations. His authority had been attested by evident miracles; and he was now at the mountain, where a new revelation was to be made in presence of the people. Before this period several questions concerning the law of God must have arisen. It will be right to see how they were decided.

We find that Moses himself sat every day to judge and to decide, because the people came to him to inquire of God; and he made known to them the statutes of God and his laws. But as this was a laborious

and too heavy a duty, minor tribunals were appointed by Moses, in which all minor cases were decided. But there lay a right of appeal to the chief, to whom God had given his manifestations; and he decided all the hard and difficult questions. Thus, decisions were made by authority, [6] not by conjecture, and there was a tribunal from which the law of God was promulgated; and, in this tribunal, authority existed to apply the principle to the special case.

The High Priest of the Jews was appointed by God and derived his authority immediately from heaven. He was to be consulted in all religious matters, as a tribunal of the last resort; and, in solemn cases he took the Seventy Elders as his advisers. He frequently, in cases of great difficulty, went specially to consult the Lord at the Mercy-Seat, [7] and God promised to answer him. The history shews how this promise was frequently fulfilled; and, indeed, it would be very extraordinary presumption and blasphemy to say that God would not or could not fulfil his promise. The decorations of the high priest which were minutely prescribed by the Great Legislator of Sinai, were not without their meaning. Upon his breast-plate was Judgment and Truth; for God had appointed him the judge to decide, and the witness to testify the true doctrine. His authority was not only respectable, but ultimate and conclusive; and bound, under the penalty of death, every man in Israel. All the historians of the nation concur with Josephus, that the High Priests of the Jews were their judges of controversies, [8] and this by virtue of their office; which, we see, was of divine appointment. Certainly a person does not come to a Judge in his official capacity, for a salutary advice, as a respectable character; but as an authority to decide. Liberty is preserved by law: and law is valueless without authority for its administration.

The authority of this high priest was what enabled the Jewish nation to discover the books which were written by inspired men, and which contained the communications of God to man, from those which did not possess this authority. In many instances the writers of the divine word wrought miracles, and thus attested their mission; the recognition of the standing authority was also given. The book was entrusted to the keeping of the priest; and in all cases of doubt it was explained by his judgment. Amongst the Jewish people (what we call) the right of private judgment was not known; and they who used this privilege did so against the express provision of their law, and disobeyed the command of God.

[6] *Exod.* xviii.
[7] *Exod.* xxv.
[8] *Deut.* xvii.

They were the schismatical and heretical sects who introduced most of the corrupt doctrines and practices against which our Saviour so pointedly inveighed. But he respected the authority; although it had fallen into bad hands, and drew near the term of its limitation.[9]

It is very plain that in the old law there was a living, speaking tribunal, to which, by the positive ordinance of God, every Israelite was bound, under the most severe penalty, to submit in religious concerns. We would ask two questions.

First. Could a God whose essence is truth command this people, under the penalty of death, to pay implicit obedience to a tribunal which could lead them from truth into error?

Second. Could not that God who commanded this obedience and who loves truth, make this tribunal infallibly correct in its decisions regarding this doctrine?

We feel the evidence of the fact that he gave the command; and the knowledge of his power leads us irresistibly to the conclusion that in hearing the decision of that tribunal, we listen to the voice of God himself; [and as] God cannot lead us into error, that the decisions of this tribunal must be, inevitably, conformable to divine truth.

It is presumable that God did more to preserve a knowledge of true doctrine in the Jewish Church than in the Christian Church; the institutions of the former being only the shadows and figures of those of the latter? Dr. Whitaker, a respectable Protestant Divine, gives a very simple and sufficient reason for the law of Deuteronomy. "It was not lawful to appeal, for otherwise there would have been no end of contention."[10] And to whom would the appeal be made? From the tribunal created by God to the litigant who stood before it! Would it not be evidence of folly to create such a burlesque of a tribunal? And shall we say that the conduct of God is manifest folly? Core, Dathan and Abiram did not like to see Aaron clothed with this power.[11] Human pride revolts at the existence of any tribunal not occupied by itself, or subjected to itself.

We presume we shall be permitted, now, to quote the prophecy of Isaias, as divinely inspired, and containing the Word of God. We shall make our quotations from the Protestant version.

The thirty-fifth chapter is a prophecy regarding the Christian Church.

"And a high way shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called,

[9] *Matt.* xxiii. 2, 3.
[10] *De Sac. Scrip.*
[11] *Num.* c. xvi.

The Way of Holiness; the unclean shall not pass over it; but it shall be for those: the way-faring men, though fools, shall not err therein." [12]

We ask whether all those persons who hold contradictory opinions, upon the most important doctrines, derived from their interpretation of the Bible, are free from error? How will a way-faring man, though a fool, be able to find exemption from error, where so many otherwise great and good men have exhibited themselves so weak, and so bewildered, and so inconsistent even with themselves? The Roman Catholic Church, (if we believe a standard book of a respectable denomination of Protestants,[13]) i. e. all Christendom, was, during eight hundred years and upwards, buried in the most profound idolatry; and the people had no way of extricating themselves therefrom. And the vast majority of Christendom is [still] in this same state. We cannot, then, reconcile the truth of this prophecy with the facts that we see, even to-day; for, if the Roman Catholic Church leads to error, many persons who are wise, and many who are fools, not only can, but do err. And Protestants have made but little progress to do away the difficulty, because they give us only a rule, (if rule it may be called),—a principle—which has made serious divisions amongst themselves, and must, in the nature of things, not only perpetuate but multiply those divisions.

If, however, there is, in that Church which has existed from the days of the Apostles, a tribunal, whose decision will infallibly preserve us from error; even a fool may learn what that decision is, and the prophecy will be manifestly fulfilled.

In his fifty-fourth chapter, the same prophet gives to the Church, amongst other promises of God, the following declarations:

"For thy maker is thine husband, the Lord of Hosts is his name. . . . . In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. . . . . For, as I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth, so I have sworn that I would not be wroth with thee, nor rebuke thee. For, the mountains shall depart and the hills be removed; but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed, saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee. . . . . And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord. . . . . Whosoever shall gather together against thee shall fall for thy sake. . . . . No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper; and every tongue that shalt rise against thee in judgment thou shalt condemn." [14]

[12] *Is.* xxxv. 8.
[13] *Hom. of Ch. of Eng. and of the P. E. Ch. of U. S. Hom. on Peril of Idol.*
[14] *Is.* liv. 5, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 17.

God does not make an eternal union with what might become the mother of error; yet, here he makes himself the husband of the Christian Church, to which he promises everlasting kindness; a Covenant of Peace more stable than the mountains, and to the observance of which he swears; as he did, that he would not destroy the world by a deluge:—and he bestows upon this Church the privilege of condemning in judgment every tongue which will rise up against it. If this Church, then, can err in those judicial condemnations, God has, by an oath, bound himself to a covenant with error.

In his fifty-ninth chapter, we have the Redeemer's covenant with the Christian Church, in the following words:

"My Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and forever."[15]

Upon this passage we think no comment is necessary.

"I will make thee an eternal excellency. . . . . Thy sun shall no more go down, neither shall thy moon withdraw itself: for the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light."[16]

The reader will recollect that these are prophecies, to the complete fulfilling of which God has irrevocably bound himself; that they are made to the Christian Church; and that if this Church can lead us into error, or herself be in error regarding God's doctrine, not one of those prophecies has been fulfilled; and that the Roman Catholic Church is the only portion of the Christian Church which now exists without having come away from some other division; and that every division now in existence is but a portion which has separated from her, either in itself, or in some one from which it sprung; and, that the plea for this separation always was, that this Church did err, and did lead others into error; and [that] every such division formed a new Church upon the plea that there was not, at the time of their secession, any Church in existence which was free from error, [and] therefore, that the covenant which God made was not at that time fulfilled by him.

VI. By looking a little closer [in]to some other prophecies of the Mosaic Church, we shall find the principle which we contemplated in the last [section] greatly supported. We shall give but one more of this description.

In the [prophecy] of Daniel it is stated concerning the Church of Christ that "The God of Heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall

[15] *Is.* lix. 21.
[16] *Is.* lx. 15, 20.

never be destroyed;" which "shall not be left to other people;" which "shall stand forever." But, if this Church can err in teaching the doctrines of God, it can be destroyed. If truth shall leave this Church to go to other people whom this Church condemns, this kingdom, then, will be left to those other people. If this Church has fallen off, and not stood in truth, and no society was found at that time preserving the purity of doctrine from the beginning, then this kingdom did not stand. If, therefore, the Church originally established can lead men into error, the prophecy of Daniel has not been accomplished.

The Church of the old law was to last until the coming of the Redeemer, who was promised. The high priest and the council of the Sanhedrim were to be, until his arrival, a supreme, earthly, tribunal, from which there was no appeal in matters of religion. From various events it was believed that if the time of redemption had not [already] arrived, it was at hand. Inquiry was made of the chief priests and scribes, and explaining the prophecies, they distinctly told where the Redeemer should be born. At that period, there was born in that place, Jesus of Nazareth. His works and his declarations proved his commission and his nature. The Aaronitic commission became now superseded, and Jesus was to give a new one, of which the former was only typical. He did give this commission to the Apostles. We find them, too, prove their commission by miracles; we behold them exercise their power. We believe that man is now to know what God has said, in the same manner; that is, upon the same principle that his ancestors were formerly to have known it. The Aaronitic assembly was the court of final decision by which, under the appointment of God, all were bound in matters of religion. The Apostolic assembly succeeds [to this tribunal;] the commission is extended; decisions are given; they are obeyed; the Apostles assert that the Holy Ghost presides and aids them; they refer to their appointment by the Saviour; to the miracles wrought by themselves; they command the Christians to hold to the testified doctrine, even in opposition, if the case were possible, to the testimony of angels; they condemn all who separate from them; they charge their followers to avoid heretics, that is, choosers, persons who, instead of receiving the testimony of the authorized body, select according to their own judgments, their own opinions. Their new associates—their successors—follow the same line of conduct: they require their decision to be received as final, because they will give with infallible certainty, those doctrines which God revealed. They do not refer the persons to the Scriptures, saying to them, "Here is what God taught; read and judge for yourselves—let every man follow his own opinion:" but they say:—

"We teach you what God has taught to our predecessors, and what we have received from them,—it is not in our power to alter it, it is not in your power to reject it."

Writings were found which contained statements of the acts and doctrines of Jesus Christ. Some of them were generally known to have been the authentic works of the Apostles; others, manifestly were not [their authentic works;] others, were of doubtful authority, [either entirely, or in particular portions, of which] their readings were not alike. Of what use were they? Plainly, whatever contained the word of God, derived its authority from God. But the knowledge of the fact that this was God's word, must depend upon testimony; and as we before saw, this infallible certainty must rest upon [the authority of] an infallible witness. We, then, want the aid of an infallible witness: first, to tell us the fact which book is God's word, and which is not; and next to tell us the meaning of the doubtful passages in the book so found. If the Church is an infallible witness of the fact and of the meaning, the revelation is from God, the testimony from the Church: as, on Sinai, when God spoke to Moses, and Moses reported to the people, the authority was that of God, the testimony that of Moses. None would hazard the assertion that Moses thus became the master of God. No person would say that the high priest and the Sanhedrim were the masters of God, because they explained the hard and doubtful expressions of the revelation which he made. No person would presume to say that the Judiciary of the United States rules over Congress, because it explains the meaning of laws made by that body. No one will presume to say, that it is from the judiciary that the legislature derives its authority, because the explanation of its authoritative acts is given to the judiciary. In like manner, the Church is not the mistress of the word of God, because her testimony is [given] to establish the fact that "He said this," and the other fact, that "this is the meaning which God always intended by this expression." Though I should, then, find it necessary to have the testimony of one infallible Church, to give me a certainty of what is divine Scripture, and what is its meaning, this does not set the Church above the Scripture.

By the facts which we historically know, we see that Jesus Christ was God, and that he established a Church. We see what that Church did; and we see, from its acts, that it claimed to be infallible in deciding religious controversies. We see that some such infallibility was always necessary, and did always exist; and we, further, cannot understand how, if it did not exist in the Christian Church, the old prophecies could be accomplished; (yet we know them to have been divine;) and, without

this infallibility, we cannot discover how to discern the genuine from the spurious books; nor, [how] to be certain of the meaning of any passage of the Scripture. We, therefore, upon these grounds, believe the great body of the Bishops, in union with their head, will, with infallible certainty, testify to us the doctrines of God. It is not, therefore, from the New Testament, in the first instance, that we derive our grounds for the belief of Church infallibility; neither is the New Testament necessary to establish our conclusion. Yet we shall see that it is useful. We may view the Gospels, either as uninspired histories, or, as an inspired work, containing the revelation of God. In the former case, we do not need the authority of the Church to inform us, that they contain the Word of God; because, the question in that case would not be concerning their containing the revelations of God, but merely regarding their general truth. Their general truth is perfectly consistent with some trivial errors, as to circumstances and opinions. This general or historic truth, might be established without the aid of an infallible witness.

Viewing the New Testament in this way, we could deduce from its facts, and [from] passages [contained in it,] abundant evidence of Church infallibility. But, we prefer viewing the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, and the other parts, as an inspired work, containing the revelation of God. For this purpose we do need such a witness as we have shewn the Church must necessarily be.

This witness tells us that the books which we usually denominate the New Testament, contain the Word of God. We now come to examine that book; not, to learn what we have before known, but, to add to our stock of knowledge, either by finding more ample evidence of known facts, or testimony for new facts or doctrines. We believe the doctrine of infallibility; we look for testimonies to confirm us,—not, to give us any new doctrine on this head.

We open the Gospel of St. Matthew, where we read these words of our Lord to St. Peter.

"Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."[17]

Now, if this Church can teach erroneous doctrines instead of God's truth, it will be a prevailing of the gates of hell, manifestly. Therefore, either Christ did not make this declaration, or, that Church cannot teach error.

Again: Christ says of a man who having been admonished in vain, is to be denounced to the Church; (and Christ gave the Church no au-

[17] *Matt.* xvi. 13.

thority except in matters of religion;) "But, if he neglect to hear the Church let him be to thee as an heathen man, and a publican." [18]

This regarded religion; and nothing is of more vital importance in religion, than to know what God teaches. Now, God would never have bound man to such obedience to a Church which might tell him that God did not say what he said; or, that God did teach what he contradicted. That God imposed the obligation is clear: therefore, God is chargeable with the error, if the Church leads me thereto.

Again, it is written:

"And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me, in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you, always, even unto the end of the world. Amen." [19]

We merely ask, who are to teach the teachers? Is it the persons who are to learn from them? The text tells us, that he who commissioned them remains with them to preserve them fit to teach; and this, not for a short time only, but always, even to the end of the world.

To omit several other passages, we shall confine ourselves to a very few.

"But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name. He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you. . . . But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me. And ye, also, shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning." [20]

We here perceive two sorts of knowledge: (1) That which was to be brought to their memory; [and] this they were to be enabled to testify by the aid of the Comforter, and because they were witnesses from the beginning. (2) The new knowledge which the Holy Ghost was to give them at his descent. Hence [our Saviour] promises of this sacred Spirit: "When he, the Spirit of Truth is come, he will guide you into all truth." [21]

In accord with this is the prayer of the Saviour:

"Sanctify them through thy truth: thy word is truth. As thou

[18] *Matt.* xviii. 17.
[19] *Matt.* xxviii. 18-20.
[20] *Jno.* xiv. 26. xv. 26.
[21] *Jno.* xvi. 13.

hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world. And for their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified through the truth. Neither pray I for these alone; but for them also which shall believe on me through their word."[22]

It was of this Spirit that he spoke, when he said: "But ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses to me, both in Jerusalem and in Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth."[23]

Thus they were to be a permanent body of witnesses, to testify the doctrines of God to the whole world, and to the end of ages, always, to the end of the world; and to aid them in this, the Holy Ghost was to be sent; who was to remind them of what might have escaped their recollection, and to lead them generally into all truth, that they might be able to teach those to whom they were sent, and who were commanded to hear them as being sent by God to teach the things which he commanded. Hence, the Apostle St. Paul calls this Church, "The Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth."[24] We have seen that the Apostles declare "It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," where they plainly inform us of the fact that this sacred Spirit was present with them: and we see how long he was to remain, "that he may abide with you forever."

Thus the word of God confirms what reason shewed to be necessary, and what the prophecies led us to expect; that the Church will, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, infallibly lead us to a knowledge of what God has taught; and that God commands us to listen to her voice, and to receive her testimony.

The history of the Church is filled with the most authentic and clear words, [which are sufficient] to make it manifest that such was the Christian doctrine and practice from the beginning to the present day. To use the figure of a good writer on the subject.

This accumulation of evidence stands like one of the great pyramids of Egypt, a monument of antiquity upon the sandy plain. Nor time, nor the rage of elements can make any impression upon its durability; like the Arab who lifts his spear against it, is the sectarian who assails our Church; the mighty dead of ages repose within its capacious walls; its living inmates are protected from the fury of the Bedouin rover, who shivers his weapon into atoms at its base. After an hour of impotent fury, he rides away, and scarcely leaves a trace of his assault; perhaps

[22] *Jno.* xvii. 17, 18, 19.
[23] *Acts* i. 8.
[24] *Tim.* iii. 15.

enough to mark the record of his folly: another and another at intervals succeeds, each, like his predecessor, to pass in defeat away. Ages have rolled along; heresies have risen and died; the names of some survive the latest relics of their dissolved bodies; the assailants vary; their boasts, their efforts, their failures, are alike—whilst the mighty work reared by a heavenly hand, remains, still settling in solid permanency upon a base to which the promise of a God has secured unimpaired existence, till time shall be no more!

SECOND LETTER OF "TRUTH."

SAVANNAH, July, 1825.

To the Editors:

Your essays upon infallibility have been read with attention, as they have appeared, and I confess my scruples, though not wholly removed, are reduced within a very narrow compass. The distinctive definition of what is meant by infallibility is not given so clearly as I could have wished. The point of the essays seems rather to be turned to the necessity than to the definition of this attribute.

If I rightly understand the arguments, however, the infallibility which is affirmed is a supernatural endowment, by which the church is perpetually and perfectly preserved from error in doctrine. So that, consequently, if I wish to know whether any certain doctrine was taught by Jesus Christ or his Apostles, I have only to ascertain whether the Church at this day maintains such doctrine; and if it do, then by virtue of the infallibility of the Church, I may be assured that it was so taught in the beginning by divine authority. For instance, if I wished to prove the truth of the doctrine of transubstantiation, my syllogism would be formed thus:—The Church at this day teaches this doctrine; but the Church is infallible: therefore this doctrine was so taught by Jesus Christ and his Apostles in the beginning.

This is so easy and summary a method of resolving faith, that I feel the greater anxiety to become established in its principles if indeed they be true; you will therefore pardon be for proposing a few difficulties which yet remain unremoved in my mind, with a desire that when your more important avocations will permit, you will afford them the proper solution.

The proof of this infallibility of the Church, according to your essays, appears to rest principally upon the necessity of this principle, in order to the existence of certainty in faith. Now of this fact I am not yet fully certain, and hence my certainty of the conclusion deduced from

it can be no greater than that of the premises from which it is deduced. I believe many facts with as much certainty as if God should this moment proclaim them directly from heaven, and yet the testimony of those who bear witness to these facts is not infallible. I believe there are such countries as England, France and Germany, as certainly as I believe the truth of any mathematical demonstration. And on the credit of such belief I should have no hesitation to embark in a vessel bound to either of those countries, if circumstances rendered it to my advantage so to do. But though I believe with such absolute certainty in the existence of these countries, I have had no infallible witness to assure me of the fact. Now whether a certain assurance of the truth of the Christian religion, conveyed to me in a similar manner, without any infallible witness of the fact, might not generate in my mind a faith acceptable to God and necessary to my salvation, is a point which to say the least admits of a rational question. But until I am absolutely certain that there can possibly be no true faith without a living, infallible witness of the truths to be believed, the necessity of infallibility in the Church cannot by this argument be established in my mind. And as the necessity of the fact is made your principal proof of its existence; its truth and its necessity stand or fall together. Hence I am not yet infallibly certain that my syllogism to prove transubstantiation an apostolic doctrine, may not be defective, and lead me to a false conclusion.

But suppose this difficulty removed, and the infallibility of the Catholic Church fully established; another obstacle presents itself to my mind. How am I to become infallibly assured that this attribute belongs only to that body of Christians who maintain external communion with the Church of Rome, as their head; for infallibility can profit me as an individual but little, unless I have indubitable assurance as to its location and the body to which it belongs by divine communication. In other words, it must be made infallibly certain, that the Church of Rome, or rather the Roman Catholic Church, is the organ of Christian infallibility; or else I come short of the necessary evidence to establish my faith.

Should I happily succeed in obtaining a removal of this difficulty, I shall have but one more obstacle in the way of my adopting your convenient and summary method of resolving faith into the infallibility of the Church. This remaining obstacle is, how I am to be infallibly assured that what is delivered to me as the doctrines of the Catholic Church are indeed such. From the frailty and imperfection of those ministers and other vehicles by which my information is obtained, as well as from the darkness and depravity of my own mind, errors may creep in and corrupt that faith, which in order to my salvation, must

be really and infallibly the faith of the Catholic Church. The priest by whom I am instructed may be mistaken, he may be a wicked man and lead me by design into error, or I may misunderstand what he really designed to convey; in either of which cases my faith will be erroneous. In short, I do not yet see how I am to be profited any more by the infallibility of the Church than by that of the Scriptures, unless that infallibility shall be extended to those individuals who preach, as well as to me who listen to their doctrines.

These obstacles still oppose my reception of that doctrine of infallibility which you seem to inculcate. If, as I said in my former inquiries, the Roman Catholic Church will shew on good evidence that all the doctrines which she now teaches, were taught by our Lord or his Apostles, I pledge myself to embrace them in all the sincerity of faith. I ask no better rule for truth in doctrine than that ancient and venerable one "that which was every where and always and by all Christians believed, that is truly Catholic." Entertaining these sentiments, I still remain a sincere inquirer after TRUTH.

REPLY TO SECOND LETTER OF "TRUTH."

As we have, in our former Essays, gone at some length into the subject, we shall now be as brief as possible in our reply to the proposed difficulties. We shall supply what was desired, namely the distinctive definition of Church Infallibility.[25] As regards it, in an active sense, it is "the correct declaration of what God has revealed." Its necessity must be obvious, if it be necessary to believe what God has taught. If it be not necessary to believe what God has taught, revelation is not necessary. But as revelation has been made by God, as we believe our correspondent will admit, it is necessary to know what he revealed: to have this knowledge a tribunal which will give us correct information, is absolutely necessary.

Our correspondent doubts the necessity of this tribunal, because he says that he can have a certain knowledge of facts, without an infallible witness. Here is the very point upon which we differ. We say he cannot have any certainty, without the testimony of an infallible witness.

[25] The Infallibility of the Church is distinguished into active Infallibility and passive Infallibility. Active Infallibility resides in the Pastors and Doctors of the Church whom Christ gave (*Eph.* iv) for the edification of his mystic body. Passive Infallibility belongs to the universal Church, which (I *Tim.* iii. 15.) is called "the pillar and ground of truth." Bishop England is occupied solely with active Infallibility—that Infallibility which manifests itself *in docendo*—in teaching matters pertaining to divinely revealed doctrine.—ED.

He adduces a fact to prove his principle, viz: He has a certainty of the existence of France, Germany, England, and so forth though he has not had the testimony of an infallible witness for their existence. We differ from him in the latter part of this assertion: because we say he has had the testimony of an infallible witness. And to this single point we now bring the whole question. There is an evident distinction between those facts which are the object of faith, and those facts which are the objects of ordinary human knowledge. The wisdom, research, and observation of man can ascertain many of the ordinary facts, with absolute certainty. And when thus ascertained, those facts may be testified. Two questions present themselves to us: (1) could the persons who testify the facts have been deceived? (2) could they deceive me? Where we are obliged by the weight of circumstances to answer those two questions unhesitatingly in the negative, where every sensible man must say "no," to each of them, we have infallible certainty, from the testimony of men. There can be no higher certainty. Where facts are the objects of Faith, they do not come under the power of men's wisdom, research or observation: but man learns them from the testimony of God. Man is certain that God could not deceive him; man is certain that God could not have been in error: thus although the facts be of different orders, the ground of certainty is the same in each case; man is infallibly certain of the truth of the fact.

Our correspondent knows that there is such a place as England, not because an individual witness who was infallible gave his testimony, but because from the number, the opportunities, the interests, the qualifications of all the individuals, and all the concurrent circumstances of the testimony, he should answer that all those could not be deceived: that he could not be deceived by them: therefore he has a correct declaration of the fact; there is no doubt upon his mind, because he has the testimony of an infallible witness, (that is the whole body of persons and circumstances taken as one,) making him certain, (1) that they could not have been deceived, (2) that they could not deceive him. Hence it was a mistake to imagine that he had certainty, without the testimony of an infallible witness.

If the witness was not infallible, he might testify what was not correct; if he might testify what was not correct, his statement might be contrary to the fact. No person can be certain of the truth of a statement which might be contrary to the fact, therefore there cannot be certainty without infallible testimony. Our correspondent appears to have been misled, by supposing against the fact, that he was certain of a fact, for the truth of which he had not infallible testimony. His

testimony for the existence of those countries, is as highly infallible as any can be. Now we say that we have the same sort of testimony for the doctrines of the Church, viz: not one infallible individual, but a body of witnesses and an accumulation of circumstances, which united in one tribunal, possess all the force of natural infallibility concentrated to a point. And we have the further evidence which we adduced of the infallibility of this tribunal, viz: (1) the declaration of God, in the Old Testament and in the New Testament, together with (2) the declarations of the early Christians, that it was a well known principle of the Apostles and of their associates and immediate successors. This additional testimony of the fact did not change its nature, that is, did not make infallible certainty greater or less than infallible certainty, but it more clearly exhibited its existence.

Church infallibility also consists not only in that natural certainty which conclusively establishes the infallibility of other sorts of testimony, but moreover is supported in addition by the superintending providence of God. But the other testimony does not lose any of its natural and infallible certainty, because God aids the Church. We trust that our correspondent will, upon re-consideration, perceive that his certainty of the existence of those places does really rest upon the testimony of an infallible witness, though that witness is not the Church. We say, the Church is infallible, testifying what God has revealed, because, in addition to the natural reasons for the assertion, we have evidence that God did constitute her the witness of that revelation; and made her infallible in giving his testimony. But we say, there are several other facts certain, besides what God revealed; and in each case, the certainty rests upon the testimony of an infallible witness. Although then the Church is the only infallible witness of God's doctrine, she is not the only infallible witness in existence. Certainty is an indivisible point: when I am certain, I have no doubt, when I have any doubt, I am not certain. Probability may be more or less. But we can not have greater certainty and less certainty; we may approach nearer to certainty or be farther removed therefrom. In ordinary conversation we sometimes say we are certain of what is only highly probable. But when upon an important subject such as the present, we use terms to convey accurate notions, we should not use them vaguely. We call certainty that conviction of the mind which does not admit any doubt whatever: this can never be created except by testimony, the truth of which admits no doubt whatever. Such testimony is correct in the strict sense of the word, that is, infallible. If our position here be right, our correspondent will per-

ceive that the entire of this third paragraph is founded upon a false assumption, viz: That he had certainty without infallible testimony.

The next paragraph can create no difficulty, because no other Church, except the Roman Catholic Church, claims to be infallible in testifying what God has taught. Their language is: "The Roman Catholic Church is in error; we teach the true doctrines of God, there are several other Churches differing from us, we are right; they are in error, in several points: but yet though we are right, we are not infallible, we are just as liable to err as they are, it would be arrogance to say that we are infallibly right, but we are certain we are right." We acknowledge that to us this language appears contradictory. But it proves that they disclaim infallibility; and if they disclaim it, we cannot force it upon them. Our principle is, not to attribute to them doctrines which they do not hold.

We must confess we were a little astonished at reading the fourth paragraph of our correspondent. For if he believes the Church is infallible, and finds but One Church in the whole world claiming to be so, and finds all the rest disclaiming it, where can be his difficulty? Suppose for a moment, he looked upon one of those Churches to be infallible in declaring doctrines, and he is certain that infallibility is a prerogative of the Church. He asks, "Are you infallible?" she answers, "No." If she is infallible, he must believe she told truth, therefore he must believe her at the same time to be infallible and not infallible. This paragraph must have been very hastily written.

The fifth paragraph must have been also written without much reflection. Our correspondent supposes a number of extreme cases and exceptions, the consequences of which, pushed home to their proper extent, would go perhaps a little farther than he would gladly permit them:—but when he gives the impulse he must take the consequences. This is the argument (if argument it can be called) by which the Sceptics endeavoured to destroy revelation; and it possesses just as much force for that, as to destroy the infallibility of the Catholic Church, If the principle which it contains is true, it, will infallibly destroy all belief in revelation.

"What good is it for me," said the Sceptic, "that God should give a revelation of his will, if after he has given it I shall not know it? Now I can never know what he says, because there are so many wicked men to pervert what he said, and so many foolish men to mistake it, that it would be out of my power to know that his law came to me correctly, through such a mass of crime and folly. Besides, we know that for several ages the Bible was locked up by the clergy from the people, ignor-

ance and crime were predominant, priestcraft and superstition assumed the place of religion, whole passages of the sacred books were altered, many fables and apocryphal books foisted in. Unless God himself spoke to me I could not know his law. Suppose he gave a revelation; of what use is it to me now? I cannot know what it is. And suppose God himself spoke to me? I am so stupid that I might misunderstand his words, and in fact do we not see those great luminaries of the Church, those men who in various Chirstian sects, make the study of the Sacred Volume their occupation, and whose talents are of a superior order, whose piety is undoubted, absolutely contradicting each other as to the meaning of the most important passages? How then shall I who am but a poor, stupid, impious creature, dare to explain what God says? Better for me, to adore in silence the deep, mysterious Being whose word I cannot comprehend; and follow the path of duty, where reason leads the way, and accommodates herself to the littleness of my capacity. Revelation would be to me unintelligible jargon. I shall in the name of God, be content to worship God according to the light of reason."

If our correspondent will have the goodness to answer the above results, inevitable results of his fifth paragraph, upon Protestant principles, that is from the Bible, without any thing but the Bible, we shall be obliged to him.

As Catholics, we tell him, it is possible that an individual may be so stupid as to mistake the meaning of a plain proposition for a long time, perhaps for ever. But the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church are practical in fact, however speculative they may appear to be, and it is next to impossible, that the mistake, arising from stupidity, will not be detected in practice and corrected. And if any one or a few instances should remain uncorrected in individuals, still the doctrine of the Church as a body is unimpaired. Though God requires the belief of what he has revealed, he does not require an impossibility, nor punish for an involuntary error. If this stupid creature cannot learn better, he is excusable when he does his best. This person is not voluntarily in error, because he went to the tribunal which God established; and if he did his best to learn from that tribunal, God required no more; the error is not voluntary; is not criminal.

The individual clergyman who teaches, might for a time, through frailty or malice, mislead. Not only will his errors in teaching be soon discovered; but as all our doctrines lead to practice, and are therein exhibited; as all his acts must be open to the observation of clergy and laity, from every part of the Catholic Church; practical error must soon be discovered when it exists, and the general voice of the Church will

teach the general doctrines of the Church, and if necessary, the official organ of the Church, her Chief Pastor, will, in her name, publicly declare her doctrine, and the error of him who misled; and thus, although for a very short time, a special congregation might be in the way of receiving false doctrine, the faithful at large will always receive true doctrine, and this misled portion will soon be set right. Thus it is not necessary to make Mankind more clearsighted than they are, nor to make every individual clergyman infallible, for the purpose of maintaining the principle, that the majority of the Bishops of the Catholic Church, with the Pope at their head, will infallibly teach us what God revealed: and this other proposition; no congregation of the Roman Catholic Church can be led into permanent error by a pastor who is not infallible, because such congregation can easily ascertain the doctrine of the Church, upon any point which God has revealed; and from the intercourse of all congregations, error cannot continue undetected. The history of every age and nation of Christendom, shews this last principle a thousand times exemplified in practice. All those whom the Church condemned as heretics, taught their errors first within the Church, and then refusing to conform to the decision of the general body, were separated therefrom, and made new forms of doctrine and discipline for themselves.

We now come to the last point of inquiry. "How the infallibility of the Church can be of more service than that of the Scriptures?" Suppose yourself to err in mistaking the meaning of what you read. You have no remedy, your error must continue. Suppose yourself to err in mistaking the instructions of the clergyman, or suppose he misled you, there is a remedy; for your error will be detected by a living tribunal, which can shew you in what your error consists, and teach you what is truth. The superiority consists in that which is found in having a law book and court to decide suits, over the mode which would give the litigants a part of the book without the court.

The rule by which the Church decides, is that quoted in the last paragraph. The Catholic Church applies this rule and gives the decision. Our correspondent certainly would not call every lawyer from his office, every physician from his patient, every planter from his farm, every merchant from his store, every tradesman from his shop, every ploughman from his team, every woman from her household avocations, every boy from his school, every girl from her mistress, every negro from his task, and furnishing each of them with accumulated historic documents, say: "My good friends; the Catholic Church cannot from all these and from its various other monuments and memorials and practices, together with the special promise of Christ, that the Holy Ghost would lead her

into all truth, all days, to the consummation of the world: She cannot, with the united experience and wisdom and testimony of her pastors, from all parts of the world, infallibly tell you correctly, what 'was always and every where and by all Christians believed.' But you will infallibly make it out yourselves, or if you do not, we shall never be able to know the Catholic doctrine." We hope our correspondent will not take up the last proposition as the declaration of his conviction. Could he soberly contemplate his general council of all professions, trades and sexes? A council of advisers is out of the question. He must take the infallible tribunal of the Roman Catholic Church, or that alternative, which we would entreat him to avoid, viz: "I cannot know with certainty what God has taught."

One thing is very obvious from the last paragraph of his letter, our correspondent cannot belong to any Protestant Church whatever. His principle and their's are at irreconcilable variance. We state that every doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church will stand the most rigid examination by the principle which he lays down. And we pledge ourselves, if such is not the case, we shall cease to be Roman Catholics.

THIRD LETTER OF "TRUTH."

SAVANNAH, August, 1825.

To the Editors:

You request me to answer what you suppose to be "some inevitable results" of a certain paragraph in my last letter. It shall be done with as much brevity as possible. In order to this, I must beg you distinctly to bear in mind the species of infallibility against which my objections were alleged. This was defined and illustrated in the first part of the letter to which I have just referred. Our obligation to believe the "correct declaration of what God has revealed," I never for a moment doubted. But this was not our question. Our argument, if I rightly understand it, is, whether the infallibility of the Church be necessary to establish the "correct declaration of what God has revealed." You would prove the existence of this infallibility, from its necessity in order to the having of faith. I replied that I could not perceive its necessity in order to faith. Faith, I urged, might rest upon moral certainty of facts, which might be established, without the infallibility of any witness. I instanced my belief of the existence of countries which I had never seen. You reply that I have infallible witness of the existence of such countries. That I have a moral certainty I admit. But moral certainty, as I understand it, is only an indefinitely near approximation to infal-

fibility. I have a moral certainty of a fact, when I have all the evidence which the nature of the case will admit; or as good evidence as I could reasonably expect if the fact were true. But you say I have infallible witness. We will not disagree about the use of words. I will admit your assertion: It is only a change of names for the same thing. But your argument gains nothing by the change. For it is only the infallible certainty of the fact which is established, and not the infallible veractiy of any one witness to that fact. It is one thing to establish the certainty of a fact, and another to establish the infallibility of a witness to that fact. I may have infallible evidence of the truth of Christianity; and yet the Church may not be infallible, unless indeed the Church and the evidences of the truth of Christianity are convertible terms, meaning the same thing. I here use the word infallible, you will recollect, in the sense implied in your answer to my objection, or as I understand it, in the place of moral certainty. But after all, suppose you should redeem the pledge contained in the closing paragraph of your last reply to me, and prove that what the Roman Catholic Church now holds, she has held from the beginning; and that consequently all her doctrines must be from Jesus Christ and his Apostles; you do not by this prove the infallibility of the Church, you only prove her veracity, and establish the credibility of her testimony. But even if you could thus prove her infallibility, the proof would come too late, for you would have established the truth without it; whereas your plea is for the necessity of this infallibility, in order, by it, to establish the truth. It is one thing to prove that the Church never has erred, and another, that she never can err. The one establishes her veracity, and makes her a more credible witness; the other confirms her infallibility. In short, if you can prove the unchangeable stability in doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, from the Apostles' times, without alleging the infallibility of the Church as your ground of proof, you have evidence enough without this infallibility to challenge the belief of every reasonable person. But if you allege this infallibility in proof of the stability of doctrine, then this Infallibility must first be proved, by evidence, independent of that of constant veracity; or else, I see not how you will avoid the imputation of reasoning in a circle. You must pardon my blindness and incredulity then, if I do not yet see that the infallibility of the Church has been proved, or its necessity established in order to the existence of faith.

But, having supposed my difficulties in this particular removed, I next inquired what assurance I could have that this attribute, if it existed, belonged exclusively to the Roman Catholic Church? The paragraph containing this inquiry, you suppose "must have been hastily written."

But let us see for a moment if your evidence is so obvious as you imagined. Your proof is founded upon the fact that other Churches do not, and that the Roman Catholic Church does claim this attribute. This negative testimony of others, if it prove any thing, proves too much for your purpose. For if they deny infallibility in themselves, much more do they deny it in you. If then we allow their evidence against themselves, we must allow it equal credit against you. But what do they deny when they deny their own infallibility? Do they deny their certainty with respect to all truths? Far from it. I am not infallible, and yet I am certain of many truths. But though I am certain of many truths, I may err, not only respecting the truths which I do not, but those also which I do know. Your proof then derives no strength from the disclaimer of others. It must therefore rest wholly on the credit of your own claim. But where is the decree which declares the Roman Catholic Church exclusively, to be infallible? Or if such a decree be found, upon what authority does it rest? Surely not upon the infallibility of the Church, yet; for that is the point to be proved by the decree. I am persuaded, if you will review the subject with your usual candor, you will perceive that your reply was not so conclusive, nor my inquiry so "hastily written," as you at first imagined.

The next paragraph, you charitably suppose "must have been also written without much reflection." But if you will reconsider the object for which these "extreme cases and exceptions" were supposed, I am persuaded you will release me from the imputation of having written without much reflection. My object was to shew that if nothing short of absolute or strict infallibility could be a sufficient ground for faith, if indeed there be faith upon the earth, [26] only admit my principle that strict infallibility, is not essential to faith; and those "inevitable results," which were so frightfully marshalled against my harmless paragraph, will vanish into airy nothings. But so long as you adhere to the principle that strict infallibility is essential to faith, I must leave you to combat single handed, those "giant spectres" of scepticism, which you have raised. They are your adversaries, and not mine, and I confess, were I of your principles, I should not know how to overcome them.

Out of this paragraph grew my last inquiry, which was, since the infallibility of the Church cannot reach me as an individual, any more than that of the Scriptures, how I could be profited any more by the one than the other? The Church has no better medium to make herself intelligible to me than the Evangelists and Apostles. Both must address me with words; and whether these words are conveyed to my mind

[26] *Vid. Fourth Letter of "Truth."*

through the medium of the eye or that of the ear, they are still the same. And with equal advantages of the medium of address, why may I not suppose that the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of an Evangelist or Apostle, could speak to me as intelligibly as by the mouth of a General Council or that of the Chief Pastor at Rome. Unless indeed there were some new revelations to be made, in which case, I acknowledge the infallibility of the organ of this new revelation would be essential.

But you ask me: "Suppose you err in mistaking the meaning of what you read?" To this I reply in your own words, on the same page with the question.—"Though God requires the belief of what he has revealed, he does not require an impossibility nor punish for an involuntary error. If this stupid creature cannot learn better, he is excusable when he does his best. This person is not voluntarily in error, because he went to the tribunal which God established, and if he did his best to learn from that tribunal, God required no more; the error is not voluntary, is not criminal." Now only let my "stupid creature" who cannot understand the Scriptures, be excused on as easy terms as your's who cannot understand the priest or the Church, and I will ask no better terms in his behalf. As to your "living tribunal," I have only to repeat that I am as liable to mistake its words as the words of Scripture.

Whether I belong to any Protestant denomination or not, affects not our present discussions. If it did, my name and the specific character of my religious sentiments should be instantly declared. Permit me however to assure you, that I am still willing to abide by the venerable Rule of Catholicism quoted in my last letter, though I cannot yet receive your Church as the infallible tribunal for its application. Only shew me on good authority, independent of the infallibility of the Church, that those peculiar doctrine of Roman Catholics which distinguish them from other Christians, rest upon divine authority, and I pledge myself instantly to embrace them by a public profession. Or, only first prove the fact that the Church is indeed infallible, and then I will cheerfully receive her testimony as abundant evidence of

TRUTH.

REPLY TO THIRD LETTER OF "TRUTH."

We are very anxious to make reparation for any mistakes which we occasionally commit. We acknowledge then, first, that we did mistake in writing that the fourth paragraph of our correspondent was hastily written. He says it was not: we believe him; but it would be as well to inform our correspondent that he would not have suffered any thing

in our estimation by the fact's being as we supposed. He stated: "Suppose the infallibility of the Catholic Church fully established," why, then it would, upon the suppostiion, be certainly infallible, "how am I to become infallibly assured that this attribute belongs to that body of Christians who maintain external communion with Rome?" Suppose there are thirty-nine Churches calling themselves each the Christian Church. I take infallibility, now fully established, as one mark of the Catholic Church. I go successively to thirty-eight, who all say, "We are not infallible." But I have found the Catholic Church certainly was what you say certainly you are not. The thirty-ninth says, "I certainly am infallible." We may admit the ingenuity of our correspondent. But we did hope he was in haste, when he wrote equivalent to this: "There are thirty-nine men, one of whom I am told by good authority, is my relative. I find neither of thirty-eight of them to be that relative; the thirty-ninth tells me that he is, but I must not believe him, because the others said that they were not related to me, and also can not prove that he is, although he does prove it himself." We were taught that when there was a good disjunctive proposition of which all the members except one were denied of the attribute, the remaining one must agree with it, if it was asserted originally that this attribute must agree with one or the other of the members. Our correspondent will be good enough to recollect that his difficulty could not arise until he should have found that some Christian Church was infallible. We look not for proof of our infallibility, but of its absence from others, in their disclaimer. We will also remind him that before we come to meet the tremendous evils which he so generously flings back upon us, we must also have settled the main question: "Is any Church infallible?" When that shall be disposed of, we promise him, his two difficulties will be very quickly dispatched. But as we love order, we shall begin at the beginning.

One guess however we made, in regard to which, we are left in uncertainty of its correctness—that our correspondent does not belong to any Protestant Church. Whether it would affect the present discussions, if he did, is a question as to the result of which we would not agree in his assertion. We now assume that he is not Protestant. Indeed he could not hold the principle which he laid down, if he were: but another question arises—does he believe in fact that God did reveal any doctrine? If he does, what is the doctrine? And upon what ground does he believe that God revealed it? These are questions which would also very materially aid in the discussion. At present, we know of no principle save one upon which he and we agree. That we shall advert to presently.

Now; before we proceed farther, we would beg to correct a few

mistakes as to fact, and what we consider to be mistakes as to principle, in the above Letter.

First, our correspondent took some very unnecessary trouble to shew that our arguing would be in a circle, if we argued, as, in fact, we did not argue. If he thought we argued so, he mistook; if we made the mistake, and did argue so, we shall feel obliged to him to exhibit the fact.

Next, when he says "It is only the infallible certainty of the fact which is established and not the infallible veracity of any one witness to that fact;" he mistakes our meaning when we wrote: "Therefore he has a correct declaration of the fact, there is no doubt upon his mind, because he has the testimony of an infallible witness, that is the whole body of persons, and circumstances taken as one, making him certain," and so forth.

There is such a thing as a bad disjunctive proposition, viz: where the enumeration of all the alternatives is imperfect. Such is the case here.

Besides establishing the truth of the fact, and the veracity of any one witness, there is what we stated to be, "knowing the truth of the fact because of the infallibility of the witness. And this infallibility was known from the nature of the witness—and this witness was not any one individual, but a collection of persons and circumstances taken as one—that is viewed together. Thus not only was the truth of the fact, but also the veracity of this aggregate witness, seen; and the impossibility that the fact should be otherwise, because of the infallibility of the witness.

Another mistake, we believe, is, to consider the evidence of the Christian system, as viewed in a general light, the same as the evidence of each special doctrine. Moral arguments would tend to establish the first; but nothing short of positive, direct testimony will exhibit proof of the last; because the question to be answered is, "What did God reveal?" This question is to be answered by undoubted testimony, not by highly probable conjecture. Our correspondent has confounded the two cases. Generally speaking, the mind must be satisfied of the high probability that a system is true, by good moral evidence, and then receives testimony of the special facts.

We believe our correspondent made another mistake, when he assumed, against the fact, that we argued the Church to be infallible, because we could prove by his admitted rule that she never did teach error. We think too respectfully of our correspondent to suppose that this mistake is not owing to haste in reading what we wrote. But we perhaps wrote obscurely. If he can shew that we argued as he insin-

uates, we shall retract and apologize. We certainly would not be correct in arguing that because an event has not occurred, therefore it never can occur:—the refutation of such a doctrine has nothing to do with the question.

We shall not now dwell at much length upon that passage of the Letter in which he makes one of his Protestant Churches say: "I am not infallible and yet I am certain of many truths. I may err, not only respecting the truths which I do not, but those also which I do know." Probably we should have to retract, did we assert this was written hastily—but we cannot understand its meaning, because it appears to us to lead to this absurdity—"I am certain, and yet I may err concerning that of which I am certain, that is, I am certain of that of which, I ought not to be certain because I ought not to be certain in a case where I might err." We believe that certainty excludes the possibility of error, and that the possibility of error excludes certainty.

We think there are a few other mistakes made by our correspondent; for instance when he understands "by moral certainty, only an indefinitely near approximation to truth," and then assumes that it means what we called "infallible certainty." We called our certainty by a very different name: "there can be no higher certainty," was our expression. Any approximation to truth must be something different from truth. Moral certainty, he calls only an approximation, therefore not what it does approximate; therefore, it is only indefinitely high probability of truth, but not certainty of truth. Now we distinguished these from each other, when we wrote "Certainty is an indivisible point: when I am certain, I have no doubt; when I have any doubt, I am not certain. Probability may be more or less; but we cannot have greater certainty and less certainty. We may approach nearer to certainty or be farther removed therefrom. In ordinary conversation we sometimes say we are certain of what is only highly probable. But when upon an important subject, such as the present, we use terms to convey accurate notions, we should not use them vaguely. We call certainty that conviction of the mind which does not admit any doubt whatever: this can never be created except by testimony, the truth of which admits no doubt whatever. Such testimony is correct in the strict sense of the word, that is, infallibly. If our position here be right, our correspondent will perceive that the entire of this third paragraph is founded upon a false assumption, viz: That he had certainty without infallible testimony." It was then a mistake in our correspondent to make us mean by "Certainty" what we actually declared we did not mean. We need not, to a mind like his, comment upon the consequences of this mistake. Even M. Claude

or M. Jurieu would acknowledge that there is something more than a change of words in a change of ideas.

Neither are we inclined to agree with our correspondent in his description of moral certainty. "I have a moral certainty of a fact, when I have all the evidence which the nature of the case will admit." Suppose the nature of the case admitted no evidence, I would have no evidence; and yet, having no evidence, I would have moral certainty; or, the nature of the case admits very scanty and imperfect evidence; I have scanty and imperfect evidence, and upon this I have moral certainty. This we are not prepared to admit. "Or as good evidence as I could reasonably expect, if the fact were true." We cannot for the same reasons admit this last clause of the description; this does not exhibit what we call moral certainty. We mean by "Moral Certainty" that certainty which is created by a knowledge of the manners and nature of men and things. By "certainty," we mean "that state of the mind which excludes doubt."

Having now set ourselves free from the mistakes to which we have drawn our correspondent's attention, we will mention a distinction well known amongst philosophers, regarding the meaning of "moral certainty." By it is sometimes meant "very high probability," or an indefinitely close approximation to truth, yet with a possibility of error. In this view, what we meant by "Certainty," or "Infallible Certainty," was not "Moral Certainty;" because that would admit some doubt, some possibility of error, which is totally incompatible with "Certainty;" or that state of the mind which admits of no doubt. But "Moral Certainty" is sometimes, and generally by philosophers, used for "Certainty;" that state of the mind which admits of no doubt; and is distinguished from metaphysical certainty only because of the difference of their origin, not of any difference of grade. Neither allows doubt; but the one is derived from the contemplation of the nature of its object; as in numbers, two and two make four, and cannot make five: moral certainty is derived from the contemplation of the manners, habits, and circumstances of men. Thus fifty surgeons testify to me that they have examined the body of a man whom I knew, and that he is dead; and one hundred persons who saw that body placed in a coffin and carried to the grave, and interred, testify to me that he was interred: he was a public officer of the state, and the proper authorities substituted a person in his stead, having declared his place vacated by death: I find his family in mourning, and his heirs in possession of his property: and I see the monument which has been erected to his memory: his death created the necessity of an inquest, and the coroner exhibits to me the proceedings,

which I find enrolled in the proper office—my certainty of his death cannot be greater than it is, nothing can increase it. I have no doubt, viewing the nature, the morals, and the circumstances of mankind, that this man must be dead:—it cannot be otherwise. The scepticism which would raise a doubt upon this could never be certain of any fact: it would be exact Pyrrhonism, into which, we trust, our correspondent has not fallen. Infallibility, in its passive sense, is the impossibility of being deceived; certainty is the absence of doubt. Perhaps we will be considered weak in admitting that, in this case, we would have infallible certainty. Our meaning being now we trust made clear, we briefly say —notwithstanding our correspondent's doubts upon the subject, there is faith upon the earth; but that faith cannot exist without an infallible witness to the fact which is believed—we deduce the necessity of such a witness from the nature of faith; and should our correspondent desire to continue his inquiry, we intreat him to pay his attention exclusively to this point first, and we promisse him, if he admits our definition of Faith, we will, when he shall have answered our argument, answer his objections, as many as he pleases; but as we love order, we must first require this argument to be solved.

"Faith is the belief of what God has revealed."

By belief we mean, an assent to the truth of a declaration known to have been made by God.

By "being known," we mean being certainly known, not being considered as highly probable.

Thus, when we say "we believe that there are three persons in the Godhead," we mean, "we are quite certain of the fact," not "we believe the fact to be highly probable," nor "we believe it indefinitely approximates to truth."

Faith is then founded upon certain knowledge; certain knowledge must be founded upon infallible testimony. Therefore faith cannot exist without infallible testimony of what God has revealed.

We humbly submit to our correspondent, that, if he differs from us in the definition of faith, we never can agree in any results which would be affected by that difference. If he agree with us in the definition, we would request him to confine his attention to our conclusion. If he will not admit it to be true and legitimately drawn, it would be useless to go farther, until that proposition would be disposed of. If he positively admit its truth, it might then be usefully applied; but, if our inquiry were now spread over too wide a field, we should soon become confused. Truth is best served by short and close examinations of successive propositions.

FOURTH LETTER OF "TRUTH."

SAVANNAH, Sept., 1825.

To the Editors:

In my last Letter your printer has done me injustice, or I must at least for once submit to the charge of having written hastily. I have no copy upon which to rely, and consequently cannot be certain whether the error is owing to the printer or myself. The sense of the passage, as it now appears in print, is incomplete, if it be not indeed wholly unintelligible.

The passage [27] is near the end of the third letter of "TRUTH." I will transcribe it, with the substance of what was or should have been added to convey the meaning for which it was designed. A period being placed before the first words, it should have read to this effect:

"My object was to shew, that if nothing short of strict or absolute infallibility could be a sufficient ground for faith, *then individual Roman Catholics must be as far removed from faith, as any others; unless this infallibility should extend to every individual who teaches and every one who is taught that Religion.* But only admit my principle that strict infallibility is not essential to faith, *which must be true*, if indeed, there be Faith on the earth; and then, these "inevitable results, which were so frightfully marshalled," and so forth—the rest is correct. The words in *italics*, or words of similar import, were or should have been inserted, to evince my meaning in the passage.

If the manuscript is not destroyed, and the mistake proves to be on the part of the printer, I beg you will have the goodness to correct it in some early number. If it occurred on the part of myself, I am content it should remain uncorrected.

It is not my design to intrude further upon your courtesy, in relation to this subject, nor is it my wish that you should publish this letter. For the attention you have bestowed upon the subject at my request, you will please to accept my thanks. I am convinced that minds, trained in different habits, cannot always see the truth in the same light. I beg you however to be assured that I have not designedly drawn erroneous inferences from any of your statements. My objections as stated, are such as appear to me really to be drawn from the natural meaning of what you wrote. If they are illegitimate or unsound, I shall always be glad to see them fairly met and confuted. I too have thought that my sentiments in some cases were not fairly stated in your replies—particularly when you make me say in your last reply, that moral certainty is

[27] See page 47.

only "an indefinitely near approximation to truth." By reference to my letter you will see I used the word infallibility and not truth, which in my mind materially alters the sense. But I am far from thinking you had any design to state the passage incorrectly. We cannot yet see alike. But we can, I trust, both believe in the same Lord, and seek to be guided by him into the way of all

TRUTH.

REPLY TO FOURTH LETTER OF "TRUTH."

Upon this letter, we have to state, that we do not consider the expression of our correspondent's absence of a wish that we should publish it, to be a prohibition of its publication; it is only declaring that he does not require its publication. Using our own discretion, therefore, we have published it, because we thought it proper, 1st, In order to give room for our explanation; and 2d, that we might not be charged with suppressing any, even the most trivial of the objections against us. We have had no opportunity of communicating with our correspondent, because we neither know who he is, nor how a letter could reach him; and his correspondence is not on any private business, for we know him only as a public writer.

He will acquit us of having suppressed the passage in question, when we inform him, that the compositor in our printing office set up his letter, from his own manuscript, without having any mark whatever upon it save as we got it from the Post Office; and without having any part taken from the two sheets upon which it was contained. That the correctors in the office, neither of whom is a Roman Catholic, compared it when set up with his MS. and that it was subsequently compared therewith by one of the Editors. In this last comparison, one line was found omitted, and was supplied. Of these facts, as well as that no wilful omission was made, our correspondent can, if he will, be satisfied by the evidence of those concerned. After the publication, the manuscript was put aside and has not yet been found.

The second change was not made in the letter: the text was given correctly; but in the comment, the word truth was substituted for infallibility, by that liberty which in reasoning frequently substitutes the words which must in the process of the statement mean the same idea. In this statement, "Moral certainty is an indefinitely near approximation to infallibility" must mean, if it has any meaning, that it is an approximation to what is "known to be infallibly true;" that is to "Truth." As we have supplied this, at his suggestion, we will claim that he shall allow

us to supply for ourselves, not to change, but to exhibit the process of our act. It would indeed be a very blundering mode of imposition on our part, to print his expression in his letter, if we meant to evade its force.

Now respecting his supply, we will suppose, against our conviction, that the omission was on the part of our compositor, and overlooked by our correctors and by ourselves. It will be perfectly immaterial, until the first argument shall have been admitted or answered; and with this argument our correspondent now appears to have done.

But suppose the Church infallible—we would say that certainty might be had from the teaching of a fallible instructor given under the view and by the authority of an infallible witness, who would be able and bound to correct the mistakes of the teacher, and we would shew that such is really the case in our Church. And thus, the individual Catholic would have infallible certainty, when others would not.

In taking our leave, we reciprocate the good wishes of our correspondent.

THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION

Letters Addressed to Rev. John Bachman, D.D.

[From the *United States Catholic Miscellany* for 1838.]

A NOTE FROM BISHOP ENGLAND.

CHARLESTON, Jan. 17, 1838.

To the Editors:

Gentlemen:—Will you be so good as to procure and insert, as soon as you can, in your paper, a copy of the Sermon preached in this city, on the 12th of last November, by the Rev. Doctor Bachman, "On the Doctrines and Discipline of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," and printed at the request of the Synod?

My object in making this request is, to let your readers peruse a discourse upon which I intend, God willing, to address a few letters through your columns to the Rev. Preacher; and I consider it but justice to him and to those who may read the letters, to have in the Rev. Gentleman's own words the statements upon which I shall comment.

In order that reference may be more easily and accurately made to the text itself, I request that you will number the paragraphs consecutively as they follow each other in the discourse.

I shall send you my first letter as soon as I find the sermon appear on your paper.

I am, gentlemen,
Your obedient servant, B. C.

Extract from the minutes of the Fourteenth Meeting of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod, of South Carolina, and adjacent States, convened at Charleston, on Saturday, November 11th, 1837.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to present the thanks of Synod to Rev. Dr. Bachman, for his appropriate, lucid and learned Discourse on the Doctrines and Discipline of our Church, on Lord's Day evening, and to request him to furnish a copy of the manuscript for publication, because the information contained in the Sermon is highly

important, to be communicated as soon as possible, to our respective congregations, and the religious world at large.

Ordered, Committee be composed of Rev. Dr. Hazelius, Messrs. Jacob F. Mintzing, Thomas Purse, and Henry Muller.

German Society Hall, Nov. 5, 1837.

Rev. Dr. Bachman,

Reverend and dear Sir,—It is our pleasing duty to offer you the thanks of Synod, for your able, lucid, and learned Discourse on the Doctrines and Discipline, of the Lutheran Church, and to request you to furnish that body with copy for publication.

With esteem, yours,

Ernest L. Hazelius,
Thomas Purse,
Jacob F. Mintzing, *Committee.*
Henry Muller,

Canonsborough, Nov. 16, 1837.

Rev. Dr. Hazelius, Messrs. Thomas Purse, Jacob F. Mintzing, Henry Muller, Committee.

Gentlemen,—I received your note, as a Committee appointed by the Synod, requesting a copy of my Sermon on the Doctrines and Discipline of the Church, for publication. As a minister of religion I regard my services at the disposal of the Church, and if it is conceived by my brethren, that the publication of my discourse will in any wise promote the cause of religion, it is at their disposal.

Yours, with esteem,

JOHN BACHMAN.

A SERMON ON THE DOCTRINES AND DISCIPLINE OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH; BY JOHN BACHMAN, D.D., PRESIDENT OF THE GENERAL SYNOD OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

Preached at Charleston, S. C., Nov. 12, 1837, by Appointment of the Synod of South Carolina and Adjacent States.

Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, for he is faithful that promised.—*Hebrews*, chap. 10, ver. 23.

1. In various passages of holy writ, faith is expressly enjoined as a duty—to the performance of it promises are annexed, and the neglect

of it is threatened with the anger and punishment of God. That the acceptance of it is a voluntary act on the part of man, we infer from several texts of Scripture where we are commanded to "believe on the Gospel"—to "believe on the Son," and also from the assurance that "those who believe not shall not see life." Were faith purely an involuntary act of the mind and the effect of mere physical necessity, a just and holy God would not accompany the performance or neglect of it either with sanctions or threatenings.

2. Faith, then, is the object of a command of God, enjoined upon mankind to perform. Were man incapable of its performance, the duty would not be enjoined since it would militate against the goodness and mercy of God;—then virtue which is nothing else but a voluntary obedience to truth, and sin which is a voluntary obedience to error, would be mere empty names.—When, therefore, the great Apostle to the Gentiles exhorts the Hebrew Christians to hold fast the profession of their faith without wavering, and urges the faithfulness of him that promised, he enjoins a duty which thus aided by the power and mercy of God, may be performed by all who enjoy an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

3. The voluntary and public profession of our faith is enjoined upon all true believers, and the Apostle in our text exhorts us to constancy and perseverance in the doctrines of the Gospel, when he urges us to "hold fast the profession of our faith."

4. He who has chosen a system of Christian doctrine, is presumed to have examined carefully the grounds of his faith, and to be able to give a reason of the hope that is in him. He who prizes his religion as he ought—who regards it as of inestimable value both to his present peace and future happiness, will carefully study its doctrines—strive to conform to the duty it enjoins, and cleave to its consolations and hopes through all the lights and shades of human life.

5. Having been appointed by this Synod to deliver a discourse on the doctrines and discipline of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, we will now endeavor, as far as we are able, to comply with this request.

6. That such expressions of our views of the doctrines and discipline of that branch of Christ's Church to which we profess to belong are not uncalled for at the present day, especially in America, we may infer from the fact that they appear to be but little understood by other denominations who have written on the subject, and that even many of our own people are but imperfectly acquainted with them. It is comparatively but of recent date, even within the remembrance of many of those who now hear us, that our religious services were first conducted

in the English language. Our clergy have since that period been so generally devoted to the pastoral duties, that little leisure has been afforded them to engage in the cares, anxieties and expenses of authorship. The few standard works by ministers of our Church that have from time to time appeared in our country, have confessedly not been sufficiently diffused among the mass of our population. In Germany, however, there never has been any deficiency in theological and devotional books; on the contrary, in that land of free inquiry, where all religious opinions are tolerated, provided they do not interfere with the laws of the State, the press has teemed with some of the most valuable, as well as some of the most dangerous, productions that have yet appeared: whilst on the one hand, the wretched system of philosophy adopted by some of their writers has led them to the very borders of infidelity, their Evangelical Divines have, as is universally acknowledged, presented the world with some of the most valuable works on almost every branch of Christian Theology that are now extant in any language. It is feared, however, that many years will pass away before this deficiency can be fully supplied in the language of our country. In the mean time it becomes the duty of the friends of our Church to furnish such aid as their experience and knowledge will permit, to enlighten the minds of our people on the true intent and meaning of the doctrines they profess to believe.

7. Time will not permit, even if it accorded with the objects of this address, to enter into detail of the various steps by which, under the Providence of God, the reformation of the Church was effected. Suffice it to say that if ever the hand of God was visible in carrying on a mighty reformation in the Church, by the instrumentality of men, destitute of power or wealth, opposed by the deep rooted prejudices, the personal interests and power of tyranny, it was that work.

8. Let not, however, the objects of Luther and the other reformers be misunderstood. They pretended not to establish a new religion till then unknown in the world—they wished to reform, to purify the Church from corruptions in doctrines, and from useless ceremonies which had been accumulating for ages, and to bring it back to the purity and simplicity of the Apostolic days. They sought not to establish a religion of their own, but to become the blessed instruments in the hands of God of restoring to its original beauty the new tarnished glories of the Church of the Redeemer. If one branch of the Protestant Church was called after Luther, and another after Calvin, to designate their peculiar creeds, it was not by their approbation or that of their friends. These names were given by their opponents. In the address of the

Elector of Saxony, and others, the friends and coadjutors of Luther to the Emperor, they used the following sentiments expressive of their views on this subject: "The doctrines of Luther we only receive as far as they agree with the word of God. On this word we ground ourselves, and not on the person or doctrines of a man, let him be Luther or any other person, because all men may err. We will therefore be judged only by the word of God." Those who hold the sentiments of our Church in Europe and America, desire to be denominated the Evangelical Church.

9. The reformation openly commenced in Germany in the year 1517. Luther was still a monk, and a sincere Roman Catholic, but having carefully and prayerfully perused the Scriptures, desired only to correct what he regarded the abuses in that Church, and had not at that time any intention of separating himself from her communion and worship. His mind became gradually more and more enlightened as he advanced from step to step, until June, 1530, the memorable Confession of the Reformers was presented to the Diet of Augsburg. It contained twenty-eight articles, twenty-one of which represent the religious creed of the Reformers, and the remainder are levelled at the errors and abuses that led them to a separation from the Church of Rome. It was not until that period that the doctrines of the reformation can be said to have been clearly defined.

10. We do not desire to be understood that Luther was the only human agent that God at this time raised up to effect a reformation in the Church. There were indeed a concurrence of providential circumstances, all tending to the same great event. A memorable drama was to be acted on the theatre of the world, in an age when the art of printing, the winged commerce of the mind, had just been discovered—When a constellation of the greatest monarchs occupied the thrones of Europe; when Charles the Fifth was Emperor of Germany—when Francis the First was King of France—when Henry the Eighth was King of England—when Solyman had ascended the Ottoman throne, and Leo the Tenth was the Roman Pontiff. It was in an age when Cardinal Wolsey bore sway in England, and Cajetan in Germany. An age when Calvin, Beza, Melancthon, Erasmus and Luther acted each a conspicuous part. That the talents and the moral courage of Luther, however, together with the simplicity and purity of his life, enabled him to become a principal leader in this great moral revolution no one, in this enlightened age, will be disposed to deny; and that this reformation has proved a blessing to the world every Protestant will cheerfully admit.

11. Having made those preliminary and somewhat desultory re-

marks, we proceed to enumerate, and in a few instances to explain, the articles of the Augsburg Confession, which contain the fundamental principles of our faith—which have been made the groundwork of the thirty-nine articles in the Episcopal Church, and which with some variations, contain the principles of all Protestant denominations.

12. The 1st article treats of God—of three persons in the Godhead, who are of the same essence and power, and are co-eternal, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The 2d teaches the natural depravity of man. The 3d, the Divinity of Christ, his incarnation, death, and atonement for sinners. The 4th is on justification, that men are not justified by their own works or merits, but through faith in Christ. The 5th on the ministerial office. The 6th on renewed obedience, or the good fruits or good works which are the results of a true faith.—The 7th of the Church, showing that the Holy Christian Church is a congregation of the faithful, in which the Gospel is purely preached, and his holy sacraments administered agreeably to Christ's ordinance. The 8th, who are the Members that compose the Church. The 9th and 10th on baptism and the holy supper. The 11th on confession and forgiveness of sins. The 12th on the nature and duty of repentance. The 13th on the number and use of the sacraments. The 14th and 15th on Church government and ordinances. The 16th on political governments. The 17th on the future judgment. The 18th on free will. The 19th on the cause of sin. The 20th on faith and good works. The 21st on the adoration of saints: in which it is shown that whilst we hold in remembrance the virtues of the good and pious who have gone before us, we are neither to invoke or adore them. The remaining seven articles are taken up in enumerating the corruptions of the Church from which the Reformers had separated themselves, and are not usually printed with our formulas. They are included under the following heads: The communion in one form—the wine among Roman Catholics being denied to the laity—the celibacy of the priests which in many instances has led to licentiousness—the sacrifice of the mass—auricular confession—the diversity of meats—monastic vows—the powers of Bishops and Clergy. These errors and abuses are now regarded in the same light by all Protestant Christians.

13. With regard to the majority of the doctrines contained in the Augsburg Confession, nearly all orthodox Protestants agree with us, and have adopted our sentiments, and to these it will be unnecessary to refer more particularly. A few of our articles, however, have been misrepresented, or are misunderstood, and require fom us no concealment, but a fair and a candid expression of the sentiments of the

Church. This seems to be more particularly called for at the present time, when errors of doctrine which we regard as dangerous to morals and religion are inculcated, and in some places attempted to be palmed on the community as the true doctrines of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Some years ago several individuals residing in North Carolina, who had previously been members of our Church, on account of some dissatisfaction separated themselves from our communion. They chose as a leader an individual by the name of Hinkel, (hence are called Hinkelites,) a weak and illiterate man, whose ground of dissent, as far as can be gathered from the crude, visionary, and inflammatory publications, which have from time to time appeared either under his name or that of his sect, was that the Evangelical Church had departed from the true doctrines of the reformation, which he and his Church attempted to restore. As these individuals are unconnected with us, we consider it unnecessary to notice all their errors, such as their opposition to Synods, to Sunday School, Bible, Missionary, and Temperance Societies, and so forth, but shall confine ourselves to those doctrines which they profess to have derived from the Lutheran Church. They may be classed under the three following heads: 1st, that baptism is regeneration; 2d, that in the Lord's Supper the elements become the actual flesh and blood of Christ; and thirdly, that the participation of the sacraments entitles us to salvation. These sentiments so directly opposed to the Gospel of Christ, and the express declaration of the Reformers, and fraught with so much evil, were immediately denounced by all the members of our Church as unscriptural, and not warranted by any article in our creed. No Synod in our country has ever acknowledged or given countenance to this sect. They had taken possession of some of our Churches in North Carolina, from which they were excluded, by a decision of the court as having departed from the Lutheran Church. Years of contention, bitterness and strife, ensued, and the lovers of order and peace were deeply grieved at the injury which the cause of true religion had sustained. In the process of time, as their doctrines became better understood, their numbers greatly declined in North Carolina. At present they have established themselves in Tennessee, and designate themselves as the Tennessee Conference. There in the abodes of obscurity we would have willingly left this declining and unenlightned sect, with the charitable hope and prayer that God might enlighten their minds, and restore them to purity of faith, and righteousness of life. But the evil has recently come nearer to us than we had at first anticipated. Their ministers and their doctrines have been introduced into the very bosom of some of our Churches, which till now have been

in regular connexion with this Synod. Under these circumstances the duty which we owe to the flock over which we are appointed the overseers, is enjoined on us to defend the doctrines of our faith and to preserve our people, as far as we are able, from the influence of error. But whilst we contend earnestly for the divine principles of truth in our Master's cause, we should beware lest our zeal even in a good cause may lead us to lose sight of those sentiments of charity, which constitute the most important features in the Christian character. We are living in a land of Christian liberty, where every variety of sentiment is tolerated by our laws. The cause of truth has gained nothing either by violence or abuse. In order to reform our erring fellow men, we must convince their judgments and endeavor to exhibit in our lives and characters those principles which will evidence the purity of our motives. We will then endeavor to show from that holy volume to which Luther, Melancthon, and the learned and pious Reformers ever resorted for light and knowledge, that their doctrines are unscriptural, and that the sentiments they promulgate are not contained in the articles of our Church or in the writings of the Reformers. Whilst, therefore, we feel no disposition to persecute them for the opinions they entertain, we wish to convince them and all others, that there is an evident act of injustice in advocating sentiments as coming from the Reformers which are directly opposed throughout the whole tenor of their writings.

14. 1st. Then let us inquire whether the Holy Scriptures any where inculcate the belief that baptism is regeneration.

We will first endeavor to explain those passages of Scripture that are usually urged in favor of this doctrine. In a conversation with Nicodemus, (*John*, chapter 3) our Saviour instructs him as to the nature of the new birth, or regeneration. In the 3rd verse he says "except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." The meaning in the original is, except a man be born from above. Every man must have two births, one from the earth which enables him to see the light, and experience the enjoyments of this world, and one from above, which fits him for the kingdom of glory hereafter. Nicodemus could not comprehend how a man could be born when he was old. Our Lord then reiterates his first declaration with an addition,—"Except a man be born of water and the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." —When men became converted to the Christian religion they were admitted by water baptism as members of the Church of the Redeemer. But the water which was used was only an emblem of the Holy Spirit. This baptism admitted them into the visible kingdom of God—into the family of believers. Something more was necessary, and our Saviour

taught Nicodemus that in order to be prepared for the invisible kingdom of God he must be born of the Spirit—his heart must be converted to God by the divine influence from above. If baptism alone was regeneration why does the Saviour lay such stress on the necessity of a new birth, as effected by the Holy Spirit? In the 16th chapter of *Mark*, after our Lord had given his commission to his Apostles, to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature, he tells them, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned." "He that believeth"—that accepts this Gospel as a revelation from God—"and is baptized"—that is, makes an open profession of it in the way which God has instituted, by baptism—"shall be saved;"—"but he that believeth not"—that is, he that yields no faith or obedience to this Gospel, (and here no reference is made to baptism)—"shall be damned"—because he rejects the Gospel, the only provision that could be effectual in saving his soul. The following passage contained in Paul's *Epistle to Titus*, chapter 3, verse 5, has also been brought forward as evidence in favor of their doctrine: "According to his mercy he saved us by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost." If these words have reference to the ordinance of baptism, they can only mean that baptism which Christ has established in his Church, is symbolical of that change of the heart which is necessary to salvation. Thus far, therefore, we find nothing in the holy Scriptures that can warrant us in believing so dangerous a doctrine.

15. But let us inquire in what manner were men under the Gospel dispensation converted to God. When the Apostles received their commission, they were commanded to preach the Gospel to every creature, and baptism was to be an evidence of their faith, and not faith the result of baptism. They preached first repentance and faith, and then enjoined the duty of baptism. We read that Lydia was baptized, but not until the Lord had opened her heart. The Jailer was baptized in consequence of his faith. Paul was not baptized until after he had been converted in a miraculous manner. And when the Eunuch said to Philip, see here is water, what doth hinder me to be baptized, Philip replied, if thou believest with all thy heart thou mayest.

16. If the doctrine were true that baptism is regeneration, then all those vast hordes of Indian captives that were driven to the baptismal font, by Cortes, Pizarro, and their infamous hosts of plunderers, who held over them the sword in one hand and the cross in the other, must have been suddenly converted from heathenism to the truth faith, and been fitted for the kingdom of God, and the world has been unjust

in censuring them for crimes, which, however great may have been the tortures they inflicted on their fellow men, were yet the instruments of saving their souls.

17. Thus far we have only taken into consideration the persons of adults, who had been converted and baptized. But the individuals who have adopted these unscriptural sentiments, are, in common with us, advocates of infant baptism. Among the Jews the proselytes from heathenism were baptized as well as their children, and in the New Testament we read that whole families were baptized; witness those of the Jailer at Philippi—of Lydia and Stephanus; and we are no where told that children were excluded. A vast majority of the Christian world has acknowledged a belief in the necessity of infant baptism, and our opponents are equally strenuous with ourselves on this subject. If baptism is regeneration, why does not every child baptized in infancy, henceforth walk with God, and lead a devoted pious life. Now is this the fact? Have we not on the contrary the most unquestionable evidence, from the conduct of thousands of young persons, that their hearts are yet unchanged—that they are still in the gall of bitterness, and in the bonds of iniquity?

18. We now have, we think, conclusively shown, that this doctrine is every where opposed by the letter and meaning of the Scriptures; it may, however, he inquired, is it not countenanced by the creed of our Church, from whence it is pretended to be derived? We answer, let the language of our Confession speak for itself. The following is the whole of our article on baptism:

19. "Concerning baptism, our Churches teach that it is a necessary ordinance, that it is a means of grace, and ought to be administered also to children, who are thereby dedicated to God, and received into his favor."

20. Here then it is plainly declared that baptism is only the means of grace, and in conformity to these views, our Churches, both in Europe and America, teach no other doctrine, and feel themselves authorized, from the Scriptures, and the articles of faith, to declare that baptism is not regeneration.

21. The next error which is pretended to be sanctioned by the doctrines of our Church, is, that which the Reformers opposed by all the force of argument, and by all the authority of the plainest interpretations of the word of God. "That in the Lord's Supper the elements become the actual flesh and blood of Christ."

22. This, as well as the last, is a doctrine of the Roman Catholic

Church. It is contained in the decision of the Council of Trent, (*Concil. Trid.* Sess. xiii, cap. iv,) in these words:

23. "If any one shall deny that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, there are contained, truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ, and say that it is only as a sign or figure, or by his influence—he is accursed."

24. According to this doctrine the priest is supposed to possess the miraculous power, by pronouncing these four words—*Hoc est corpus meum*—(this is my body,) of converting a piece of bread, in the form of a wafer, into the real body and blood, soul and divinity, of Jesus Christ.

Among persons of plain common sense, especially among the Protestants, it is scarcely necessary to expose the absurdity of this doctrine by serious argument. Our own senses give us the most positive evidence of its untruth; we see, we feel, we taste and smell, that what was bread and wine before consecration, is bread and wine still. If a man can once bring his mind to believe such a doctrine, he must have arrived at a state of credulity that will render him incapable of deciding between truth and error. "It is a doctrine," as Dean Swift says, "the belief of which makes every thing else unbelievable." And before an audience, like that which has favored us with their attention this evening, it is unnecessary to enter into those arguments which reason suggests, and the evidences with which the Scriptures abound, to prove its absurdity and error.

26. But it will be inquired, what were the sentiments of the early Reformers of the Church on this subject, and especially of Luther who was slow in laying aside the errors in which he had been educated; who commenced writing and publishing as soon as he discovered the abuses in the Romish Church; but whose mind was for a long time shackled by early prejudices, and trammelled by the education and habits of monastic life. Let us deal as honestly with Luther as he dealt with himself. He renounced towards the close of his life, several of the doctrines which he had advocated at an earlier period. In an address, written in the evening of his days, he says, "I entreat you to read my writings with cool consideration, and even with much pity. I wish you to know that when I began the affair of indulgences, I was a monk, and a most mad papist. I went seriously to work, as one who had a horrible dread of the day of judgment, and who from his inmost soul, was anxious for salvation. You will find, therefore, in my earlier writings, many things of which I do not now approve." It will, conse-

quently, not be difficult to find in the writings of Luther, previous to 1530, some things in favor of errors, which he afterwards renounced, and which the church to which he was attached subsequently brought nearer to Scripture truth. And this was in conformity to his dying commands. "Many things," said he, "are yet to be made better. We have only made the beginning, and we have retained some customs for fear of giving offence to weak minds. They that come after us we hope will be enabled, by the spirit of God to do more."

27. Let us, however, see what Luther says of a doctrine to which, or to a kindred one, he is said to have been favorable.

28. It will be recollected that Henry VIII, who was then a Papist, made an attack on Luther, for which he received from the Pope the title of Defender of Faith. His treatise was in Latin, of which we have seen no English translation. We have endeavored to give the literal meaning of a few extracts, as well as a translation of Luther's answer, which was written in German.

29. Henry says, "Doth not he (Luther), say that he does no violence to the word of God, when he declares that what Christ calls bread, and what he declares to be wine, means no more than wine. We acknowledge that it was bread when he took it, but we deny that it was any longer bread when he made it into his body."

30. To this Luther replies. (See Luther's *Works*, vol. 19, p. 321-2, Walch's edition, 1740.) "I have established myself on the word of Christ, who speaks by the Evangelist. He took bread and said, take and eat, this is my body; Paul says, I *Cor.* chapter 10 and verse 16, the bread that we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? Now, what God calls bread, man ought not to deny that it is only bread." (p. 323): "You say the words are plain, this is my body; they are indeed plain, but they do not say that it ceases to be bread, but on the contrary, that it is bread. For the words "this is," points to the bread, and the words "he took, he blessed, he gave," all refer to the bread which he held in his hand: and of that which he had taken in his hand, which he blessed and brake, and gave to them,—he says, "this is my body." Therefore, that these words in every construction of language, point to the bread, is clear to all but the blind sophists, who do no more than pervert the language.

31. Whilst on the subject of this answer to the King, we may be pardoned for a momentary digression. It is said by several writers, that in this reply, Luther forgot the courtesy that was due to royalty. We admit the fact. Luther had no great respect for the character of Henry, and was unfavorably impressed with regard to his religious sin-

cerity, and after events proved that he had not mistaken his character. But we must make some allowance for the age in which the combatants lived, and the provocation which this vacillating and tyrannical monarch gave the Reformer. His book, which was dedicated to Leo Tenth, concludes in these words: "Finally, let us, with all the fury with which we have opposed the Turks, Saracens and Infidels, stand up against this one man, who, though weak in power, holds sentiments far more dangerous than all Turks, Saracens and Infidels."

32. And in a letter to Charles Fifth, he exhorts him "to destroy Luther and his books, by fire, by power and the sword, and to tear out by the roots a pestilence which to all future times shall be hated and accursed."

33. That a man, who, in all but truth and talents was weak and powerless, should feel indignant that a foreign king was using all his influence among the monarchs of Europe to cause him to be burnt, as well as the books which contained the sentiments of the Reformation, which he valued more than life itself, cannot surprise those who are acquainted with human nature; and that he should in his turn rebuke the royal theologian in no measured phrases, may be easily conceived by those who are acquainted with the fearless character of the Reformer.

34. But we will return once more to the sentiments of Luther on the doctrine of transubstantiation. Volume 17, page 729, of his *Works*, he speaks of "*Den irrthum von der transubstantiation daraus viel abgoetterey gefolgt*:" "the error of transubstantiation which is followed by much idolatry:" and in the Smalcaldian Articles, which were written by Luther himself, and are found in his volume 16, page 2358, we find these words:

35. "Of transubstantiation we do not regard the deceitful sophistry of those who teach that bread and wine lose their natural substance, and only preserve the appearance and color of bread, without being real bread. For it accords best with the meaning of the Scriptures, that the bread remains bread, as St. Paul himself says, "the bread that we break," and also, "eat ye of this bread."

36. Whilst, however, all the Reformers agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, they unfortunately differed among themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead, and Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Zuinglius, and others, all had their peculiar views, in which there may be traced considerable shades of difference, as well as obscurity. The language of Christ at the institution being highly figurative. "This is my body," led the majority to adopt the sentiment that the Saviour's spiritual body was present in the Eucharist. What

they meant by this spiritual presence, can perhaps be best shown by a quotation from the writings of a learned modern divine.—Schmucher's *Popular Theology,* pages 248-9.

37. "That agreeably to the declarations of the Apostle Paul, all human bodies will experience a very great change at death, and prior to the resurrection in their glorified form. The extent of this change, they regarded as such, that although enough of the old body would remain, to serve as the basis of identity, (its substance or essence,) its properties would be entirely changed, and it would no longer be subject to the laws and limitations which now regulate matter. In this sense they understood the declarations of the Apostle, that the glorified body shall be incorruptible and immortal, yea, so highly refined in its properties of a spirit, and may justly be called a spiritual body. Now it cannot be denied that the body of the Saviour has also experienced the change described by Paul, nay, that it is endowed with properties still higher than those which the glorified body of the Saints will possess; and that it was, therefore, even less restricted by laws which now regulate the matter known to us."

38. "With these premises, their view of this subject may be advantageously stated thus:

"The bread and wine remain in all respects unchanged; but the invisible and glorified body and blood of Christ are also actually present at the celebration of the Eucharist, and exert an influence on all those who receive the bread and wine; not indeed present in that form, nor with those properties which belonged to the Saviour's body on earth, as visibility, tangibility, and so forth; these it no longer possesses, but present with the new and elevated properties which now belong to its grorified state."

39. This then is the extent of Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation, or subpanation as it has been sometimes, but improperly, called. The views of Melancthon were, that the Saviour was merely virtually or influentially present in the sacrament. Many other Lutheran divines believe that, "whilst the bread and wine are merely symbolical representations of the Saviour's absent body, by which we are reminded of his suffering, there is also a peculiar and spiritual blessing bestowed on all worthy communicants. In fact, the Lutheran Church has, for a century past, ceased to agitate this question—leaving its members to follow the dictates of conscience agreeably to the light of Scripture. This we are authorized to do without a departure from the creed of our church, since at our ordination, in this country especially, we only profess to believe, "that the fundamental articles of the word of God

are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession."

40. Have we not a right then to appeal to the candor and liberality of our Protestant brethren, between whose faith and ours the difference is so slight that it can scarcely be detected. What if some of our members believe that the spiritual body of their risen and ascended Saviour be present in the sacrament, and after their rejection of transubstantiation, it can only be present in a spiritual manner, does our article differ materially from the creeds of other churches? In the confession of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, we find the following words: "We confess that Jesus Christ nourishes us in the Holy Supper with his true body and blood, and that he really and verily communicates to us what he therein represents." (See Risler's *Extracts.*) Calvin in his Institute, says, "I therefore maintain that in the mystery of the Supper, by the emblems of bread and wine, Christ is really exhibited to us; that is his body and blood, in which he yielded full obedience, in order to work out a righteousness for us; by which we may, in the first place, become united with him into one body; and secondly, being made partakers of the substance of himself, also be strengthened by the reception of every blessing."—Calvin's *Institut.* book iv, chapter xvii.

41. The Episcopal Church, in her 28th article, holds the following language: "It," (the Supper of the Lord,) "is a sacrament of redemption by Christ's death, insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we take is a partaking of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ." In the same article she rejects the doctrine of transubstantiation, and then adds, "The body of Christ is given, taken and eaten in the Supper, only after a spiritual and heavenly manner." The most strenuous followers of Luther in advocating our creed, even according to the letter—"that the body and blood of Christ are actually present under the emblems of bread and wine"—do not contend for more than this.

42. We proceed to the third, and last error, which has been adopted by those who profess to have derived the doctrine from the creed of the Lutheran Church, viz: "That in partaking of the sacraments we become entitled to salvation." We have, in discussing the two previous heads, already shown, at least in part, that this doctrine is unscriptural. The Scriptures every where assure us, that the Gospel is the great instrument of regeneration. The Gospel (says St. Paul,) is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. Being born again (says St.

Peter,) not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God. And we ask, were not Simon Magus, Hymenæus, Philetus, Phygellus, and Hermogenes, all baptized, even by inspired ministers? Were not the gross transgressors in the seven Churches of Asia, once baptized, and communicants?—and did not Judas receive from the hand of the Saviour himself the sacrament, and was he not of the devil—and did he not die the miserable death of a suicide?

43. But what say our articles, "Baptism (as we have already shown) is the means of grace." In the 13th article, on the use of the sacraments, we read these words:

"Concerning the use of the sacraments, our churches teach, that they were instituted not only as marks of a Christian profession amongst men, but rather as signs and evidences of the divine disposition towards us, tendered for the purpose of exciting and confirming the faith of those who use them. Hence the sacraments ought to be received with faith in the promises which are exhibited and proposed by them. They, therefore, condemn those who maintain that the sacraments produce justification in their receipts as matters of course, (*ex opere operato*,) and who do not teach that faith is necessary, in the reception of the sacraments, to the remission of sins."—Schmucher's *Translations.*

The meaning of this article is so evident that it seems to require no further illustration.

44. Brethren, we have detained you long in an explanation of the unscriptural nature and dangerous tendency of doctrines which few of those who now hear us, could have supposed would have found advocates among those who profess to be Protestants. Were we addressing the stated worshippers of this church alone, we should consider these arguments and illustrations as superfluous. But we are surrounded by our ministering brethren, and the delegates from other portions of our church, and by some of those who have had an opportunity of seeing, and who in common with us, feel and lament the demoralizing effects which the dissemination of such unscriptural doctrines are calculated to produce. To them we would say, in the language of the Apostle in our text, "Hold fast the profession of your faith without wavering, for he is faithful that promised." "You have a Bible, and the sentiments and prayers of good men, on your side,—be not dismayed." "The Lord is our defence, and God is the rock of our refuge." He will never abandon his people or his church. In the spirit of your Master, go on fearlessly, but meekly, humbly and prayerfully, in the performance of duty. Let us evince an increased spirit of devotion, of watchfulness and prayer, and the Providence of God

may yet overrule these dark and discouraging events, to the benefit of his church and the glory of his name.

45. The remaining doctrines of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, seem to require no particular explanation, since the most important and essential ones have been adopted by all other Protestant Churches.

46. We do not believe in the doctrine of unconditional election. We practise the rite of confirmation as a mode of admitting members into the church, accompanied by the profession of faith, but we do not regard confirmation as a sacrament. Our Church Government if of a simple form, corresponding in this respect with the republican institutions of our land. We recognise but one order of clergy, and our laity have an equal right in the administration of the affairs of the church. For the sake of order we are governed by Synods. Our officers are elected by their brethren, and hold their offices during a limited term. We have no objections to the name of Bishop, as the overseer of the church. For we have such overseers, that go under the names of Bishops, Presidents, or Superintendents; but we have not been able to convince ourselves that any additional powers can be granted him by re-ordination.

47. Our church has never desired the aid of the State, in support of its ministers. The cry of danger to our free institutions, in a supposed attempt at a union of Church and State, has sometimes been raised in this country, by the enemies of religion; but it will be easily seen, that from the nature of things, this would be impossible, even if the attempt were made. The different views among the various denominations, and sectional prejudices, would present an insurmountable obstacle; but above all, our Church, from the principles we hold, could never harbor such an idea,—or even if it did, the smallness of our number clearly shows its utter impractability, and the charge, if ever made in earnest, is too absurd to require refutation. Nor is it likely that Synods will pass any law oppressive to the people. The Church is represented by an equal number of ministers and lay-delegates—the latter being annually elected by the people. We are governed by a constitution which cannot be altered, but by a slow process—after a considerable lapse of time for deliberation—and not without a final assent by the people. The discipline to which our ministers and members are subjected, is that which they themselves consent to adopt, for the sake of order. This discipline is certainly opposed to vice in every form; but it is not intended to discountenance free inquiry, and it has ever been the practice, both among ministers and people, to communicate their thoughts freely to each other, without the danger of being suspected as heretics. We believe, however, that the best discipline

for the walk and conversation of man, comes from a renewed heart, and that without this our strictest rules are unavailing. We do not desire to deprive our people of their rights and liberties; but as order in God's house is necessary, such rules are formed for the government of its members, as the collected wisdom and piety of the church may conceive necessary to its purity and prosperity. In the calls, which we are frequently obliged to make on our people, for pecuniary aid, to support those operations which are deemed necessary to the advancement of religion, we do not seek our own, but the public good. When we ask their assistance in supporting institutions, designed by the blessing of God to prepare Christian laborers in that field, from which we will ere long be removed,—when we solicit them to aid in supporting Sunday Schools, and to send the Bible and the Missionary to those who are living in darkness, ignorance and sin, we are but acting in accordance with the commission we have received, to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which enjoins upon us the duty of remembering the poor and ignorant, and of promoting benevolence and mercy among men. In thus performing our duty, our people will not blame us, for we ask it not for ourselves. From the little that we have, we give it freely to the same objects. The ministers of our church are proverbially poor; we do not complain of our lot; we were fully aware of it when we assumed our offices,—but could our people enter into the details of the anxieties and cares, and the struggles of adversity, of nine-tenths of their clergy, they would, at least withhold the cruel charge, that our profession is chosen, or pursued, for the sake of gain.

48. We have endeavored to give a hasty sketch of the doctrines and discipline of the Evangelical Lutheran Church—a Church that made the first successful opposition to the corruptions and intolerance of that of Rome; for although Wickliffe, Huss and Jerome of Prague, have inveighed against these corruptions, yet the hand of power had been imbrued in their blood—the minds of men had been left in deeper gloom, and the darkness of error had covered all the earth. It was Luther and his fellow laborers in the great cause of the Reformation of the Church, that came forward fearlessly, armed by the panoply of truth, cheered by the prophecies and hopes contained in the book of God, and pledged in that fearful contest their lives and all that earth holds dear and all their Heaven. The labors of their gigantic minds, and the fervent piety of their devoted hearts, ended only with their lives. But they lived long enough to witness the dawn of brighter days—to behold deep rooted in the hearts of men those principles, which in the process of time, would give religious toleration to the human race. And can

it be denied, that our venerable Church is the Mother of Protestants? That her doctrines and her principles have formed the ground work of the creeds and sentiments which govern our brethren of other denominations, who, although there may be shades of difference in our faith and forms of worship, must still acknowledge, that in the essential doctrines of the Reformation we all agree.

49. We would not be so uncharitable as to believe that our Protestant brethren would intentionally misrepresent our doctrines. A Church which has ever exercised charity and brotherly kindness to its brethren of other denominations, has a right to claim that her doctrines and her principles should be weighed with all that candor which we ought to bring to the investigation of religious truth. Yet from some cause, —probably the want of correct information as to our creed,—we are sometimes charged with entertaining superstitious notions; and in a comparatively recent work, (Buck's *Theol. Dictionary*,) which is a standard book, in the hands of all denominations, it is stated that "The Lutherans, of all Protestants, are said to differ least from the Romish Church."

50. Now we would ask in all fairness and candor, whether we are deserving of this charge? And wherein are we more like the Romish Church than any other Protestants? Is it in our doctrines? And would it not be well first to inquire, what important tenet do other Protestants hold which has not been derived from our Church? What is there in the doctrines of the followers of Calvin but his decrees, that has not been borrowed from us? And what are they in the thirty-nine articles, save that of Episcopacy, and in the sentiments of the excellent form of prayer of the Episcopal Church, that has not, in a great measure, come from the same source? Has not one of their most cherished divines, Bishop Laurence, a high dignitary of the Episcopal Church, recently shown in his Bampton Lectures, and acknowledged with pleasure and gratitude, that all their essential articles, as well as many of their forms of devotion were almost literal translations from the writings of Melancthon, Luther, and their coajutors?

51. The following is his language: "They (meaning their articles,) were neither the productions of Parker nor the convocation"— "they were not borrowed from any Calvinistical or Zuinglian, but from a Lutheran creed." "Their resemblance, (he continues,) was not confined to a mere affinity of idea, or the occasional adoption of an individual expression; but in some cases entire extracts were copied, without the slightest omission, or minutest variation. In the first compilation many prominent passages were taken from the Augsburg, and in the

second, from the Wirtemburg Confessions. These were Lutheran."—Laurence's *Bampton Lectures*, pages 42 and 43.

52. Are we most like the Roman Catholics in the power of the priesthood, and the pomp and parade of our religious worship! Our ministers preclude themselves from holding any offices in the State. We have no over-grown hierarchy—the Church is destitute of wealth or of power—its pastors are chosen by the people—its temples are without images or imposing pictures, and its forms of worship are of the simplest kind. Do we differ least from them in the intolerant and persecuting spirit of that Church? And where, we ask, has the Lutheran Church ever betrayed a spirit of intolerance? When the dangerous fanatics of Munster created disturbances in Thuringia, Moravia, and Switzerland, Luther, although he opposed their sentiments, labored to stay the arm of persecution. "It is not right," said he, "to persecute, to murder, to burn and destroy, such poor people, on account of their religious tenets. We should let every one believe what he thinks right!" And to the Council of Nuremberg, he wrote, "I am always opposed to the shedding of blood for the sake of religion, and I shall never give my vote to persecute those whom we suppose to be false teachers."

53. After passing through the most memorable struggle that ever signalised any age, save that at the first introduction of the Christian faith by the Son of God, and after having endured with fortitude, the persecutions of bigotry and power, our Church at last became triumphant, and her doctrines were established as the national religion of Prussia, Denmark and Sweden. Mark the temper she exhibited in the day of triumph. She commenced no retaliation against he persecutors. She encouraged no bitter spirit of revenge. Her former opponents of the Romish Church were allowed to dwell unmolested in the land, there, to this day, their temples and their monasteries remain, as the monuments of the toleration of our Church.

54. Do we differ least from them in withholding the word of God from the common people? He who has ever visited Germany cannot have failed to remark, that every Protestant family, nay, every individual of that family, from the King down to the humblest peasant, possesses a copy of the Scriptures; nor can he easily forget the deep veneration with which that sacred volume, the rule of their faith and life, is regarded. It descends, as a rich treasure, from parents to children, and is often their only legacy. The rest of the Protestant world, in preferring their own language and forms of worship, may perhaps place but a light value on the services of the great Reformer; but the Germans will never forget who it was that translated their Bible, and

composed many of those sublime hymns, which have been read and sung for the last three hundred years, in every temple, and in the habitation of every Christian family, from the mountain tops to the lowest valley —that have accompanied the shepherd to the hills, the peasant to his fields, and the emigrant to distant lands. The German does not easily forget his father-land, but should it ever occur that in the lapse of time, and under changes of circumstances, his early recollections of home and country should fade from his memory, yet as long as his language remains, and his Bible and devotional songs are dear to his heart, the memory and services of Luther will not die.

55. Do we differ least from them in advocating their principles? 'Tis true we do not lend a willing ear to every idle tale promulgated by bigotry, against the morals of their priests and people, but we do not countenance their errors. And who would charge the Lutheran Church of all others, with advocating the system of papacy? The persecutions, the trials, and sufferings, of her Reformers, and the labors of their mighty minds will be handed down, by history, to the end of time: nor will her struggles in the cause of truth be ever forgotten, so long as the heroic language of Luther shall be remembered, who when summoned before the diet of Worms, and commanded to recant his opinions, fearlessly refused in the spirit of a willing martyr, declared, in the face of the assembled multitude, that were thirsting for his blood, "Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise—God help me."

56. But, it may be inquired, has God in an especial manner favored this branch of the Christian Church with his presence? Have the number of her professors increased? Has she contributed her means in forwarding the benevolent operations of the day, and has she aided in the dissemination of the Scriptures, and in carrying to destitute and desolate regions, the religion of the cross? To this we answer, that the sentiments of our Church have, in Europe, been adopted by Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Lapland, Finland, and parts of France, Hungary and Russia, amounting, according to the computation of a good author, to twenty-seven millions of inhabitants in Europe alone, and embracing in it seventeen reigning sovereigns. [Schmucher's *Popular Theology.*] The number of its members, therefore, is more than twice as great as that of any other Protestant denomination. In the United States, where our number is small, compared with that of other denominations, we have twelve Synods, and a general Synod—four Theological Seminaries—about eleven hundred churches, and fifty thousand regular communing members.

57. In all the benevolent operations of Christians, for the dis-

semination of the Scriptures, and for the spread of the Gospel, our Church has united with Christian zeal, and borne her share of labor and expense. Her successful missions to the East and the West bear testimony of this truth. It was this Christian spirit that led Balzius, Muhlenberg, Storcke, and others, to bear the standard of the cross to the then deserts of our own land. It was this that cheered and animated the devoted Schwartz, and his fellow laborers in establishing their missions in the withering climate of the East Indies, where exiling themselves forever from their native homes, they wore out their lives imparting religious truths to the heathen. It is this spirit, which has in this our day, carried the learned and the pious Gutzlaff to the hitherto interdicted regions of China and where his judicions and enlightened labors are duly appreciated by the whole Christian world. And it is finally this spirit which, when a recent call was made upon us by Renius, and his fellow Missionaries, at Palmacotta, in the East, was an assurance that a door of access to the heathen was now open to us, awoke the slumbering energies of our American Lutheran Churches, and from every quarter of our land the response has been simultaneously made, "We will go forward to their assistance."

58. That we are attached to the altars where our fathers worshipped, and where we have plighted our vows of fidelity to our master in Heaven, will not be regarded as an unreasonable prejudice by others. That we should represent her in as favorable a light as truth will permit is very natural. But in advocating the claims of this eldest branch of the Protestant Church, to which we belong, we disclaim the slightest intention of throwing one shadow of disrespect on the sentiments of our brethren of other churches. We have never boasted of being an exclusive Church, whose doctrines were more spiritual, or whose professors were purer, than those of other denominations, by whom we were surrounded. We have endeavored to discountenance that spirit of proselytism, which has been the fruitful source of so much dissension in our land. We are willing to unite with every lover of the Gospel of Christ in producing the downfall of sectarianism, though not the obliteration of sects. Our pulpits have ever been open to the ministers of every name. We desire the candid judgment, and the brotherly fellowship of all Christians, and if from their more favored circumstances, they surpass us in zeal and usefulness, we will sincerely rejoice in their success, and endeavor to imitate their example. Brethren we are journeying together to the land of rest and reward. The time is not far distant when our faculties will be enlarged in the regions of light and knowledge. There our differences of sentiment will be lost in the con-

templation of the glorious perfection of him that loved us; and there may we sit down with Abraham, with Isaac and Jacob, in the kingdom of God—Amen.

LETTER I.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Feb. 1, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—A very short time has elapsed since a friend drew my attention to a copy of your "Sermon on the Doctrines and Discipline of the Evangelical Lutheran Church; preached in this city on the 12th of last November." That sermon was delivered before a Synod of your Church: and it was natural that upon such an occasion you should endeavor to sustain their doctrines, to vindicate their discipline, to protect their character, to maintain their integrity, and to promote their interests. It would appear also from the station which you hold in that Society, "President of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, in the United States," to have been peculiarly your duty to be foremost in the vindication of their cause. Had you confined yourself within what I view to be the proper limits of that duty, I would consider any expostulation or reproof to be uncalled for, and ungenerous; but as I perceive you have in some places unnecessarily sallied forth to assail those who gave you no provocation, I beg leave to offer some remarks upon that portion of your discourse. In doing so, I shall endeavor to keep in view that excellent principle which you so well describe in the 13th paragraph of your Sermon, viz. "Whilst we contend earnestly for the divine principles of truth in our Master's cause, we should beware lest our zeal, even in a good cause, may lead us to lose sight of those sentiments of charity, which constitute the most important features in the Christian character." "The cause of truth has gained nothing, either by violence or abuse."

In truth, Rev. Sir, I have the less fear of offending in this way, because, for you personally, I entertain considerable respect. I have always regarded you, as I trust I ever shall continue to do, as a lover of literature, a man of mind, who has successfully cultivated a taste naturally correct, and who deserves to be considered a scholar and a friend to science; in society, a gentleman, and with me, this word means very much; differing widely with you in religion, I have however, esteemed you not only quite free from every tinge of hypocrisy, and cant, but as possessing much candor and honesty of purpose, and having as little of the bigot in your composition as most men that I know. And it is because

I thus regard you, that I address to you these letters. There are, Sir, in this city, public teachers, of lengthened visage, and of demure physiognomy, from whom you could no more extort a smile, than you could conversation from a statue; men who hate the Catholic Religion, with as virulent rancor as it is possible to cloak under the semblance of zeal; men who make long prayers and speak foul untruths, men who are more holy in their own estimation than they are in mine. These men may preach and publish, and they will be scarcely noticed; for their trade is known, and their efforts are comparatively valueless; but it is because I do not place you in their category, that I address you, not I trust in the spirit of contention or of strife, but in that of sober expostulation.

In the same 13th paragraph of your Sermon, p. 12, you give to your hearers the history of the Hinkelites, whose errors of doctrine, you "regard as dangerous to morals and religion"—they are dissenters from your Church; their publications you describe as "crude, visionary and inflammatory"—in which they state, that the Church in which you preside "has departed from the true doctrine of the Reformation, which he (Hinkel) and his Church attempted to restore." In fact, the principle by which they were led to dissent from you, is exactly that, as described by you in paragraph 8, of your Sermon, upon which "Luther and the other Reformers" professed to act. "They sought not to establish a religion of their own, but to become the blessed instruments in the hands of God, of restoring to its original beauty, the now tarnished glories of the Church of the Redeemer." You farther develop the principle in the extract there given, from the address of the Elector of Saxony and others to the Emperor. "The doctrines of Luther we only receive as far as they agree with the word of God. On this word we ground ourselves, and not on the person or doctrines of a man, let him be Luther or any other person; because all men may err. We will therefore be judged only by the Word of God."

I am not aware of any right which you or the Evangelical Lutheran Church has, upon this principle of Protestantism, to prescribe to those whom you call Hinkelites, the manner in which they are to understand the Word of God, which is equally open to them as it is to you; and in the interpretation of which you are as liable to err as they are, though they be the disciples of "a weak and illiterate man," and they themselves "a declining and unenlightened sect" dwelling in "abodes of obscurity" and needing "prayer that God might enlighten their minds and restore them to purity of faith, and righteousness of life." Upon this principle, which I apprehend you both hold in common, there is not, and there cannot be on earth, any tribunal to determine which of you

correctly interprets the Divine Word: and therefore it is of little consequence that "No Synod in our country has ever acknowledged or given countenance to this sect." Yet, since "their ministers and their doctrines have been introduced into the very bosom of some of your churches which till now have been in regular connexion with your Synod" you, looking upon them to have departed from the word of God, because they give to it a different interpretation from yours, believe "the duty which you owe to the flock over which you are appointed overseers, is enjoined on you to defend the doctrines of your faith, and to preserve your people as far as you can, free from the infiuence of error."

I acknowledge, Rev. Sir, that the principle laid down here, is exceedingly correct, but the difficulty is in its application; because you must be first assured that their interpretation of the word of God is erroneous and that yours is purely correct; but as you and they are men, and "all men may err," you cannot be certain that they deviate from the truth and that you hold to it; so that when you imagine yourself "contending earnestly for divine truth in your master's cause," you may, very possibly, in your effort "to reform your erring fellow men," be yourself contending for error and opposing truth. Neither is the decision of the Court of North Carolina, evidence that they who were deprived of the property "had departed from the Lutheran Church," though they differed from the Lutheran Synod; because it might just as well have happened, as several eminent lawyers in North Carolina then asserted, that it was the Synod and not the Hinkelites that departed from the original teaching of the Lutheran system.

Hence, Rev. Sir, I would, as not belonging to either party, have left you undisturbed in your contest, having no reason to incline more to the one than to the other, and looking upon you both as equally right, and equally wrong, had you not thought proper to make the Roman Catholic Church an unwilling party in your family quarrel.

It is plain, Rev. Sir, that you do not hold in high esteem "this declining and unenlightened sect," the Hinkelites. Though you have in paragraph 16 made a slight dash at us, it is only in paragraph 22 you show that Hinkel alone is not to satisfy your desire for glorious victory, because in the three following paragraphs you treat the common sense of Catholics as even below that of Hinkel and his adherents. Your tone and manner upon this point seemed to me to call for some examination of the grounds upon which you imagined yourself authorized to treat us with so little ceremony and so much contempt.

Again, Rev. Sir, in your 49th paragraph you complain of being "misrepresented," you hope, not intentionally, "by your Protestant

brethren," as to your "doctrines." You say that in Buck's *Theological Dictionary*, it is stated that "The Lutherans, of all Protestants, are said to differ least from the Romish Church." In page 50, you proceed, "Now we would ask in all fairness and candor, whether we are deserving of this charge?" and you proceed in the next five paragraphs, sometimes in no very measured language, to impute to Catholics a variety of errors and mal-practices of which you say you are not guilty! —And this under the appearance of defending your society from the charge of differing least of all other Protestant Churches from us. You take occasion hereby to treat the Romish Church with no great courtesy. This also, Rev. Sir, has urged me to address you. I am not then, an uninvited intermeddler in the affairs of your Synod; I am not an impertinent assailant of persons quietly engaged in their own affairs;—but as you have thought proper, to go, as I conceive, out of your course, to show to the world that you were not liable to the charge of any greater affinity that other Protestants have to us, and that our absurdity in contradicting common sense was greater than even the erroneous folly of the unenlightened Hinkelites, I consider the defence of that Church to which I have the happiness of belonging, if not a duty to which I am called by any station, yet to be an undertaking in which, I may lawfully and honorably engage, and in the performance of which, within a narrow field, though I may not exhibit the erudition, the prowess and the tact of the Rev. Doctor Bachman, still I may succeed in showing that even he has made some mistakes.

As I do not intend, Reverend Sir, to go beyond the topics which you have voluntarily furnished in your Sermon, I should hope that I may comprise in a very few letters all that the discussion of those topics shall require.

I have the honor to be, Reverend Sir,
Yours, and so forth, B. C.

LETTER II.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Feb. 7, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—I concur with you in the statement put forward in commencing your 36th paragraph. "All the Reformers agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation." Upon the principle of action, which you attribute to them (par. 8) "they must have wished to purify the Church from corruption in doctrine." I do not then assume too much when I suppose the manner in which they sought to effect this purifica-

tion, was by ascertaining clearly what Christ had taught, and rejecting whatever was incompatible therewith.—You say, "they sought not to establish a religion of their own, but to become the blessed instruments in the hands of God, of restoring to its original beauty the now tarnished glories of the Church of the Redeemer." These glories, I must presume, were, in their opinion, tarnished, chiefly by the introduction of erroneous doctrine: the restoration to original beauty therefore, must chiefly be the substitution of what they considered to be the original doctrine which Christ taught, for the erroneous teaching by which men tarnished these glories. To drop figurative speech.—The Reformers, as you are pleased to call them, must have known with certainty the doctrine which Christ taught upon any particular point, before they could have correctly pronounced that any received teaching, on that head, was erroneous.

Since they all agreed in rejecting the received doctrines of transubstantiation, as erroneous, we presume they must have all clearly and accurately ascertained what Christ taught to be the nature of the Eucharist; and, as clearly seen that the doctrine of transubstantiation was incompatible therewith. We may then reasonably address them in this way: "You all 'agree in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation.' You reject it because you know it to be erroneous, and incompatible with the doctrine taught by our blessed Redeemer. You 'do not seek to establish,' opinions or 'a religion of your own,' but to restore to us the doctrines of the Redeemer. You, of course, are prepared to show us clearly what the Redeemer did teach on this point; for only thus can you show to us the error of this other teaching, which has during so long a period tarnished the glories of the Church of the Redeemer."

You would not, Reverend Sir, consider this an unreasonable demand. At least, it would have been very reasonable in June, 1530, for you tell us (in par. 9) "that it was not until that period that the doctrines of the Reformation can be said to have been clearly defined." At that period, then, they were "clearly defined," and you point out to us the very instrument in which this definition was given; "the memorable Confession of the Reformers presented to the Diet of Augsburg." You also tell us that "it contained twenty-eight articles, twenty-one of which represent the religious creed of the Reformers, and the remainder are levelled at the errors and abuses that led them to a separation from the Church of Rome." Thus having in your view, ascertained the teaching of Christ, they "clearly defined the doctrines of the Reformation," and they of course as clearly ascertained the errors which led them to a separation. It is but fair and natural, then, to ask them—

What are the errors, and what is the true doctrine of Christ to which each of those errors is opposed?

From your 12th paragraph we are led to suppose that the doctrine of the Redeemer concerning the nature of the Eucharist is clearly defined in either the 9th or the 10th of those articles, for you tell us—"the 9th and 10th on baptism and the holy supper." In the same paragraph you tell us—"The corruptions of the Church from which the Reformers had separated themselves" include amongst other things, "The communion of one form—the wine among the Roman Catholics being denied to the laity," "the sacrifice of the mass," and farther on you tell us, at the close of the paragraph, that these errors and abuses are now regarded in the same light by all Protestant Christians."

Thus, Reverend Sir, you will, no doubt, admit that if all Protestant Christians know the Roman Catholic Church to teach erroneous doctrine regarding the nature of the holy supper, or the Eucharist, they must necessarily know the doctrine of Christ to which that error is opposed,—and you lead us to suppose that it was well and distinctly known to the Reformers; for in June, 1530, they clearly defined the doctrines of the Reformation, which doctrines were not the establishing a religion of their own, but a restoration of the doctrines of the Redeemer. In your 11th paragraph, you inform us that "the articles of the Augsburg Confession, contain the fundamental principles of (your) faith,—have been made the ground work of the thirty-nine articles of the Episcopal Church, and with some variations, contain the principles of all Protestant denominations." From June, 1530, when that confession was presented to the Diet, to November, 1837, when you preached, is a period of three hundred and seven years and five months. If then, the doctrines of the Reformation were "clearly defined," at this former period, if the document in which this clear definition was given, "contains the fundamental principles of your faith, is the ground work of the thirty-nine articles of the Episcopal Church, and, with some variations, contains the principles of all Protestant denominations," we are not at this day, Reverend Sir, very unreasonable in putting the following question to the Protestant denominations, who have all agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, and who, upwards of three hundred years since, as you inform us, had in their hands, a "clear definition of the doctrines of the Reformation," that is, according to you, of the doctrines of the Redeemer. "Gentlemen, what did Christ teach the world concerning the nature of the Eucharist or holy supper?" And as they unanimously say, that it is erroneous to believe in transubstantiation, it is very natural to expect from them the simple testimony of what Christ

taught, and which they ought to have known, before they pronounced our doctrine to be erroneous.

Yet, Reverend Sir, what do you give us in paragraph 36? "Whilst, however all the Reformers agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, they unfortunately differed among themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead." Are not your expressions exceedingly at variance with the principle that you said was their maxim? (par. 8) "They sought not to establish a religion of their own." "They unfortunately differed amongst themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead." This, Reverend Sir, is not exactly the process which we were led to expect. We thought they would first ascertain what our Saviour had taught, and then reject whatever was incompatible with that teaching; but you very candidly and fairly exhibit what is historically true. You discover them first rejecting a doctrine which they dislike, and then looking for a substitute; and so far from having ascertained what our Saviour taught, they differ among themselves, each striving to substitute his own opinion for that doctrine which all Christendom had held as coming from the Redeemer, but which they rejected. Never, have I, Reverend Sir, in any work that fell under my observation, seen a more just or a more happy description of what you call the Reformation, "That all agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, but they unfortunately differed amongst themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead." Your very appropriate description agrees with what I would describe as Protestantism: "The rejection of the testimony of the Church concerning the doctrines of Christ, for the purpose of allowing each individual to substitute his own opinion." You see, Reverend Sir, this is exactly agreeing to reject doctrine, but unfortunately differing as to what opinion shall be substituted; and as a consequence of this difference, leaving each person at liberty to follow his own opinion. We may also describe it, as substituting the private judgment or opinion of each individual, for the one unchanging testimony of an authoritative public tribunal. You perceive, then, Reverend Sir, that this process at once places you and me and Hinkel upon the same level, and enables me to ask with some degree of reason, why you presume to charge him with wanting "purity of faith and righteousness of life," in following his private judgment; and to exhibit me as having "arrived at a state of credulity that will render me incapable of deciding between truth and error," as holding "a doctrine whose absurdity it is scarcely necessary to expose by serious argument," (par. 25) merely because I receive the testimony of the bulk of Christendom, concerning the doctrine of Christ.

Upon Dr. Bachman's principle, that is upon the principle of Protestantism, neither he nor I, nor Hinkel can be certain whether either of us, or if either, which of us, knows what the Redeemer taught; for we are only men, "and all men err;"—and I should have expected, Reverend Sir, that, conscious of this liability to error, you would have modestly declined asserting that you knew what Christ taught, and that you would not dogmatically proclaim that Hinkel and the Catholics were in error. Perhaps Sir, the error is with you.

I shall not at present pursue this topic farther. I return to your historical description in paragraph 36,—"they unfortunately differed among themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead, and Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Zuinglius and others, all had their peculiar views, in which there may be traced considerable shades of difference as well as of obscurity." Thus, Reverend Sir, whatever success may attend your efforts to harmonise those shades of difference and to shed light upon this obscurity, it may be as well, before proceeding onwards, for us to ascertain what those early Reformers thought of the opinions of each other;—it will be seen, that unfortunately, they were not always so well disposed as you appear to be, (par. 40) to find between their irreconcilable "faiths" as you would call what I regard to be irreconcilable "opinions," a "difference so slight as that it can scarcely be detected."

You need not, Reverend Sir, my information, that Luther's first denial of transubstantiation was in 1520; in his book *On the Captivity of Babylon.* You are aware also that he, notwithstanding this, continued to hold the doctrine of the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist. Nor need you be told of the remarkable expression in his Epistle to the people of Strasburg, "that it would have been a great pleasure to him, had some good means been afforded him of denying it (the doctrine of the real presence,) because nothing could have been more agreeable to the design in which he was engaged, of prejudicing the papacy." He however acknowledges that the plain simplicity of the Scripture in teaching the doctrine of the real presence made it impossible for him to deny it.

Carlostadius, however, attacked the doctrine of the real presence, much against Luther's wishes: and without looking for Luther's consent, he during the concealment of that leader in 1521, threw down images, abolished the elevation of the sacrament, discontinued low Masses, and introduced communion under both kinds in the church at Wittenberg. These proceedings created great jealousy between them: but the sacramentarian war was not fairly waged until the 22d of

August, 1524. The history of its origin is given by Luther himself in his own works. It is substantially this:

On his way to Orlemond he preached this day at Jena, in presence amongst others, of Carlostadius, of whom he said some things not very flattering. After the sermon, Carlostadius paid a visit to Luther, who lodged at the tavern of the "Black Bear," where, after defending himself from the charges that Luther had made, he said that he could not bear the opinion of this latter concerning the real presence. Luther defied in a contemptuous way Carlostadius to write against the doctrine, promising him a florin of gold to undertake it. He flung the money on the table, Carlostadius took it up; they shook hands and mutually promised fair play. Luther drank to the health of his opponent and to the fine work he undertook to produce, and in return, was pledged in a bumper. On parting however, Luther expressed the hope of living to see his opponent broken on the wheel; and Carlostadius returned the compliment by praying that Luther might break his neck before he left town. Luther complains that it was by the procuration of Carlostadius he was pelted with stones and nearly smothered with filth at entering Orlemond. Luther, however, subsequently discovered, that his opponent though driven from Saxony had found help in Switzerland, whither he retired. There Zuinglius, former pastor of Zurich, and Oecolampadius, ably sustained him: and Luther declared that he despaired of the salvation of Zuinglius, not only for denying the doctrine of Christ respecting the sacrament, but also for proclaiming that heathens were in heaven.

Carlostadius some time after, sought a reconciliation with Luther, for his own convenience, and to effect it, assured him that what he wrote concerning the Eucharist was not by way of teaching or deciding, but of examining and proposing difficulties.

All this and more was previous to 1530, but I thought it would be useful to trace the difference of opinion to their source, and in doing so, Reverend Sir, we discover that these men styled "Reformers" did indeed, as you inform us, reject the doctrine of transubstantiation without being able to agree amongst themselves what they should substitute in its stead. Neither does it appear that they were very anxious to come to an agreement; nor does their process of inquiry seem to have been the most evangelical. It is quite unnecessary for me to exhibit any more of the history until we come to the year 1530. It suffices to say that they contradicted each other and could not preach truth, for truth is single.

From your 9th paragraph it would appear to the otherwise unin-

formed reader, that the Reformers presented only one confession of faith to the Diet of Augsburg. In making this remark, I am far from imputing to you any design of concealment, but I wish to state the fact, that besides the Lutheran Confession, which alone you notice, and which, by eminence, is known as the "Confession of Augsburg," and which, as we shall see, teaches the doctrine of the real presence, there were two others presented, viz.—one called the Confession of Strasburg, or of the four towns, because it was presented in the names of Strasburg, Meiningen, Lindau and Constance, then four towns of the empire; and a third was presented in the name of Zuinglius, who though not belonging to the empire, nor subject to the Diet, had his confession sent thither. Both the latter confessions denied the real presence by proclaiming only the figurative meaning to be intended in the words of Christ. The four towns refused to sign the Augsburg Confession, precisely because of its 10th article, which regarded the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and their confession was drawn up by Bucer, who vainly sought to approximate the differing parties; but the contradiction was too plain, and each regarded the error of the party to be fatal. Zuinglius would not equivocate; he gave a plain and open exhibition of his opposition to the then Lutheran opinion of the real presence.

Thus, Reverend Sir, I think I am warranted in asserting that even at this period of June, 1530, if the doctrines of the reformation were "clearly defined," they were also on the subject of the Eucharist clearly at variance, and irreconcilable, and if the Reformers "agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, they unfortunately differed among themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead." Surely, Reverend Sir, you will not call this "clearly defining the doctrines of Christ." And, though three centuries have elapsed, the difficulty still remains. Thus it is clear that previous to rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, the Reformers had not themselves ascertained what the Saviour had revealed upon the subject; and you very fairly say that "in their peculiar views there may be traced considerable shades of difference, as well as obscurity." Yet, Reverend Sir, you say that at this period "the doctrines of the Reformation can be said to have been clearly defined," and you taunt Roman Catholics with an absurdity which it is scarcely necessary to expose by serious argument!

I have shown that the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession on the Eucharist, was not that of all the Reformers in 1530. For, though it was subscribed by the leaders of the Lutheran party, its tenth article was not received by the four imperial cities, nor by Zuinglius, nor by his followers.

Let us proceed to consider this tenth article. And here indeed, Reverend Sir, a difficulty presents itself which I cannot overcome.—Where shall I find an authentic copy of the confession itself? There are many copies, but they differ materially from each other, and I am at a loss to know which of them is authentic. Even of this tenth article, there are various readings. We have one piece of evidence in the Book of Concord, (p. 728) which, I am inclined to believe, you will admit to be good Lutheran authority; it says "It was then expressly designed to reject the error of the Sacramentarians, who at the same time presented their own particular Confession of Augsburg"—that is the confession of the four cities and that of Zuinglius, who denied the doctrine of the real presence, and which denial Osiander and his colleagues designate to be error. We have from a variety of other sources abundant evidence that the tenth article was specially framed to sustain the doctrine of the real presence of our blessed Saviour in the holy sacrament of the Eucharist.

In the Geneva collection we have the tenth article as it was printed at Wittenberg in 1540, in presence of Luther and Melancthon, the first the leader under whose auspices the second wrote that document. In that copy it is said, that "with the bread and wine, the body and blood of Jesus Christ are truly given to those who partake of the supper." In another copy in the same collection, and of equal alleged authenticity as the former, and with this additional circumstance in its favor, that it agrees with the copy found in the Book of Concord, there is no mention of bread and wine, but it is said that the Protestants "believe that the body and blood are truly distributed to those who eat; and disapprove those who teach the contrary." Now, Reverend Sir, the first of these gives us the doctrine of consubstantiation the second is favorable to transubstantiation, but declares plainly against the sacramentarian principle. Which of them is the authentic article?

You are aware, Reverend Sir, that the Book of Concord also contains the apology or defence of the Augsburg Confession, written by that same Melancthon, who drew up the confession itself: and in this we have the phraseology of the tenth article. "In the Lord's Supper the body and blood of Jesus Christ are truly and substantially present, and are truly given together with the things that are seen, that is with the bread and wine, to those who receive the sacrament." This appears to be plain, distinct consubstantiation; but, what shall we say of the following, taken from the same Book of Concord? (*Apol. Conf. Aug.* Conc. p. 157). "The article of the supper is thus taught from the word of God, in the Augsburg Confession: that the true body and the true

blood of Jesus Christ, are truly present, distributed and received in the holy supper, under the species of bread and wine; and those are disapproved of who teach the contrary."—Now, it is plain to any person who maturely examines the expressions and is capable of judging of them, that a Catholic could lawfully, so far as the natural meaning of the word is concerned, without hesitation subscribe this latter declaration;—the French translation of the Confession of Augsburg, printed at Frankfort in 1673, conforms in the tenth article fully to this form. Now, Sir, though I agree with you in the assertion that all the persons, whom you call reformers, did unite in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, yet I am by no means prepared to admit that in the Confession as presented to the Diet at Augsburg, in June, 1530, wherein, "the doctrines of the Reformation were clearly defined," they did declare transubstantiation to be erroneous doctrine, but I incline to the opinion that the authentic copy of the Confession taught this very doctrine in the words last given.

I shall state some of the reasons which have caused greater men and better critics than I can pretend to be, to hold to this opinion.

In the first place, Hospinian states distinctly that this last is the exact copy of the original; and I scarcely think you will consider an historian of your own party and a writer of such note therein, an authority to be easily rejected on such a point. He states that the article was thus printed in 1530, in Wittenberg, under the inspection of Luther and of Melancthon. He states that it was subsequently changed, because it too openly favored the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. Hence we see it differently printed in that same place under the eyes of those same persons, ten years later.

When the Confession was presented to the Emperor he engaged some Catholic divines to write its refutation. Now Sceidan and Melancthon as well as others of your writers have always proclaimed that the Catholics never contradicted the tenth article; nor would they if it was expressed in this way that is testified by Hospinian.

Without going farther into the evidence that could be adduced to sustain this proposition, I think it is exceedingly probable that this confession which "clearly defined" the doctrines of the Reformation in 1530, did not reject, in its tenth article, the doctrine of transubstantiation. If this, Reverend Sir, was really the case, we poor credulous Catholics, who are incapable of deciding between truth and error, will have men whom you consider very respectable as our companions in absurdity! ! I acknowlede it to be equally true that in their own writings, they rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation,—but, Reverend Sir, this

is not the only point on which they teach, and in which that confession teaches contradictions. It is a little curious also, that the princes and states that subscribed the Book of Concord in 1580, when they give to the world quite a different reading, not only of this tenth article but of other parts of the confession, do not venture to affirm and testify, that what is there given is an exact copy of the original; but merely affirm and testify, that, "having compared it with the archives of their predecessors and those of the empire, they found the copy to be wholly and throughout of the same sense, with the Latin and German originals."

In the apology for the Confession, drawn up by Melancthon, we have an explanation still more clear and precise, stating that in the sacrament, Christ was "corporeally given to us,"—affirming that this was the "ancient and common" belief, not only of the Roman, but of the Greek Church, and quoting in proof thereof, passages of the liturgies, and the very words of Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria, that the bread is truly changed into flesh.

Zuinglius plainly contradicting the Lutheran doctrine of real and substantial and corporeal presence, wrote in his confession that Christ was really, and substantially and corporeally present in heaven, and could be no where else since the ascension. Bucer, who equivocated and quibbled, endeavored to hold with both sides, at length found that he was trusted by neither; and most of the towns that sustained his confession, returned to the Lutheran belief of the real presence. Thus the line of distinction was plainly and finally drawn between those who held that Christ was really and substantially present, and those who held that he was not, but that the bread and wine were only figures of his absent body and blood. Of the former, the Catholics believed that at the consecration, the substance of the elements gave place to that of the body and blood of Christ, which new substance retained the appearance of that which had passed away, and therefore there happened a transition of substance without any change of appearance,—the new substance, by the Power of God, producing the same impression on the senses of the beholder or of the receiver, as if the old substance still continued there; and this is transubstantiation, or the production of the body and blood of Christ under the species of bread and wine.

The other, or Lutheran division, who held the real and substantial presence of the body and blood of Christ, generally stated that the body and blood were really in the sacrament, together with the bread and wine, which latter substance alone produced any impression upon the senses; and this was consubstantiation, or the one substance being present with the other. The Lutherans had various modes of explaining the

manner of this presence, nor were they all agreed as to whether Christ was present only at the moment of receiving or of using the sacrament, or from the moment of consecration. For instance, suppose the consecration to take place half an hour before the eating: some said that the body was present from the moment of consecration, and continued so during the half hour which intervened up to the moment of communion; but others said that it became present only at the moment of eating.

Thus, the difference between the early Lutherans and Zuinglians, who were both Protestants, was greater than that between those Lutherans and the Catholics. I regret, Reverend Sir, that the statement of this fact gives you pain or offence, but neither of us can deny its truth, of which I intend to supply my readers with more ample evidence. It is true, however, that since that period, very great bodies of the Lutherans have gone over to the Zuinglian opinion, but originally all Lutherans opposed the Zuinglians or Sacramentarians.

I have, I believe, succeeded in showing that the first Protestants, viz. Luther and his cotemporaries, condemned the Catholics as being in error, respecting the doctrine of the Eucharist, before they had themselves discovered what they would fix upon as the original doctrine. And from the period of their separation to the present day, it is a notorious fact, that they have no certainty upon the subject. The attempt to learn their doctrine upon this point, from the Confession of Augsburg, in which you state that the doctrines of the reformation were "clearly defined," would baffle human ingenuity; and even did we ascertain the exact words of the original document, it would not in this country be a mode of ascertaining the doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, because even its ministers "only profess to believe that the fundamental articles of the word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession:" and we should first be assured that the belief respecting the Eucharist "is a fundamental article of the word of God."—Who is to decide this? And, next who is to ascertain and decide when there is a "substantial incorrectness," or deviation from the doctrinal article of the confession?

This uncertainty, Reverend Sir, furnishes an exceedingly safe ground of retreat, and I trust that as you have linked me to your Hinkelites, I will not act improperly in drawing them and myself within its shelter, notwithstanding your effort to keep us out and to cover us with your contempt.

I remain, Reverend Sir,

Yours, and so forth, B. C.

LETTER III.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Feb. 15, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—I have 1. developed the truth of your statement (par. 36) "That though the Reformers agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, they could not agree what to substitute in its stead." 2. In doing this, I have shown that it was not because they had ascertained the doctrine of the Redeemer, they rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation. 3. That at the present day it is impossible, or at least very difficult, to ascertain what was the precise doctrine, touching the Eucharist, contained in the 10th article of the Confession of Augsburg, as delivered to the Emperor Charles V. 4. That it is exceedingly probable this Confession was not incompatible with the doctrine of transubstantiation. 5. That Bucer did not at the period of making his Confession agree with the Lutherans on this point. 6. That Zuinglius and his followers were in open and irreconcilable opposition to the Lutherans upon the question of the real presence. And 7. that the Lutherans then held at all events, the truth of the real, substantial and corporeal presence of Jesus Christ, in the sacrament of the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, as distinctly as Catholics do, though they differed from Catholics as to the mode of that presence, as they said it was not by transubstantiation.

I now proceed to ascertain, as precisely as I can, the teaching of the Sacramentarians or adherents of Zuinglius on this subject.

In the first place, they denied the doctrine of the real presence, and one may naturally be led to suppose their opinion would be expressed by the simple statement, "That when a blessing was pronounced over the bread and wine, we were led in receiving them, to recollect that Christ died for us, and so loved us that we may hope for pardon of our sins through his merits, and, that he ordained this rite of eating bread and drinking wine, as a token of that love, and a memorial by means of which we might be excited to that hope." This, Sir, would be plain, intelligible language, adapted to the most humble capacity. But this would not satisfy the Zuinglians. They found, as Luther told them, that the scriptural expressions were too strong and too full, to be confined within the limits here prescribed: they found that all Christendom had always looked upon its most mysterious rite to be that connected with the Eucharist or Lord's Supper:—but here, there was no mystery. They were placed in a difficulty, from which they could not well extricate themselves; but to combat which, they had recourse to phrases that

often appeared to admit the truth of the real presence; and when pressed upon this result, they sought to explain away the force of those very phrases, and to show that they meant nothing. In simple language, Reverend Sir, they appeared not only to be contradicting themselves, but scarcely to understand what they said or what they wrote upon the subject. This you well describe in paragraph 36, when you tell us, "All had their peculiar views, in which may be traced considerable shades of difference, as well as of obscurity." Nor will you blame me, if, after having read your own Sermon, with as much attention as I was capable of bestowing upon any production, I am unable to conjecture what is your own belief upon the nature of this sacrament. Thus I am persuaded that the investigation and reflection of three centuries have not taken away the shades of difference nor diminished the obscurity of your writers on this subject.

In his Confession delivered at Augsburg, Zuinglius declared, "That the body of Jesus Christ, after his ascension, was no where else but in heaven, nay, could be no where else; that truly in the supper it was, as it were, present by the contemplation of faith, and not really or by its essence." Yet in a letter that he wrote to the emperor, he admits that there is present a sacramental body, but not a natural and subsantial body. I know not, Reverend Sir, whether you have been more fortunate than I am, for I cannot understand what is meant by a body which is not substantial. I can clearly perceive that a body may be substantial and sacramental, though not in its natural mode of existence, but I can not conceive what is the idea intended to be expressed by a body not substantial; for I do not know what a body is, if it be not a substance. It is quite another question, to consider what are the properties of that substance. Yet the words of Zuinglius are, speaking of the Protestants by whom he was opposed, that is, of Luther and his adherents, that in the Supper they would have "a natural and substantial body," he "a sacramental body." However, he subsequently sent another confession of faith to Francis I, in which he explains "This is my body," to mean "a symbolical, mystical and sacramental body," "a body by denomination and signification," to use an illustration of his own, "just as a queen showing among her jewels, her nuptial ring, says this is my king, that is, the ring of the king my husband wherewith he espoused me." Indeed, Sir, it is a mighty quaint expression, and only one of many very curious specimens, an abundance of which may be drawn from the writings of those gentlemen. In plain truth, Zuinglius proclaimed that Luther was guilty of a fatal error in teaching that Christ was really, substantially and corporeally present in the Eucharist;

because he was not so present. That the supper contained no substance save those of bread and wine. Still Luther and his associates pressed Zuinglius with the plain words of Scripture, and he, in the effort to escape from his opponents, wrote and said those curious things which I cannot understand, and which you have not even attempted to explain, but of which you avow that they have considerable obscurity.

You are aware, Reverend Sir, of what occurred in 1529, at the Conference of Marpurg, but as all my readers may not be as deeply read as you are, in the history of your church, I shall briefly allude to it.

Very soon after the gentlemen who are dignified with the name of "Reformers," obtained the present more usual appellation, from protesting against the decree of the Diet of Spires in 1529, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, procured a meeting to be held at Marpurg, for the purpose of adjusting in a conference, the differences by which the "Protestants" were estranged from each other. Luther, Osiander and Melancthon, were on one side, apparently in harmony; and on the other side, were Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, and Bucer. In fact, the whole conference, if it may be so called, was an altercation between Luther and Zuinglius; chiefly, upon the nature of the Eucharist; Luther plainly maintaining the doctrine of the real presence, and Zuinglius as openly denying it. When Zuinglius and his companions found that Luther could by no means be induced to favor the figurative sense, for which they contended; they begged to be, at least, considered as brethren: Luther replied, "What fraternity do you ask of me, if you persist in your belief: it is evident you doubt its truth, since you ask to be admitted as brethren by those who reject it." They then asked mutual charity. Luther promised such charity as was due to enemies, not to those of the same communion. "They were indignant," says Luther, "to find themselves treated as heretics." From this account, Reverend Sir, given by Luther himself, (*Ep. ad Jen. Proep. Bremen*) we find that he did not consider it an unimportant difference. And this was five years after the scene of the Black Bear in Jena.

Hence it was, that the adherents of Zuinglius and Bucer, in the next year, excepted to the tenth article of the Confession of Augsburg, and as they would not be permitted to sign with that exception, withheld their signatures and presented their own confessions. Zuinglius, therefore, was considered by Luther to be in a lost state, and Zuinglius proclaimed Luther, upon this head, not indeed "to differ less from the Romish Church than the other Protestants," but to teach a greater absurdity than the Catholics did.

I have now, Reverend Sir, shown that both Luther and Zuinglius

could not teach the truth, for they taught contradictions. I shall proceed to show the subsequent efforts for procuring a reconciliation,—and the first I shall exhibit Bucer, who in his confession, whilst he desired to be considered holding with Zuinglius, really seemed to approach nearer to Luther. At all events he contrived to avoid the introduction of any word denying the real presence, though he refused to subscribe the 10th article of the Lutheran Confession. The following are among his expressions in the Confession of Strasburg: "When Christians repeat the supper which Jesus Christ made before his death, in the manner that he instituted it, he gives them by the sacraments, his true body and blood to eat and drink, truly to be the food and drink of our souls." So far then as this expression goes, even a Catholic would subscribe it,—Bucer, however, was most fertile in devices, and ingenious in equivocation. Under the pretext of moderation and humility, he avoids any explicit and plain declaration, but adds, "Keeping themselves at a distance from all dispute and all curious and superflous inquiry, they bring back their mind to that only which profits, and by which our Saviour was alone regarded, to wit, that feeding on him we may live in him and by him." Still further they declare, "They are calumniated when they are accused of changing the words of Jesus Christ, and of mutilating them by human interpretations, or of administering nothing in their supper but bread and wine, or of despising the Lord's Supper; for, on the contrary, we exhort the faithful to give ear to the words of the Lord with a simple faith by rejecting all false comments and all human inventions, and by adhering closely to the sense of the words, without hesitating in any way; finally by receiving the sacraments for the food of their souls."

This, Reverend Sir, is as good a specimen as can be easily found, of saying nothing in many words, and this too, is the origin of a system which has widely diffused itself.

We shall subsequently see what Luther and Melancthon said of it.

Zuinglius fell, sword in hand, in no rearward part of the Protestant host, in the war which unfortunately was kindled between the Catholic and Protestant Cantons of Switzerland: Oecolampadius soon after died, some say of grief; but Luther informs us (*Tract. de abrog. Miss.*) that he was beaten to death by the Devil. The peace of Nuremberg gave Germany some repose, but the Lutherans were equally averse as were the Catholics to admit the Zuinglians to its benefits. The elector, John Frederick, refused to admit them into the Protestant league, until they would agree with Luther in the article of the real presence. Bucer undertook the negotiation. He explained and equivocated until he adopted

the very words of Luther, and said, that heretofore they had not understood each other, that they quarrelled about words only.

Luther, however, was not to be thus deceived; he said the Sacramentarians "made a devilish game with our Lord's words." Melancthon said, "The presence which Bucer admits is but a presence in word and a presence of virtue. But we require a presence of the body and blood, and not of their virtue. If this body of Jesus Christ be no where else but in heaven, and is not with the bread, nor in the bread,—if finally, it is not to be found in the Eucharist, but in the contemplation of faith, it is nothing but an imaginary presence."—(*Ep. Mel. apud Hosp.* 1530).

The Protestants of Basil sent out their Confession in 1532, in which, though evidently denying the real presence, yet they tell us that "our souls are nourished with the body and blood of Jesus Christ by a true faith." This, Reverend Sir, may be intelligible to you, but I avow my inability to understand it. Those of Zurich, reproached Bucer for asserting that it was only a verbal difference.

Bucer continued to approximate to Luther, and at length they appear in 1536 to have been reconciled by the granting to Luther the six articles in the conference at Wittenberg, on the part of Bucer and the ministers who represented the German Sacramentarians.

The Agreement of Wittenberg and its Six Articles.

1. "That according to the words of St. Irenæus, the Eucharist consists of two things; the one terrestrial, and the other celestial; and by consequence, the body and blood of Jesus Christ are truly and substantially present, given, and received with the bread and wine."

2. "That, although they had rejected transubstantiation, and did not believe that the body of Jesus Christ was contained locally in the bread, or had with the bread any union of long continuance out of the use of the sacrament, it ought, however, to be acknowledged that the bread was the body of Jesus Christ, by a sacramental union; that is, that the bread being present, the body of Jesus Christ was at the same time present, and truly given."

3. They add, however, "That out of the use of the sacrament, whilst it is kept in the ciborium, or shown in processions, they believe it is not the body of Jesus Christ."

4. They concluded by saying, "That this institution of the sacrament has its force in the Church, and depends not on the worthiness or unworthiness of the minister, nor of him who receives."

5. "That as for the unworthy, who, according to St. Paul, truly eat the sacrament, the body and blood of Jesus Christ are truly pre-

sented to them, and they truly receive them, when the words of Christ's institution are observed."

6. "That however they take it to their judgment," as says the same St. Paul, "because they abuse the sacrament, by taking it without repentance, and without faith."

Bucer, however, found a way of escape, (Bucer *Decl. Conc. Vit.*) by proclaiming to his party that there were two sorts of faith, and that they who received Jesus Christ truly in the sacrament, without faith, and to their damnation, were those who had not a saving faith, though they had a faith which could not benefit them. It is not for me to attempt any explanation, I only record a fact. Calvin knew Bucer well, when he writes of him, (Ep. Calv. p. 50) "There was nothing so embarrassed, so ambiguous, so intricate, in even Bucer himself." But Bucer was not the only one of those gentlemen who could act in this way, Calvin gives him a companion. Writing (Ep. p. 38) of the attempt made at Ratisbon, in 1541, to reconcile Catholics and Protestants, he says, "Melancthon and Bucer composed, on transubstantiation, equivocal and deceitful forms of faith, in order, if possible, to satisfy their adversaries without the concession of any thing."

At Wittenberg, still one point remained, upon which there was for some time no agreement to satisfy both parties. Bucer admitted the real presence at the communion as in article 2, but as in article 3, he obtained permission to say that out of use (that is, not at communion) the Eucharist is not the body of Christ. Luther at this very time had the sacrament out of use, adored, as being the really present body and blood of Jesus Christ. To reconcile this difficulty a concession was made by Bucer and accepted by Luther, as in article 2, "that the body had not with the bread any long continuance and union, out of the use of the sacrament." It is not my task to reconcile this clause of the 2d to the 3d article, nor to answer the question, "what is the duration of this not long continuance?" Suffice it to say, that both parties celebrated the supper together in token of agreement.

Bucer in vain endeavored to bring the Swiss over to this union; but three of the towns for which he drew up the Confession of Strasburg, became Lutheran, and adopted the opinion of the real presence. Melancthon, however, now began to incline to the very opinion from which Bucer appeared to recede. How truly did you write, Reverend Sir, "whilst however, all the Reformers agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, they unfortunately differed among themselves." You might almost add 'and each with himself,' "as to what they should substitute in its stead!" Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Zuinglius, and

others, all had their peculiar views, in which there may be traced considerable shades of difference as well as of obscurity!

I am not disposed to extend my observations unnecessarily; but I cannot avoid remarking in this place, the consistent inconsistency of Bucer, who also signed a Calvinistic confession of faith, stating that the manner in which the body and blood of Jesus Christ, were received in the supper was, by the Holy Ghost therein uniting those things that were separated in place.

But the year 1537 gives us a new confession of faith, on the part of the Lutherans, who assembled at Smalcald, upon occasion of Pope Paul III having convoked a council. Luther was not satisfied with the Confession of Augsburg; nor did its apology or defence by Melancthon sufficiently meet his views, neither did he think the Zuinglian errors were met in a sufficiently explicit manner upon the question of the supper. Melancthon says that Bucer on this occasion expressed himself strongly and explicity in support of the real presence, that "he satisfied even those of our people (the Lutherans) who were the most difficult to be pleased." And in the sixth article, they declare: "As to the sacrament of the altar, we believe that the bread and wine are the true body and true blood of our Lord; and are not only given and received by pious Christians, but also by the impious."

Hitherto the expressions were, in general, that the body and blood were really present "in" "with" or "under" the bread and wine, but now the two terms, bread and body, are identified. I make no comment farther than to state, that the expression was used for the purpose of destroying all room for cavil or sophistry on the part of those, who whilst they affected to agree with the Lutherans, yet sought to establish only a mere moral or figurative presence. In his smaller catechism it was taught that the body was given under the bread; in the larger catechism it is said to be given in the bread and under the bread; but in the article of Smalcald, the bread is declared to be the body.

My object is to keep fully in the view of my readers, that subsequently to the "doctrines of the Reformation" having been "clearly defined" in the council of Augsburg in 1530, the doctrine of the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist or supper, was by Luther and his adherents, considered to be so fundamental, that they refused to hold communion with those who denied its truth. And I prefer being somewhat tedious to leaving any doubt upon this subject. I am writing for those who are not so deeply read upon the subject as you are; and therefore I enter into detail upon points to which, if I wrote for your eye alone, I need only advert.

You are aware that in 1542, after much exertion, the Landgrave of Hesse prevailed upon Luther to abolish altogether, in the Church of Wittenberg, the elevation of the sacrament with the ringing of the bell. The Landgrave's object was, to try and obtain the union of the Swiss Zuinglians in the confederation of Smalcald, by removing some of the ceremonies which they most strongly detested. As soon as the abolition took place, the Sacramentarians triumphed and proclaimed that Luther was now giving up the doctrine of real presence and coming over to an understanding with them. The printer who had for sale, subsequently, however, to this, the translation of the Bible made by Leo of Juda, a famous Jew who embraced Zuinglianism, sent to Luther from Zurich a copy of the work as a compliment. The Swiss kept and showed the letters which the bookseller received in return from Luther, forbidding to send anything to him from the people of that place, "for they were damned men, who dragged away others into hell; and the churches could no longer communicate with them, nor consent to their blasphemies, and he had resolved to oppose them by his writings and his prayers, to his very last breath."

In the year 1544, he published his Little Confession of Faith, in which he styles those who adhered to Zuinglius "mad-men, blasphemers, miserable wretches, damned souls for whom it is no longer lawful to pray;" he declared that he would hold no communication with them "by letters, nor by words, nor by works," until they would confess "that the bread of the Eucharist was the true and natural body of our Lord, which the impious and even the traitor Judas received by the mouth, no less than St. Peter and the rest who were faithful." He also states that the Eucharist "may be retained with piety, as a testimonial of the real and corporeal presence in the bread, since by this action the priest said, 'Behold Christians this is the body of Jesus Christ which was given for you.' " And this was two years after he had abolished the elevation. In the year 1545, in his Positions against the Doctors of Louvain, he calls it "the adorable sacrament." This expression caused Calvin, in a letter to Bucer, to declare of Luther, "that by this decision he had raised up an idol in God's temple."

Luther died on the 18th of February 1546, and within less than a month previous thereto, he wrote the letter from which I shall make my last extract. He had declared that he held the Zuinglians to be heretics, and shut out of the pale of God's Church. They had called him an unhappy wretch; and on the 25th of January he writes, "They have afforded me a great occasion of pleasure. I therefore, the most unhappy of all men, esteem myself happy for one thing only, and covet no other

beatitude than that of the Psalmist. Happy is the man that hath not been in the council of the Sacramentarians, and hath never walked in the way of the Zuinglians, nor sat in the chair of those of Zurich."

I believe, Reverend Sir, I have now fully shown 1. that an irreconcilable difference of doctrine regarding the Eucharist existed to the moment of his death, between Luther with his adherents on the one side, and the followers of Zuinglius on the other. 2. That the Confession of Augsburg was drawn up and presented by the adherents of Luther. 3. That it contained the doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood of our Saviour in the Eucharist.—4. That this was the reason why the Zuinglians refused to sign it. 5. That, therefore, for upwards of fifteen years after the period assigned by you as that when "the doctrines of the Reformation" were "clearly defined in this Confession," the doctrine of the Reformers, whose declaration that confession was, continued to be that of the real presence, as taught by Luther. Now, Sir, if, as you state, (par. 39) "the fundamental articles of the word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession," the belief of the real presence in the Eucharist in the manner in which all who held to that Confession during fifteen years after its compilation, and amongst whom were its compilers themselves, is a substantially correct, fundamental article of the word of God.

The Hinkelites and the Catholics both believe in that real presence. The Catholics certainly believe that the body is there by transubstantiation, which I have explained in my second letter: until I read your Sermon I thought Hinkelites believed the body to be there by consubstantiation; but you inform us, (in par. 21) that they state "that in the Lord's Supper the elements become the actual flesh and blood of Christ." I am free to confess that it reads exceedingly like transubstantiation. Yet I should like to know whether they call it by that name.

You inform us in this paragraph that "this error," by which I suppose you mean transubstantiation, "which is pretended to be sanctioned by the doctrines of (your) Church, is that which the Reformers opposed by all the force of argument, and by all the authority of the plainest interpretations of the word of God."—Perhaps not! The sixth article of Smalcald says "the bread and wine are the true body and true blood of our Lord." It is clear that this is the doctrine of the Reformers, as you call them, and you tell us (in par. 36) that "all the Reformers agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation." Melancthon who drew up the Confession of Augsburg, when writing in its defence, uses language of which Doctor Maclaine says in his note (a) on

Mosheim's *History*, (Cent. xvi, sec. iii, book ii, c. 1) "In the edition of that defence that some Lutherans (and Chytræus among others) look upon as the most genuine and authentic, Melancthon makes several strange concessions to the Church of Rome: whether through servile fear, excessive charity, or hesitation of mind, I will not pretend to determine. He speaks of the presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist in the very strongest terms that the Roman Catholics use to express the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation; and adopts those remarkable words of Theophylact, that 'the bread was not a figure only, but was truly changed into flesh.' He approves that canon of the Mass, in which the priest prays that the bread may be changed into the body of Christ. It is true that in some subsequent editions of the defence or apology now under consideration, these obnoxious passages were left out, and the phraseology that had given such just offence, was considerably mitigated."

In his note (b) on the same chapter, Doctor Maclaine says, "The articles mentioned here were drawn up at Smalcald by Luther, on occasion of a meeting of the Protestant electors, princes, and States, at that place. They were principally designed to show how far the Lutherans were disposed to go, in order to avoid a final rupture, and in what sense they were willing to adopt the doctrine of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, and though the terms ('the bread and wine are the true body of our Lord') in which these articles are expressed be somewhat dubious, yet they are much less harsh and disgusting than those used in the Confession, the Apology and the Book of Concord."

I apprehend, Sir, that the expressions of the Hinkelites are not a whit stronger than those used by Melancthon in the defence of the Confession, and commented upon by Doctor Maclaine: words read in what Mosheim calls a "standard book" or formulary of those doctrines which the Lutheran Church believes to be found in the Bible, which Bible that Church states to be the only source whence we are to draw our religious sentiments, whether they relate to faith or practice. Yet, Sir, you tell us that the compilers and the adherents to that defence, rejected transubstantiation. Why not then give to the Hinkelites the same benefit of speech that you allow to Luther, to Melancthon, and to so many of your noted Reformers?

I am quite ready, Rev. Sir, to correct a mistake, if I make one, and I shall consider your plain deliberate assertion of what you know to be a fact, as sufficient for that correction. You have not asserted that the Hinkelites hold, and avow that they believe in the doctrine of transubstantiation: you merely quote their words which are not stronger

than those of men, who you say rejected that doctrine; and whilst you say that Luther and Melancthon reject our doctrine, you say of the expression of the Hinkelites, (par. 22,) "This as well as the last is a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church," and you exhibit a canon of the Council of Trent, to show that it is what you describe it to be, "a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church." Now, I should suppose the proper conclusion to be, that if Hinkel held that doctrine, so did Luther; so did his associates: and, I shall immediately show you, that neither Luther, nor Melancthon, nor Hinkel, holds any thing at variance with the doctrine taught in that canon which you have quoted.

Not only do I see no reason for drawing any distinction between Luther and Hinkel on this head, but, if my memory is not seriously impaired, I see very good reason why no such distinction should be allowed.

You tell us, in paragraph 13, that the Hinkelites were by a decision of the court, excluded from some of your churches in North Carolina, as having departed from the Lutheran doctrine. I recollect well, conversing, at the time of the litigation, with an eminent lawyer of North Carolina [28] upon the subject: it was one upon which he was much interested: and of the nature of the Eucharist doctrine no man is a more competent judge. The impression on my mind is as distinct and as vivid as of any fact of which I did not take at the time, a written note, of his having told me that their doctrine was the real presence by consubstantiation. I am the more confirmed in this recollection being accurate, from the circumstance of his having remarked to me that they held, what he always knew to have been the original doctrine of the Lutheran church; and from my having stated to him, that I had met other Lutherans in Georgia, who held the same opinions, and that I considered in this, that there was no cause of surprise, for that they only adhered to the original Lutheran teaching, whilst a large portion of those who were called Lutherans, had actually fallen into the opinion of either Calvin or Zuinglius. Now, to me, and to the gentleman with whom I conversed, it would have been matter of very great surprise indeed, to discover a Lutheran congregation, at that day, in North Carolina or in Georgia, holding the doctrine of transubstantiation. I apprehend then that the Hinkelites hold only the doctrine of the real presence, as taught by Luther and Melancthon and that the statement of their holding the doctrine of transubstantiation, is but a conclusion of your own, not an avowal of theirs.

[28] Probably, Judge Gaston.

I am the more inclined to suppose that this is an inadvertence of yours, from the fact that you have (in your pars. 22, 23, and 24) exhibited an oversight of a similar kind. You must, Sir, have written in great haste, for otherwise so many mistakes could not have been crowded into so small a space. You quote, (in par. 22) as from the fourth chapter of the thirteenth session of the Council of Trent,—and you call it a decision. There is no such paragraph in that chapter. I need not inform you that in the records of the sessions of that council, there are doctrinal chapters, which are explanations, not decisions; and disciplinary chapters, which regulate ecclesiastical matters; but the decisions are found in the canons. Now it is true that the fourth doctrinal chapter of the session thirteenth does indeed explain, but does not decide, the doctrine of transubstantiation. The fourth disciplinary chapter regulates the manner of degrading criminal clergymen. The fourth canon decides that the presence in the sacrament, is not only at the moment of communion, but exists there before, and continues therein after. The second canon decides, that the presence is by transubstantiation. The canon you have given us is the first, and is precisely the one in whose doctrine, above all others, except the eighth, deciding against mere spiritual presence and mere spiritual eating, the Lutherans, properly so called, and the Catholics are perfectly agreed. It is a decision in support of the doctrine of the real presence without describing the mode of that presence. "If any one shall deny that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist there are contained truly, really and substantially the body and blood together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore whole Christ, but shall say (you print "and say") that he is there only as in a sign (you print "that it is only as a sign") or figure, or by his influence: Let him be anathema." You perceive, Sir, that I have given St. Paul's phrase, "let him be anathema," which the Church uses after his example, (*Galat.* i, 8, 9,) for the "he is accursed"—that some persons are so fond of printing, for their own purpose. Now, it is clear, that Luther and Melancthon, and all their associates, as well as Hinkel and his associates, agree with the Catholics in the doctrine here delivered. So does the Confession of Augsburg. So does its apology. So does the Confession of Smalcald. So do the catechisms. So does Luther's last confession against Zuinglius. So do all the standards enumerated by Mosheim. I believe then, that your friends, if you will permit me so to call the Hinkelites, are, so far as regards their doctrine on the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, by this time pretty well covered by your own declaration; for they find that the doctrine of the real presence is one of "the funda-

mental articles of the word of God," and that it is "taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession," to wit, in the tenth article of the said document, in all the forms in which that article is given, in its several varieties.

There, Sir, I leave them under the protection of this ægis, altogether secure, as they do not hold this presence by the mode of transubstantiation; whilst I proceed to point out the mistake which you made in your 24th paragraph, where you say that "According to this doctrine," that is to say, the doctrine of the first canon of the thirteenth session of the Council of Trent, or that of the real presence, "the priest is supposed to possess the miraculous power, by pronouncing these four words—'*Hoc est corpus meum*'—(this is my body,) of converting a piece of bread in the form of a wafer, into the real body and blood, soul and divinity of Jesus Christ." Now, I beg to inform you, that what you undertake to describe here is transubstantiation, whereas the doctrine of the canon goes no farther than the real presence. Luther believed the body, and so forth to be really present, but denied that it was by conversion. Again, they who say that the conversion takes place, do not say that it is by the mere power of the priest, but by virtue of the institution of Christ, and by the direct and immediate power of God. Neither do they say that it is effected by pronouncing the above four words, but by saying and doing what Christ directed to be said and done, for that purpose.

This letter has been extended to a length far beyond what I had expected; I must therefore leave the Hinkelite where I have placed him, whilst I as yet continue outside,—but should you eject him for discovering that he holds transubstantiation, I trust that he shall not be long ousted, before he and I shall enter and keep lawful possession under the authority of a very sufficient *habere*.

Meantime, Rev. Sir, I have the honor to be,

Yours, and so forth, B. C.

LETTER IV.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Feb. 22, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—In my last I sought to establish these positions: 1. That the Confession of Augsburg, taught the doctrine of the real presence. 2. That this was the doctrine of Luther and of his associates. And, 3. That such continued to be their doctrine down to the time of his death. I stated my belief that the Hinkelites held only this opin-

ion, and therefore, so far as their doctrine on the nature of the Eucharist is concerned, that they are protected by the Confession of Augsburg.

I now proceed to show that upon your statement of the manner in which at your ordination in this country, (par. 39) you receive the doctrinal articles of that confession, you cannot dogmatically assert that the doctrine of transubstantiation is inconsistent with "the fundamental articles of the word of God."

You profess to believe "that the fundamental articles of the word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession."—(Par. 39).

In paragraph 12, you exhibit to us the first twenty-one articles, as treating of doctrine; the remaining seven as treating of Roman Catholic corruptions.

Amongst those twenty-one, the tenth regards the Eucharist,—and, whatever might have been the opinions of its compilers, this article does not reject the doctrine of transubstantiation. Neither is this doctrine rejected by any of the articles; but several critical theologians teach, as Maclaine does, as stated in my last letter, that the plain natural meaning of the tenth article favors the doctrine. "In that edition of its defence that some Lutherans look upon as the most genuine and authentic, he speaks of the presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist in the very strongest terms that the Roman Catholic use to express the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation." The omission of the expressions alluded to by this writer, in subsequent editions, does not blot them from the original work. I am not now examining whether the formularies of any portion of the original Lutheran section of what are called Reformers, condemn transubstantiation, but I am confining myself to the expressions of the Confession delivered to Charles V and the Diet at Augsburg.

We have seen what Dr. Maclaine said of the defence. Let us again look to the form which Hospinian and others exhibit to us as the most authentic. "That the true body and blood of Jesus Christ are truly present distributed and received in the holy supper under the species of bread and wine." Now I really do not know any stronger expression that I could use to convey my full and perfect belief of transubstantiation. I am far from saying that Luther believed in the doctrine, at the time the formulary was drawn up, or that Melancthon did; but I say the words express my belief, and that belief is in the doctrine of transubstantiation. I then say that this doctrine is not censured by the article which is thus expressed. But the article does not stop there; it goes farther, for it adds: "And those are disapproved

of who teach the contrary." So far then, from condemning my belief, the article in plain words condemns those who teach what is contrary thereto. Thus the Confession of Augsburg will cover me as well as the Hinkelite from your censure; but it will disapprove of the Zuinglians and perhaps of the Calvinists.

Now what does the Book of Concord say of this article, thus expressed?—It prefaces the article with this observation (*Apol. Conf. Aug.* Conc. p. 157). "The article of the supper is thus taught from the word of God in the Augsburg Confession." Yes, Rev. Sir, these are the very words of Melancthon. So that I have his support for asserting that I am protected against you by the declaration "that the fundamental articles of the word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession." This protects me from the charge that transubstantiation is contrary to the word of God!

But you tell me, and I admit, that Luther and Melancthon rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation. I know that they did, but that rejection was not inserted in the doctrinal articles of this Confession which "clearly defined" "the doctrines of the reformation." And I do not mean to say that they agree with me, but that the Augsburg Confession does not condemn me on this point. And this is still farther confirmed by the fact that I stated in my second letter, that the Catholic Divines who were employed to refute the Confession found nothing on this head to employ them.

You state in paragraph 39, "The views of Melancthon were, that the Saviour was merely virtually or influentially present in the sacrament." It is with great reluctance that I venture to controvert any statement which you deliberately make; but I will ask if such were his views when he wrote those passages, did he not take a very strange mode of expressing them? However, perhaps your statement and mine may refer to two different periods. The passages above quoted were written in 1530 and 1531, or perhaps both in the first named year. Subsequently to this, writing of Bucer's efforts he says, as I quoted in my last letter: "The presence which Bucer admits is but a presence in word and a presence of virtue: but it is the presence of the body and blood and not their virtue, which we require." In 1535, however, he began to waver on the subject. He then collected from the Fathers many passages in support of the real presence. He was no very erudite divine, though a very great Reformer, and he stumbled over what, at this day, would form no difficulty to a theological tyro. He desired in 1536 that an assembly should be held to treat the subject of the supper "without

passion, without sophistry, without tyranny." (Lib. ii, Ep. 40, iii, Ep. 188). How true is your description! "whilst, however, all the Reformers agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, they unfortunately differed amongst themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead."

The history of Melancthon is very unlike that of Luther. They were very different men. Melancthon was a better classical scholar, a man of far more taste, of a more affable disposition, but much less skilled in ecclesisatical lore, though Luther, through admiration for whom this mild man was insensibly led away, had very little theology to spare. Melancthon fell into none of the paroxysms or excesses of the mighty lion of the Reformation, but he was not without his uneasiness. His own expressions in his doubts, and uncertainty, are (Lib. ii, Ep. 202) "The Elbe with all its streams would not have furnished water sufficient to weep for the sorrows of the divided Reformation." In this frame of mind he continued more or less doubting and unsteady, during the rest of his life. In 1541, at the conference of Rastisbon, he with the Catholics acknowledges the real and substantial presence, but he confines it to the moment of communion. In 1551, at the desire of Maurice the Elector of Saxony, he drew up a new confession, known by the name of Saxonic, to be presented to the Council of Trent:—he calls it a repetition of that of Augsburg, but instead of giving the doctrine of the Eucharist in two or three lines, as at Augsburg, he endeavors to mystify it in twice as many pages; the conclusion of which would be, that "in the established use of communion Jesus Christ is truly and substantially present, truly given to those who receive the body and blood of Jesus Christ; whereby Jesus Christ testifies that he is in them, and makes them his members." I apprehend this is more than saying that the Saviour was merely virtually or influentially present in the sacrament. In 1557, at the conference at Worms, where it was again essayed to reconcile the Catholics and the Lutherans; at the previous conferences between the Lutherans alone, the first proposal of the ambassadors of the Protestant princes, to the Doctors was, that the error of the Zuinglians ought to be condemned. Their teaching was that "the Saviour was merely virtually or influentially present in the sacrament." Melancthon, on this, agreed "that the Zuinglians deserved to be condemned as well as the Papists." This is the first time that we find him openly "condemning" the Papists. Yet you perceive that he equally condemns what you in paragraph 39, call his own "views."

In 1558, for the first time, the Lutherans at the assembly of Frankfort synodically, if I may use the term, reject transubstantiation. They

begin, of course, by stating that they only repeat the doctrine of the Confession of Augsburg,—which in its tenth article stated that the body and blood are truly present under the species of bread and wine, and which expressions were found as the genuine and authentic words of the original, in the French translation used by the Lutherans of that very city of Frankfort. Yet the assembly now stated that Jesus Christ was given in the use of the sacrament, truly, substantially and in a vivifying manner; and that this sacrament contained two things, viz: "the bread and the body; and that it is an invention of the monks, unknown to all antiquity, to say, that the body is given to us under the species of bread."

Now, if the "doctrines of the Reformation" were "clearly defined" in the year 1530, in the Confession of Augsburg, the tenth article of which stated that "the true body and blood of Jesus Christ were truly present, distributed and received in the holy supper, under the species of bread and wine, and those are disapproved of who teach the contrary"—can we say that "it is an invention of the monks unknown to all antiquity, to say, that the body is given to us under the species of bread?" I apprehend that the Catholic doctrine is better protected by the Augsburg Confession than is this teaching of the Doctors of Frankfort in 1558, that is, twenty-eight years after the "doctrines of the Reformation were clearly defined," and after those who taught contrary to having the body under the species were disapproved!

As in paragraph 26, you state that "in the writings of Luther, previous to 1530, it would not be difficult to find some things in favor of errors which he afterwards renounced, and which the church to which he was attached subsequently brought nearer to Scripture truth:" I have hitherto abstained from making any such references; hence I shall not produce his reasons, if so I may call them, for teaching that the body of Jesus Christ is every where, and consequently that it is in the Eucharist. This is, as you know, called the doctrine of Ubiquity. It is astonishing to observe what various efforts that were made, during some centuries, to escape on one side from admitting the truth of the Catholic doctrine; and on the other, to try and avoid palpably contradicting the plain meaning of the words of Christ. In 1559, many of the leading Doctors of the Lutherans taught this doctrine of the real presence by Ubiquity. Melancthon was shocked at it, as well he might be, and exposed its perfect absurdity. It was indeed in this moment, that your remark was fully applicable "having rejected transubstantiation, they could not agree what they should substitute in its stead," and Melancthon wrote to Calvin upon the subject. There were many

points on which they could not both agree. Though Melancthon was now strongly inclined towards the Sacramentarian doctrine, by force of the process that I have described; still we have no documentary evidence of his own, nor any act of his to set up against all his former acts, professions and writings. Calvin, however, claims him, though he repeatedly complains that Melancthon never would sufficiently express himself upon the subject. Peucer, son-in-law to Melancthon, who became a convert from Lutheranism to Calvinism, however distinctly states that his father-in-law was a Calvinist,—yet he is claimed by his old party. He died in 1560, I believe, from all that I could see, in a state of perfect doubt and uncertainty; a consequence of living as he had done, for as he well expresses it himself, "In too much disputing, truth escapes."

At the period of Melancthon's framing the Saxonic Confession, Christopher, Duke of Wirtemberg, procured that another should be drawn by Brentius; this was done in 1552, for the purpose of being presented to the Council of Trent. It's author was considered only second to Melancthon in the Lutheran body at that period. Christopher states that he only confirms and repeats the Augsburg Confession, but the article on the Eucharist is quite in a different style. It says "that the true body and the true blood of the Saviour are distributed in the Eucharist, and rejects those who say that the bread and wine are signs of the body and blood of Jesus Christ absent," "that it is in the power of God to annihilate the substance of bread or to change it into his body; but that God does not exercise this power in the supper, and therefore that true bread remains with the true substance of the body," "that although Jesus Christ be distributed whole and entire, as well in the bread as in the wine of the Eucharist, yet still the use of both parts ought to be universal."

This confession shews that the doctrine of transubstantiation is not the expression of an absurdity, but recognises the possibility of its truth, by the very means which Catholics teach to be the fact, viz. that God by his power either annihilates or removes the bread, placing the body of Christ where it was, and by occasion of this new substance, producing on the senses of those present, the same effects as if the original substance of bread yet remained.

You are aware also that Hospinian produced a letter of Melancthon, dated in 1534, in which he states, and as matter at which he is not pleased, that Luther allowed some Italian Churches to which he wrote, to hold the doctrine of transubstantiation.

You have brought under our view what I already have alluded to,

the caution given by Luther in the evening of his days: "I entreat you to read my writings with cool consideration, and even with much pity. I wish you to know that when I began the affair of indulgences, I was a monk and a most mad Papist, I went seriously to work as one who had a horrible dread of the day of judgment, and who, from his inmost soul was anxious for salvation." One would imagine it to be impossible for any person to have better dispositions for pursuing an honest course in examining a theological question,—and the following part of the sentence is scarcely the conclusion for which we would be prepared, after such an introduction. "You will find therefore in my earlier writings, many things of which I do not now approve!" You therefore tell us, that "it will consequently not be difficult to find in the writings of Luther, previous to 1530, some things in favor of errors which he afterwards renounced, and which the church to which he was attached subsequently brought nearer to Scripture truth."

Now Sir, I am about to make a few quotations from his writings previous to 1530, but I apprehend that they only express what he continued to hold and to defend, in and after 1530, and down to the period of his death; and in doing so, I but imitate your example. Your thirtieth paragraph is an extract from Luther's answer to Henry VIII, King of England, written in 1522, and expressing Luther's adherence to the opinion of consubstantiation, and his rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation.

In his book *On the Captivity of Babylon* (t. ii, f. 66,) he does not condemn the doctrine of transubstantiation, but he prefers the opinion, that the bread is not changed, but that it remains with the body, which is introduced by the consecration. "I permit both the one and the other opinion, I only take away the scruple." This was subsequently to his having written on indulgences and when he had ceased to be "a mad Papist," for it was in 1520. Shall I say that he had then ceased also to have the dread of the day of judgment, and ceased to be anxious for his salvation? In a subsequent writing (*Resp. ad. act. extra.* t. ii, 172) he states, when charged with asserting that the bread remains in the Eucharist, that certainly he does so assert, but, "I do not condemn the contrary opinion, I only state that it is not an article of faith."

These passages were written previous to that quoted by you against transubstantiation, and I adduced them merely to show the process of his change. Henry answered his book *On the Captivity of Babylon*, and dwelt very forcibly on the error of denying transubstantiation. Luther in his rejoinder (*Contra Regem Angl.*) says, "I have taught that it was a matter of no importance whether bread remained in the sac-

rament or not; but I now transubstantiate my opinion; I say it is an impiety and a blasphemy to hold that the bread is transubstantiated!'' this was written in 1523. I believe it was in the same year that he wrote to the Vaudois; ''it is true that I believe it to be erroneous to assert that the bread does not remain, although, hitherto this error appeared to me of little importance; but now that we are too much pressed to admit this error, without the authority of Scripture, I am determined, in order to annoy the Papists, to believe that the bread and wine do remain.'' These passages though written before 1530 were clearly not written when he was ''a most mad Papist.''

These are not passages ''in favor of errors which he afterwards renounced,'' but they develop the progress from a belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation to denying that it was an article of faith, then, prefering the opinion that the substance of bread remained with the body;—next denying that the opinion of the bread being changed, was innocent or indifferent; and lastly declaring, as he did in the book against ''Henry, no longer King, but sacrilegious wretch,'' ''fool'' ''idot'' ''most brutal ass,'' anathematizing, or, if you prefer it, ''cursing him'' and all who believe in transubstantiation. It was in the following year that he defied Carlostadius to write against the doctrine of the real presence; to the truth of which he firmly adhered to the day of his death. Yet in 1530 neither he nor any of his associates condemn transubstantiation in the Confession presented at Augsburg.

I therefore repeat, that however the compilers of that document may have opposed the doctrine, it is left untouched by the Confession.

I now proceed, Rev. Sir, to protect our doctrine against the assaults of both Lutherans and Sacramentarians, by using for that purpose, their own united aid. The early Lutherans held the doctrine of the real presence as firmly as the Catholics do. They said however that besides the Saviour's body and blood, the substance of the bread and wine remained in the Eucharist. In a word, they held the opinion of consubstantiation.—We have seen how firmly Luther held to it and condemned the Zuinglians to the end of his life. Fourteen years after his death, and in the very year that Melancthon died, 1560, a Synod held at Jena, in which, I think it was Illyricus who presided, condemned the Zuinglians for their denying the real and substantial presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Calvin called their Lord's supper, on this account, a supper of Cyclops, ''at which may be witnessed a barbarity fitting Scythians.'' (*Opuscul.* pp. 798, 803, 837). I may easily extend my proofs, and continue them to a much later period. Now Luther states that he found this doctrine in the Scripture, and of his com-

petency to make the discovery, whatever doubts may be entertained by others, he had none, himself; for he tells us in 1525 (*Ad. maled. Reg. Ang.* t. ii, 498). "I have the Pope in front: I have the Sacramentarians and Anabaptists in my rear; but I will march out alone against them all; I will defy them to battles; I will trample them under my feet." . . . "I will say it without vanity, that for these thousand years, the Scripture has never been so thoroughly purged, nor so well explained, nor better understood than it is at present by me."

I shall now advert to some few of his observations in answer to the arguments of the Zuinglians. He says that to attempt to make such precise and simple words as the Saviour used at the institution of the Eucharist, be looked upon as only figurative, under the plea that there are other expressions in the Scripture which are acknowledged to be figurative, was to open a way to make the whole Scripture, and every statement it contains be reduced to a figure, according to the caprice of every or any individual, and thus would every mystery of religion and every truth of revelation be carried away. This, Rev. Sir, is very like making a prophecy of what we now know to be history, in the Rationalism of Germany, which is but a legitimate consequence of the principle that he sustained for himself, and combats, in others. He says, that we must receive the mysterious doctrine of the Eucharist with the same submission that we receive the other mysteries, not attending to human reasoning nor to the laws of nature but to Jesus Christ and his words only. He then shows that at the institution of the Eucharist, our Saviour did not speak of faith, nor of the Holy Spirit; but said "This is my body," and not, that faith will make you partakers of this body: that the eating of which he speaks is not a mystical eating, but a real eating with the mouth; that without using any sacrament, the union of faith is consummated. (*Serm. de Corp. et Sang. Christi, defens. Verbi Coene.* t. vii, 277, 381). He says that it is not to be believed, that Jesus Christ by such emphatic words as he used did not give to us some thing quite peculiar; that it is evident his intention was to assure us of his gift by giving to us his person: that in desiring us to remember his death or to commemorate him, he does not exclude his own presence: but that he obliges us to receive the body and the blood of himself as of a victim immolated for us: that this victim became ours by eating, that then indeed faith should exist in order to make it profitable for the receiver; but that the word of Jesus Christ would produce its effect independently of the existence of faith in the communicant. He refers to the communion of the unworthy. And he has recourse to the testimony of St. Paul, who after [citing] the words

"this is my body" severely condemns those unworthy persons who did not discern that body of the Lord, and who rendered themselves guilty of his body and his blood. He remarks that St. Paul clearly spoke of a "true body" and not of a figurative body, for he censures those persons for having insulted Jesus Christ, not by merely abusing his gifts; but by ill-treating his person.

He took up the objections of the Zuinglians then, to dispose of—"The flesh profiteth nothing!" He asked why they would apply to that flesh which the Saviour took and by which he redeemed the world; those expressions used to censure the carnal sense of persons who did not comprehend the sublime truths of God, of persons who mistook the manner in which Jesus Christ was to give his flesh to be eaten; words that should be understood of those evil Christians who indeed receive the flesh not to their profit, because they receive it without that faith by which they would be truly joined therewith, and by which they would partake of the spirit and life with which that sacrament abounds.

They objected, by asking, What did it profit to receive this flesh by the mouth? He asked what did it profit that the word was made flesh? Could not God have devised other means? Why did he select this mode? He said it was not for us to be God's counsellors, but to be taught by him. We know not his secret ways. It is not for us to prescribe to him the manner in which he will confer his favors, but it is our duty to receive them when offered. They asked, how could the same body, be at the same time in many places? How a perfect human body could be in so small a space? He asked them to explain the other mysteries. The Trinity; the creation; the incarnation; the resurrection of the dead. They objected, that all the miracles of Jesus Christ were obvious to the senses, but that this was not. He asked them where they had learned, that because miracles obvious to the senses had been performed, none not so obvious would ever be wrought. He enumerated several that were not obvious. The conception of Jesus in the womb of the Virgin; Mary would not have known what she bore in her womb, had not the Angel announced to her the miraculous mystery!—When the Saviour walked on the earth as other men did, who could tell that the divinity was personally and corporeally united to him! We know that he is now at the right hand of his Father, yet this does not fall under our senses.

They said that they could not comprehend how Jesus Christ could literally execute what he said, if those words of the institution were to be taken in their plain and obvious meaning. Luther answered, that this only showed that human sense is not equal to divine wisdom; that

it would be a novelty to discover that nothing could be true, except we should discern it by merely opening our eyes, or finding that it was within the compass of human reason. (*Serm. quod verba stent.*)

Luther felt that his arguments were strong and therefore he gave himself full credit; for he writes (*Ep. Luth. ap. Hosp.* 2, *part. ad an.* 1534, f. 132) "The papists themselves are obliged to give me the credit of having defended the doctrine of the literal sense much better than they did;—and in truth, I am certain that if they were all melted down into one mass they would never be able to maintain it with the strength and power that I do."

I believe then, that it will not be denied that the greater portion of the Reformers, as they are called, during their first half century, or to be more distinct, during the sixteenth century, held with Luther the doctrine of the real presence. They refused to receive into their communion those who denied it; though they charged the Catholics with error in belief, as to the mode of that presence, viz. by transubstnatiation, yet they regarded them as holding that doctrine which Christ revealed and which the true Church had always taught, in sustaining that the body and blood of the Saviour were really, truly and substantially present in a mysterious manner in the holy Eucharist.

Were the question then to have been put to the general vote of the Protestants, during the eighty years that elapsed from the denial of transubstantiation by Luther, to the end of that century: "Is the Roman Catholic Church in error, when she teaches that Christ is really, truly and substantially present in the sacrament of the Eucharist?"—the decision of a very great majority would have been that she was not!

In 1631, whilst the Lutherans still held the very same doctrine, the Synod of Charenton, in France, which was Calvinistic, made a decree, "That the Germans and others who follow the Confession of Augsburg, since the Churches of the Augsburg Confession agree with the others in the fundamental principles and tenets of the true religion; and that in their worship, there is neither idolatry nor superstition, may, without making any abjuration, be received to the holy table, also to contract marriage with the faithful of our Confession, and to present as godfathers, children to baptism, in promising the consistory, that they will never solicit them to act counter, directly or indirectly, to the doctrine received and professed in our Churches, but will be contented with instructing them in the principles wherein we agree."—Thus, at the end of a century after the Lutherans had professed and taught the doctrine of the real presence, and after they had during that century refused to receive into their communion, any persons who would not

subscribe their assent to this belief, and still continued that refusal; we have the formal declaration of this Synod of Calvinistic Reformers, that in this belief there is neither idolatry nor superstition; and the persons who hold that doctrine are admitted to their communion. I do not think it going too far then to state that the Calvinists of France did not believe this doctrine of the real presence to be in contradiction to the pure word of God. The Sacramentarians of Zurich had more than a century before made a similar overture at Marpurg and have continued to exhibit the same sentiments ever since. Thus we have the majority of the Protestants testifying that this doctrine is the revelation of Christ; and a very considerable and respectable portion of the minority declaring solemnly, that in this belief there is nothing either idolatrous or superstitious, or that forms an obstacle to those who hold it, being admitted to a full participation of religious ministrations. Thus, at all events, the Church cannot be assailed by those who adhere to the Reformation of the first hundred years for teaching the doctrine of the real presence.

This position being established, I proceed to ascertain the sentiments of large bodies of Protestants of that same century, supposing the truth of this doctrine, for the purpose of examining whether Transubstantiation or Consubstantiation is, in their view, more congenial to Scripture and to reason. Of course I shall not quote Lutheran authority.

Zuinglius and his associates, as early as 1527, proclaimed to Luther that if the literal sense of the words of the institution was sustained, transubstantiation must be a necessary consequence, (*Hisp. ad an.* 1527, f. 49, and so forth). They remarked, that Jesus Christ did not say, "my body is here," nor "my body is with this, or under this," nor "this contains my body," but only "this is my body." Hence that what he is to give the faithful is not a substance which contains his body, or which accompanies his body, but it is his body, without any extraneous substance. Neither has he said, "this bread is my body," which was another of Luther's explanations, but by an indefinite term he has said, "this is my body," to show that the substance which he gives is no longer bread, but is his body.

That they were quite right is very obvious, for when Luther attempted to explain the words "this is my body," to mean "this bread is really and without figure my body," he actually destroyed the meaning of the words. They showed that it could not be his body, if it was bread, neither could it be bread if it was his body; though his body might have the appearance of bread, and be denominated from its

appearance to be, not what it really was, but that which it seemed to be. It may also be said that bread becomes the body, as at Cana water became wine by a substantial change. Zuinglius and his associates, however, proved against him that it was a senseless effort at reasoning to assert that bread being really what it appeared to be, was also really and truly the body of our Lord, and concluded that he must admit with them only a mere moral change, or admit a change of substance with "the Papists," for, Rev. Sir, they were accustomed to call nicknames!

Beza, at the conference of Montbeliart, also tells the Lutherans that of the two explanations which hold to the literal sense, "that of the Catholics departs least from the words of the institution of the supper, when they are to be expounded word for word." "The transubstantiators say, that by virtue of the divine words, that which before was bread having changed its substance, becomes immediately the body of Jesus Christ, so that in this manner the proposition, This is my body, may be true. But the explanation of consubstantiators saying, that the words This is my body, signify my body is essentially in, with or under this bread! does not inform us what that bread has become, and what that is which is the body, but merely where it is." Hence Beza concluded, that there is far less difficulty of understanding the Catholic expressions, and that they fully sustain the literal sense, if that must be preserved.—(*Conf. de Month. imprim. a Gen.* 1487, p. 52.)

In the Synod of Czenger, in Poland, the decision of the Zuinglians (*Lit de Caena in Syn. Gen.* part 1) was of course against transubstantiation, but the Synod proceeds to show the Lutheran consubstantiation to be indefensible, "because as the rod of Moyses was not a serpent, but by transubstantiation; and, as the water was not blood in Egypt, nor wine at the marriage feast of Cana, without a change; so the bread of the supper cannot be substantially the body of Christ, unless it be changed into flesh by losing the form and the substance of bread." Thus, if the body of our Lord be really present, it must, according to them, be by transubstantiation.

Amongst the Lutherans themselves, Melancthon clearly saw that the doctrine of the real presence could not be sustained without admitting transubstantiation. He, on that account at last came to say, but in his usual hesitating manner, that as Jesus Christ instituted the Eucharist for man, we must look, not to what was done for the bread, but what was done for man. And, hence, it was supposed that his belief ended in stating that what was in the sacrament was bread, but that at communion the body and blood were really found not in the bread but in

man himself, who received them. Hence, in the Assembly that was held at Dresden, in 1561, the Divines of Wittenberg and Leipsic, who were chiefly his disciples, affirm that, if Jesus Christ be present in the bread at the supper, "it would be much more easy for the monks to establish their transubstantiation, than for those to impugn it, who, rejecting it by words, affirmed notwithstanding that the bread was the essential body, that is, the proper body of Jesus Christ." However, after another struggle with themselves, Wittenberg and Leipsic broke through the difficulty without solving it, and held firmly to the teaching of their first master. They professed to believe in the real presence in the bread.

Thus the great body of the Protestants proclaim that Jesus Christ taught the doctrine of the real presence; and, the bulk of the remainder declare that if he did, he must have instituted transubstantiation.

You may look upon this doctrine to be absurd, but it is possible that you have not examined it with sufficient accuracy before you formed this opinion. There are at present in the Roman Catholic Church, in the United States, men respected for their sound judgment, their deep research, their habits of calm investigation, and their acute and accurate powers of discrimination. I do not allude to its clergy, nor to its professed theologians, I allude to men of other learned professions—to men of science, and to men of common sense. I have the happiness of an intimate personal acquaintance with many of this description, who believe in the truth of that doctrine, as firmly as they do in their own existence: and some of them have adopted it upon close examination, after mature reflection, though they had previously thought of it as you appear now to think. They all understand clearly and distinctly, the precise terms of the doctrine, the meaning of those terms, and also the plain and simple fact, whose truth they believe. It is, Rev. Sir, a little hazardous to assert, that men of this description "have arrived at that state of credulity, that renders them incapable of deciding between truth and error." It is scarcely modest to say this of the first judicial officer of the United States, of one of the most distinguished jurists upon the Supreme Bench of North Carolina, and of several more that I could name. You are rather unfortunate in relying upon the authority of Dean Swift, who, though gifted with genius, was at all times eccentric, and who died after years of confinement in a Lunatic Asylum.

But cast your eyes over the rest of the world and behold the millions who believe this doctrine—you may honestly imagine that they err, but how will you venture to class them with idiots? Look back upon

the ages that have passed away:—see the sages and the philosophers and the saints who have held this doctrine, and you do not hesitate to call them fools?—I shall ask you only as to one—and I shall place him by the side of yourself.—Will you claim a precedence over Fenelon? And yet—you have been so thoughtless as to place him in the category of fools. There is an unfortunate exhibition of self-sufficiency in the authors who assail us. They write and they speak as if all the genius and information which God bestows upon the human family were on their side, and all the folly, the imbecility and ignorance were with us.

I believe, that we are equally gifted; and the question is not which of us has more or less sense, or information; nor which of us has made best use of the gifts we have received; but it is, whether the Roman Catholic Church, in teaching the doctrine of transubstantiation, has departed from the revelation made by Jesus Christ to his Apostles.—You say that we have, and that Luther and his associates substituted the original truth for the errors of our introduction. I have already afforded some grounds to doubt that they have. You have yourself stated, that having rejected our doctrine, they differed amongst themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead.—I shall continue the inquiry and remain, Rev. Sir,

Yours, and so forth,

B. C.

LETTER V.

CHARLESTON, S. C., March 1, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—I did intend exhibiting in my fourth letter the evidence which I was compelled to reserve for this. I shall proceed then to show, that you not only were fully authorized to use the language that you did respecting Calvin, in your 40th paragraph, but much stronger if you thought fit.

Your 40th paragraph is the following—

"Have we not a right then to appeal to the candor and liberality of our Protestant brethren, between whose faith and ours, the difference is so slight that it can scarcely be detected. What if some of our members believe that the spiritual body of their risen and ascended Saviour be present in the sacrament, and after their rejection of transubstantiation it can only be present in a spiritual manner, does our article differ materially from the creeds of other Churches. In the confession

of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, we find the following words: 'We confess that Jesus Christ nourishes us in the Holy Supper with his true body and blood, and that he really and verily communicates to us what he therein represents.' (See Risler's *Extracts*). Calvin in his institute, says, 'I therefore maintain, that in the mystery of the Supper, by the emblems of bread and wine, Christ is really exhibited to us; that is his body and blood, in which he yielded full obedience, in order to work out a righteousness for us; by which we may, in the first place, become united with him into one body; and secondly, being made partakers of the substance of himself, also be strengthened by the reception of every blessing.'' (Calvin's *Institut.* lib. iv., ch. xvii).

Now, Sir, if the Hinkelite also rejects transubstantiation, as I presume he does, has he not an equal right to appeal to the candor and liberality of his Lutheran Evangelical brethren?

But leaving him and you to settle that point, as may be most agreeable to yourselves, I proceed to show that John Calvin in many places, used language which is fully calculated to sustain the doctrine of the real presence, yet that he reprobates the opinion of consubstantiation, and plainly shows it to be his opinion, that if Christ be really, truly and substantially present in the Eucharist, the doctrine of Transubstantiation is more reasonable than that of Consubstantiation.

The passage, which you quote, is indeed very strong: and if taken by itself without reference to any other part of his writings, would seem to be conclusive. Yet, Sir, you and I know full well, that this great leader in the religious changes of the sixteenth century, not only combated transubstantiation, but also consubstantiation, and the real presence. He also combated Zuinglianism; and it is perhaps one of the most curious inquiries, and one of the most intricate, to search for his opinion respecting the Eucharist. He wrote much on the subject, and at one moment his reader imagines that he has fully comprehended and accurately discovered what Calvin would teach, but at the very instant that this flattering expectation is indulged, the writer by one or two expressions as vague as they are unlooked for and unwelcome, eludes the grasp, and is again abroad upon a wide and pathless plain.

Calvin was, unquestionably, a man of great abilities, who knew the use of words, who wrote well, whose mind was acute, restless, refining and subtle, nor did he undervalue his own qualities. In one of his works he writes, (*Resp. ad Bald.* p. 370) ''To all France is known my irreproachable faith, my integrity, my patience, my watchfulness, my moderation, my assiduous labors for the service of the church; things that from my earliest youth stand proved by so many illustrious tokens.

With the support of such a conscience to be able to hold my station to the end of my life, is for me enough." Luther had more genius, more vehemence, more coarseness; but Calvin had more system, more taste, more acrimony; but so far from expecting to find any acknowledgment of this latter quality, we find him assert, after having written with unusual bitterness, "That he was so far from having any gall when he penned those abusive reproaches, that upon perusing his production, he was perfectly astonished how so much harsh language could have escaped him, when he knew his heart to be void of all bitterness." But he imagines that he accounts for it very naturally, when he says, "that it was the heinousness of the subject which furnished him with all those words of reproach, which so spontaneously came forth, that they were ready to break out at every moment: nor is he displeased that those stupid creatures have smarted under his lash, as indeed it may tend to their improvement."

Such was the man, who, viewing the three existing modes of explaining the nature of the Eucharist, undertook to condemn them all, for the purpose of substituting a new one of his own.

In the fourth book of his *Institutes*, chap. xvii, number 12, he misrepresents the Catholic doctrine in the following words, "In the first place we must be careful not to dream of such a presence of Christ in the Sacrament, as the ingenuity of the Romanists has invented; as if the body of Christ were exhibited by a local presence, to be felt by the hand, bruised by the teeth and swallowed by the throat." I shall not now enter upon my explanation. In his next paragraph, number 13, fully aware of having misrepresented us, he changes his ground. "Deterred by a horror of such barbarous impiety, the schoolmen have expressed themselves in more modest language, yet they only trifle with equal fallacy, and greater subtility. They admit that Christ is not contained in bread and wine, in a local and corporeal manner." Still, through this whole paragraph, he labors to misrepresent us. In the next paragraph, number 14, he proceeds,—"Hence proceeded that pretended transubstantiation, for which they now contend with more earnestness than all the other articles of their faith," . . . "not that the body is properly made of the bread, but that Christ annihilates the substance of the bread, and conceals himself under its form." Though in his description he has great ingenuity to disfigure and abuse, as well as to misrepresent our doctrine, this last expression may be taken as sufficiently accurate. He adds, "It is astonishing that they could fall into such ignorance, and even stupidity as to promulgate such a mon-

strous notion in direct opposition to the Scripture and to the doctrine of the primitive Church."

Of the Lutherans, he says, in the same chapter, number 16, "Others who percieve it to be impossible to destroy the analogy of the sign, and the thing signified, without subverting the truth of the mystery, acknowledge that the bread in the sacred supper is the true substance of that earthly and corruptible element and undergoes no change in itself, but they maintain, that it has the body of Christ included under it." This, is, I believe, a sufficiently fair exposition of the Lutheran opinion. He proceeds to show a sense in which he would not object to this expression, but he says that this is not their sense if the words. He says, "they suppose it to be impossible for them to partake of him any otherwise, than by his descending into the bread." "It is because they cannot conceive any other participation of his flesh and blood, except what would consist in local conjunction and contact, or in some gross enclosure." And in the next paragraph he says of them, number 17, "They are constrained to confess that the body of Jesus Christ is visible in itself, while, at the same time they say that it is invisibly concealed under the symbol of bread. And yet the promulgators of such monstrous absurdities are so far from being ashamed of their disgrace, that they stigmatise us with unprovoked and enormous calumnies, because we refuse to subscribe to them," by refusing to subscribe to the tenth article of the Confession of Augsburg.

Thus Calvin rejected both Catholics and Lutherans. Let us see what he says of the Zuinglians. Though all who were known by this appellation denied the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament, yet they were not all agreed among themselves as to the nature of the Eucharist; and Calvin, therefore, distinguishes them.

In the same chapter, number 5, he says, alluding to both those who denied the doctrine of the real presence, viz.—the Zuinglians, and to those who taught it, viz. Catholics and Lutherans: "Here it behoves us to guard against two errors: that on the one hand, we may not, by undervaluing the signs, disjoin them from the mysteries with which they are connected: nor, on the other hand, by extolling them beyond measure, obscure the glory of the mysteries themselves. That Christ is the bread of life, by which the faithful are nourished to eternal salvation, there is no man, not entirely destitute of religion, who hesitates to acknowledge: but all are not equally agreed respecting the manner of partaking of him." He then exhibits to us one division of Zuinglians, "For there are some who define in a word, that to eat the flesh of Christ and to drink his blood, is no other than to believe in Christ himself." This

will by no means satisfy him, for he immediately adds: "But I conceive that in that remarkable discourse, in which Christ recommends to us to feed upon his body, he intended to teach us something more striking and sublime; namely that we are quickened by a real participation of him, which he designates by the terms of eating and drinking, that no person might suppose the life which we receive from him, to consist in simple knowledge. For as it is not seeing but eating bread, that administers nourishment to the body; so is it necessary for the soul to have a true and complete participation of Christ, that by his power he may be quickened to spiritual life." Thus he considers the teaching to be erroneous: but I must avow, that when in the sequel, he proceeds to mark the difference between their doctrine and his own, his expressions are to me exceedingly enigmatic.

In the next paragraph, number 6, he introduces another division of Zuinglians. "I say nothing at present of those who maintain the Lord's Supper, to be a mere mark of external profession; because I think I have sufficiently refuted their error when treating of the Sacraments in general." He speaks of a third division in the same chapter, number 7. "Nor am I satisfied with those persons, who, after having acknowledged that we have some communion with Christ, when they mean to describe it, represent us as merely partakers of his spirit, but make no mention of his flesh and blood, as though there was no meaning in those and other similar expressions: 'That his flesh is meat indeed; that his blood is drink indeed; that except we eat his flesh and drink his blood we have no life in us.'"

From these passages, it is manifest, that Calvin did not believe with the Catholics nor with the Lutherans in the real presence, either by transubstantiation or by consubstantiation, nor did he believe with those Zuinglians, who considered that in eating bread and drinking wine, in the celebration of the Sacrament, they were eating Christ, by believing or having faith:—nor did he believe with others that it was an external profession of faith and confidence in him and in his redemption of us by his death; nor with others, that by partaking of the elements we partake of his spirit, and were enlivened by his faith and animated by his love: but he required that we should eat his flesh and drink his blood, though neither his flesh nor his blood was present in what was eaten and drunk. Thus Calvin introduced a new explanation.

But it is much easier to understand what he did not believe, than what was precisely his doctrine. That he acknowledged some presence of Christ in the Sacrament, we should suppose from his expression, number 19. "It is necessary for us to establish such a presence of Christ in

the sacred supper, as neither, on the one hand to fasten him to the element of bread, or to enclose him in it or to circumscribe him, which would derogate from his celestial glory.'' Catholics do not enclose him in it, nor circumscribe him, nor do they fasten him to the element of bread, because they say the bread ceases altogether to be there, at the moment of his arriving where it was. He proceeds, ''nor on the other hand to deprive him of his coporeal dimensions, or to represent his body as in different places at once, or to assign it an immensity diffused through heaven and earth which would be clearly inconsistent with the reality of his nature. . . These absurdities being disclaimed, I readily admit whatever may serve to express the true and substantial communication of the body and blood of the Lord, which is given the faithful under the sacred symbols of the supper; and to express it in a manner implying not a mere reception of it in the imagination or apprehension of the mind, but a real enjoyment of it as the food of eternal life.'' I know of no words stronger to declare the real and true and substantial presence of Christ than those here used, if the first particle, or what he calls disclaiming the absurdities be omitted. And on the other hand, I know the impossibility of two persons in different places communicating at the same moment, if the real, substantial and true body be present in the communion, unless it be present in different places at the same time. Has Calvin attempted to solve this difficulty? He has in number 8, told us that Christ was from the beginning the fountain of life: that the life was manifested by his assuming flesh; that man alienated by sin from God, lost the participation of life; that to receive the hope of immortality, he should be received into communion with the incarnate word ''resident in our flesh,'' openly exhibiting himself to our participation. I shall now give his own words. ''He also makes the very flesh in which he resides the means of giving life to us, that by a participation of it, we may be nourished to immortality. I am the living bread, says he, which came down from Heaven. And the bread that I will give is my flesh for the life of the world. In these words he shows, not only that he is life, as he is the eternal word, who descended from Heaven to us, but that in descending he imparted that power to the flesh which he assumed, in order that it might communicate life to us. Hence follow these declarations. That his flesh is meat indeed, and his blood is drink indeed, meat and drink, by which the faithful are nourished to eternal life.''

In the next paragraph, number 9, after showing that the flesh of Christ had not this power by nature, but is endued therewith by its union with the divine nature, he proceeds to say ''therefore he showed

that the fulness of life dwelt in his humanity, that whoever partook of his flesh and blood, might, at the same time, enjoy a participation of life." "So the flesh of Christ is like a rich and exhaustable fountain, which receives the life flowing from the Divinity, and conveys it to us. Now, who does not see that a participation of the body and blood of Christ is necessary to all who aspire to heavenly life?" The remainder of this paragraph continues a sort of a general description of the union of Church with Christ as a portion of his body.

The next paragraph, number 19, commences—"We conclude, that our souls are fed by the flesh and blood of Christ, just as our corporeal life is preserved and sustained by bread and wine. For, otherwise there would be no suitableness in the analogy of the sign, if our souls did not find their food in Christ; which cannot be the case unless Christ truly becomes one with us, and refreshes us by the eating of his flesh and the drinking of his blood. Though it appears incredible for the flesh of Christ from such an immense local distance to reach us, so as to become our food, we should remember how much the secret power of the Holy Spirit transcends all our senses, and, what folly it is to apply any measure of ours to his immensity. Let our faith receive, therefore, what our understanding is not able to comprehend, that the Spirit really unites things which are separated, by local distance." . . . . "For which reason the Apostle said 'the cup of blessing which we bless is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break is it not the communion of the body of Christ?' Nor, is there any cause to object that it is a figurative expression by which the name of the thing signified, is given to the sign. I grant indeed that the breaking of the bread is symbolical, and not the substance itself: yet, this being admitted, from the exhibition of the symbol we may justly infer the exhibition of the substance, for unless any one would call God a deceiver, he can never presume to affirm that he sets before us an empty sign. Therefore, if by the breaking of bread, the Lord truly represents the participation of his body, it ought not to be doubted that he truly presents and communicates it. And it must always be a rule with the faithful, wherever they see the sign instituted by the Lord, to assure and persuade themselves that they are also accompanied with the truth of the thing signified. For to what end would our Lord deliver into our hands the symbol of his body, except it be to assure us of a real participation of it? If it be true that the visible sign is given to us to seal the donation of the invisible substance, we ought to entertain a confident assurance that in receiving the symbol of this body, we at the same time truly receive the body itself."

In his next paragraph, he concludes the description of his opinion of the nature of this Sacrament. In it, we find the following expressions: number 11, "When I intend to give a familiar view of this truth, I am accustomed to state three particulars which it includes: the signification; the matter or substance which depends upon the signification; and the virtue or effect which follows from both. The signification consists in the promises, which are interwoven with the sign. What I call the matter or substance is Christ, with his death and resurrection.—By the effect, I mean redemption, righteousness, sanctification, eternal life, and all the other benefits which Christ conferred upon us." Thus, we at length would seem to have arrived at a declaration, that Christ is the substance of the Eucharist—and this by the secret power of the Holy Spirit. He then proceeds to say, that although Christ is received by faith, he does not thereby mean that he is received merely in the understanding and imagination, and concludes that paragraph with the passage which you have quoted, 40.

I must acknowledge that I do not understand what Calvin teaches or believes, save that it is something between Zuinglius and Luther. Indeed, he tells us himself, number 7, "If, however, it be possible, in any words, to unfold so great a mystery, which I find myself incapable of comprehending, even in my mind; and, this I am ready to acknowledge, that no person may measure the sublimity of the subject by my inadequate representations of it. On the contrary, I exhort my readers not to confine their thoughts within such narrow and insufficient limits, but to endeavor to rise much higher than I am able to conduct them: for as to myself, whenever I handle this subject, after having endeavored to say every thing, I am conscious of having said but very little, in comparrison with its excellence. And, though the conceptions of the mind can far exceed the expressions of the tongue; yet, with the magnitude of the subject, the mind is oppressed and overwhelmed. Nothing remains for me, therefore, but to break forth in admiration of that mystery which the mind is unable clearly to understand, or the tongue to express."

In considering this and similar passages in Calvin's works, I am led to think that this writer had no precise notions upon the subject,—that he neither knew what to believe, nor what to teach respecting the nature of the Eucharist. I do not mean respecting the object of its institution, nor respecting its effects: for upon those two points there is not so much difference, but concerning what was the nature of the sacrament, that is, whether it was mere bread and wine, or if not, what substance did the communicant actually receive. The Catholic plain-

ly said, that is was only the substance of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, but producing upon the senses the same impression, as if it was bread and wine. The Lutherans of that day, said that it was not only the substance of the body and blood of Christ, but also the substance of bread and wine; but that the latter substances alone made any impression on the human senses. The Zuinglian said that the only substances which were present were those of bread and wine. He said that there was no miracle, but that this observance was instituted for a special purpose, and produced certain spiritual effects. The Catholic and the Lutheran both said than an exertion of the miraculous power of God was necessary, but the Lutheran required probably one miracle more than was required by the Catholic. Calvin rejects the Catholic doctrine, he rejects that of the Lutheran, and also that of the Zuinglian. What does he say is the substance received? I have deeply read; I have closely examined; I have reflected as well as I could, and I cannot tell.—Nor do I believe he could tell himself, and if any of his admirers can inform me, it certainly will be an addition to the little stock of knowledge that I possess. You tell us that whilst the Reformers agreed in rejecting transubstantiation, they differed among themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead. But Calvin goes still farther, for he rejects consubstantiation and the mere figurative sense, and he appears to me to differ not only with others but with himself as to what he shall substitute in their stead. He too requires miracles to be wrought in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. (Same chapter, number 24) "But the infamy of this falsehood cannot be entirely effaced, without repelling another calumny: for they accuse us of being so devoted to human reason, as to limit the power of God by the order of nature, and to allow him no more than our own understanding teaches us to ascribe to him. Against such iniquitous aspersions, I appeal to the doctrine which I have maintained; which will sufficiently evince that I have far from measuring this mystery by the capacity of human reason, or subjecting it to the laws of nature. . . . . We say that Christ descends to us, both by the external symbol and by his spirit, that he may truly vivify our souls with the substance of his flesh and blood. He who perceives not that many miracles are comprehended in these few words, is more than stupid; for there is nothing more preternatural, than for souls to derive spiritual and heavenly life from the flesh which had its origin from the earth, and was subject to death; nothing is more incredible than for things separated from each other by all the distance of heaven and earth, notwithstanding that immense local distance, to be not only connected but united, so that our souls re-

ceive nourishment from the flesh of Christ. Let those fanatics, then, no longer attempt to render us odious by such a calumny, as though we in any respect limited the infinite power of God; which is either a most stupid mistake or an impudent falsehood."

In number 31, he writes of Catholics and Lutherans,—"They are exceedingly deceived, who cannot conceive any presence of the flesh of Christ in the supper, except it be attached to the bread. . . . . The only question between us, therefore, respects the manner of this presence; because they place Christ in the bread, and we think it unlawful for us to bring him down from Heaven. Let the reader judge on which side the truth lies. Only let us hear no more of that calumny, that Christ is excluded from the sacrament, unless he be concealed under the bread. For as this is a heavenly mystery, there is no necessity to bring Christ down to the earth, in order to be united to us." (No. 32) "If any one inquire of me respecting the manner, I shall not be ashamed to acknowledge, that it is a mystery too sublime for me to be able to express, or even to comprehend; and to be still more explicit, I rather experience it than understand it. Here therefore, without any controversy, I embrace the truth of God, on which I can safely rely. He pronounces his flesh to be the food, and his blood the drink of my soul. I offer him my soul to be nourished with such aliment. In his sacred supper he commands me, under the symbols of bread and wine, to take and eat, and drink, his body and blood: I doubt not that he truly presents, and that I receive them."

I could multiply quotations not only from his Institutions, but from his Catechisms and other works, placing in a more forcible way his declarations leading to believe a real, true and substantial presence of the flesh and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, by the mysterious and miraculous power of God, at the time of communion. I could adduce a great many of his arguments and vituperations against consubstantiation. But this letter has already swollen too much. I shall therefore only exhibit one or two of his declarations upon this latter subject.

In the same chapter, xvii, number 16, he says of some Lutherans, "by placing the body itself in the bread, they attribute ubiquity to it, which is incompatible with its nature."—After remarking on this he says, number 17: "Some plead with a little more subtility, that the body of Christ which is given in the sacrament, is glorious and immortal, and that therefore it involves no absurdity, if it be contained under the sacrament in various places, or in no place, or without any form." Calvin assails their position only by an effort to distinguish the glorious and the mortal body into different substances. The only difference

between this division of Lutherans and Catholics on this head is, that the former say that the substance of bread and wine remain, whilst the latter state, that the substance alone of Christ remains, producing the same sensible impressions, as if bread and wine continued.

In number 20: Calvin again assails the Lutherans on their effort to hold to the words of the Institution. "Those who acknowledge the continuance of the bread in the supper, and affirm that it is accompanied with the real body of Christ differ considerably among themselves. Those of them who express themselves more modestly, though they strenuously insist on the literal meaning of the words, "This is my body," yet afterwards depart from their literal precision, and explain them to import that the body of Christ is with the bread, in the bread and under the bread. . . . . But if they object to every trope, and insist on taking the words in a sense strictly literal, why do they forsake the language of Christ and adopt a phraseology of their own so very dissimilar? For there is a wide difference between these two assertions, 'that the bread is the body,' and that 'the body is with the bread.' But because they perceived the impossibility of supporting this simple proposition, 'that the bread is the body,' they have endeavored to escape from their embarrassment by those evasions. Others more daring, hesitate not to assert, that in strict propriety of speech, the bread is the body; and thereby prove themselves to be advocates for a truly literal interpretation." You will observe that Catholics and others who teach the doctrine of transubstantiation, hold that there being no bread, the proposition which Calvin here combats is absurd, but the argument which follows, of course, has no application to their doctrine. Calvin continues—"If it be objected then that the bread is Christ, and Christ is God, they will deny this, because it is not expressed in the words of Christ. But they will gain nothing by their denial of it, for it is universally admitted that the whole person of Christ is offered to us in the sacrament. Now it would be intolerable blasphemy to affirm of a frail and corruptible element, without any figure, that it is Christ. I ask them whether these two propositions are equivalent to each other: "Christ is the Son of God, and Bread is the body of Christ." It was after a similar train of argument that he concludes, number 23, by the following observation—"at the same time, as if their victory consisted in obstinancy and calumny, they charge us with accusing Christ of falsehood, if we inquire into the true meaning of his words."

"Now it will be easy for the reader to judge how unjustly we are treated by those syllable-hunters, when they persuade the simple to believe that we derogate from the authority due to the words of Christ,

which we have proved to be outrageously perverted and confounded by them, but to be faithfully and accurately explained by us." Luther in order to sustain, better as he thought, the doctrine of the real presence by consubstantiation, maintained in 1527, the doctrine of Ubiquity, or that the body of Christ is every where, though invisible, except in heaven: hence, that it was present in the sacramental bread,—though upon this principle, it was equally present in any bread or any meat. This was strenuously upheld in 1559, by Illyricus, Westphalus, James Andrew, Smeidelin, Chytræus and other eminent Lutherans. It was his dislike of ubiquity that caused Melancthon to seek an union with Calvin. It was then the doctrine of a large portion of Lutherans when Calvin wrote as follows in the same chapter of his Institutes, number 30: "It is evident that some persons would rather incur the greatest disgrace by betraying their ignorance, that even relinquish the least particle of their error. I speak not of the Romanists whose doctrine is more tolerable, or at least more modest: but some are so carried away with the heat of contention as to affirm on account of the union of two natures in Christ, that whatever his divinity is, his flesh, which cannot be separated from it, is there also." Thus, supposing the truth of the real presence, Calvin saw that the doctrine of the Catholics was more conformable to the letter of the Institution, and to the true nature of Jesus Christ than was that of the Luherans.

We are not, however, to expect constant and consistent adherence to such or similar declarations. I repeat then, that although I can understand the teaching of the Catholic Church, that of the Lutherans, and that of the Zuinglians, yet I am perfectly unable to form any distinct and clear notion of Calvin's opinion, nor whether he had any precise, positive notions on the subject of the Eucharist himself.

Thus in number 10 he writes—"We conclude, that our souls are fed by the flesh and blood of Christ, just as our corporeal life is preserved and sustained by bread and wine." It is certainly by receiving food into our bodies, and its being as it were transfused through them, that our life is sustained; hence he says: "Now that holy participation of his flesh and blood, by which Christ communicates his life to us just as if he actually penetrated every part of our frame, in the sacred supper he also testifies and seals, and that not by the exhibition of a vain and ineffectual sign, but by the exertion of the energy of his spirit, by which he accomplishes that which he promises." Whereas in number 31 he writes, "I candidly confess that I reject that mixture of the flesh of Christ with our souls, or that transfusion of it into us which they teach: because it is sufficient for us that Christ inspires life into our

souls from the substance of his flesh, and even infuses his own life into us, though his flesh never actually entered into us."

I believe, Rev. Sir, that I have now made it sufficiently plain, that at the period that those gentlemen whom you call Reformers, rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, they could not say, if our Saviour did not teach that doctrine, what it was that he did really teach concerning the nature of the Eucharist.

I have, Rev. Sir, the honor to be,

Yours, and so forth,

B. C.

LETTER VI.

CHARLESTON, S. C., March 15, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—Protestants frequently boast that their religion existed before Luther, not only, as some of them have said, in the Bible; but, as others say, in the Confessions of Faith of various Churches, whose existence may be traced for centuries before Luther was born. Indeed, we are furnished with a few specimens, which, if we were less acquainted with the laws of criticism, and the most of our historical documents destroyed, would seem to show that the Confession of Augsburg was not the first good Protestant enumeration of doctrinal propositions: and our sympathies are enlisted on behalf of a variety of sufferers, whom the tyranny and bigotry of the Roman Catholic Church, it is said, had persecuted for professing the true doctrine of Christ, during centuries before either Luther or Zuinglius saw the light.

I am not, Rev. Sir, one of those who would strip persons claiming such ancestry of all their pretentions. I am perfectly ready to admit the force of their demand, to a considerable extent. Do they say that before the days of Luther there were separatists who charged the Church of Rome with error and apostacy? I acknowledge that there were. And, if I attempted to deny it, I should be easily refuted and exposed. Do they assert that these separatists held the same doctrines which Protestants teach at present? I am free to avow that there are very few tenets in which Protestants differ from the Catholic Church, for which difference one or the other of these sects could not be claimed as a predecessor. But, if you ask, did any one of them hold exactly the same tenets that are now held by any division of Protestants? I answer: Certainly no! And, I go farther, and say, that neither Luther, nor Zuinglius, nor Calvin, either undertook or intended to find any

Church in existence, to which he would unite himself. Thus, though Protestants did not, in leaving the Catholic Church, unite themselves to any that was in existence, but formed new societies, still all their teachings were not new. They agreed in many of their opinions with the Church that they had left; they revived many which seemed to have been abandoned, and they agreed in others with some remnants of existing sects that still survived in opposition.

I propose, then, at present, as we have glanced at the history of the doctrine regarding the Eucharist from the dispute at Jena, between Luther and Carlostadius, in August, 1524, to the close of that century; to go back and trace an outline of the teachings against transubstantiation, from the beginning of the Christian era to the period of Luther's secession from the Church.

Be not alarmed, Sir, the review will not be tedious! I assume, I trust I shall at a future day demonstrate, that the teaching of the Saviour was the doctrine of Transubstantiation. I shall not, just now, dwell upon the fact, that its truth was contradicted even before the institution of the Sacrament, by those persons of whom it is related by the Evangelist, (*St. John* vi, 53) "The Jews, therefore, disputed amongst themselves, saying, how can this man give us his flesh to eat?" 61, "Many of his disciples hearing it, said, this saying is hard, and who can hear it?"—and, 67, "Many of his disciples therefore from this time left him, and went away, and walked no more with him." I shall look for incredulous disciples, after the period of his ascension and of the descent of the Holy Ghost.

You are aware that from a very early period in the schools of Asia, of Egypt, and of Greece, men were led away by a vain philosophy into a variety of systems, which bewildered the human mind, and carrying man into the regions of fancy, subjugated the understanding to the power of the imagination. Amongst the first professors of Christianity, in the very days of the Apostles, were men of this description, the first efforts of whose speculative and restless minds were to explain the doctrines of the Saviour by the principles of their systems, and to substitute their own opinions for the simple testimony of their religious teachers. Proud of their supposed knowledge, they gloried in the name of Gnostics, and undertook to demonstrate by philosophy what the body of the believers received as mysterious truths, delivered by God for their information, not for their discussion. A considerable portion of those persons looked upon bodies to have been created by the principle of evil, they forbad marriage, and they considered Jesus Christ to be so perfectly pure and holy, that they taught that nothing

which appertained to him was the production of the evil one—therefore that he had no body, but that in a phantasmatic appearance he showed himself to men, as if he had flesh. They denied the truth of the Incarnation. Of them, St. John wrote, (Ep. 1, ch. iv, 1-4)—"Dearest, do not believe every spirit, but prove the spirits, whether they be of God: for many false prophets are gone into the world. In this is the spirit of God known; every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ came in the flesh is of God; and every spirit that dissolveth Jesus is not of God: and this is Antichrist, of whom you have heard that he cometh and he is now already in the world."

It was against them also the same blessed evangelist subsequently testified in his Gospel, (i, 14,) "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us, and we have seen his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." Of those same persons, St. Ignatius the Martyr, writes in his epistle to the people of Smyrna—"They admit not the eucharist, nor oblation, for they do not believe the eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins and which the Father in his benignity raised from the dead." Their first error was the denial of the reality of Christ's flesh, upon the principle that bodies were the production of the evil principle. They consequently denied the reality of its presence in the Eucharist; they rejected its oblation in the mass—and they had neither Eucharist nor oblation. They considered the use of marriage criminal, as tending to the procreation of bodies, they consequently forbad to marry. They regarded some creatures as the products of the evil principle, and commanded a perpetual abstinence from some meats, as also from wine, not looking upon them to be the creatures of the good principle, whereas the Apostle St. Paul informs us that they are created by God, and to be used with thanksgiving, for every creature is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer. (*I Tim.* iv. 4, 5).

We shall find this philosophy extending its influence in various regions of the Christian Church during many ages. This was its first development amongst the disciples: but in the persecutions which the Church had soon to endure, heresy made but little havoc whilst the Gentiles raged.

Manes, from whom the Manicheans are called, was born in Persia, in or about the year 240 of the Christian era; his education was good; he was one of the Magi or philosophers of the country, well versed in the principles of Zoroaster; though indeed for upwards of three centuries before, many of those who professed to follow the teaching of this patriarch of ancient science, lost sight of his great principle; for, by the

Zend-Avesta, it is plainly seen, he taught that the principle of good and the principle of evil were created, being produced by the unbounded time, that is, the eternal God—and were not themselves eternal, self-existent gods, one of whom was essentially good, and the other essentially evil. Manes received many of his principles from the works of an Arab named Scythian, or his disciple Buddas, perhaps from both: some writers assert that he became a Christian and was ordained priest; but St. Cyril, of Jerusalem, who flourished but little better than half a century after his day, dissents from this assertion.

Be that as it may, he studied the Christian Scriptures deeply, and having adopted the opinion of the existence of two eternal, independent beings, one infinitely good, the other infinitely evil, he ranged a goodly number of Bible texts in formidable array to support this position. We have still the record of a public dispute upon the subject in the year 277, between him and Archelaus, Bishop of Charcar or Cascar, in Mesopotamia. It was printed in Rome in the collection of Zacagni, in 1698, and was evidently the document from which Socrates, the historian, drew his information. Manes, after the conference, finding his lofty pretensions destroyed, retired from Mesopotamia; and in Persia had many disciples, who carried his teaching to India, Egypt and Syria, to which places it was for some time confined. It would be as difficult to say into how many sects the Manicheans divided, as it would be now to enumerate the divisions of sub-divided Protestantism: and their divisions and distinctions created so great diversity of opinions as soon to become as perfect contradictions as we have seen to exist, so far as regarded the Eucharist, between Zuinglianism and original Lutheranism; hence we do not pretend to say that all Manicheans held what one division of Manicheans taught, any more than we would pretend to say that all Protestants teach the doctrine of Consubstantiation.

Many of them held the principles of the Phantasmatics, whom St. Ignatius denounced. Indeed, your own historian, Mosheim, lays it down as a grand principle of Manes himself. (Cent. iii, part ii, chap. v. and vi.) "In obedience to his divine command, Christ appeared among the Jews, clothed with the shadowy form of a human body, and not with the real substance." He also shows that the elect of the sect were, in consequence of the supposed production of many creatures by the evil principle, placed under that interdict which the Apostle St. Paul describes in his *First Epistle to Timothy*, iv, 3. (Cent. 3, part ii, ch. v. sec. x).

"The elect were obliged to a rigorous and entire abstinence from flesh, eggs, milk, fish, wine, all intoxicating drink, wedlock, and so

forth." Thus the real presence of the flesh and blood of Christ in the Eucharist was denied by the greater number of the Manicheans, though several of them often were found to present themselves even in Catholic Churches to receive the Eucharist under the form of bread only, which made it, for a time, necessary to order that communion should be refused to those who would not also receive it under the form of wine, unless they were persons well known to the clergyman, and that he was satisfied their declining to receive the chalice did not arise from Manichean error.

Most of the Manicheans, upon the same principle, detested images; they considered such representations to be contrary to the statement that Christ had no real body. One division of them substituted for the Eucharist some rite which is called "abominable." Others said that Jesus Christ was the bread of life, acording to his own declaration; that he also said, man lives not by bread alone, but by every word which proceedeth from the mouth of God, and thus, that eating his flesh and drinking his blood, meant only receiving the doctrine which proceeded from his teaching, and believing in him or having faith.

The beginning of the seventh century saw Monhammedanism commence, and before the lapse of fifty years it was formidable. The Mussulman hated and destroyed the images which he found in Christian lands. The Jew united in this hatred and reproached the Christians with idolatry. The Manichean entered fully into their sentiments. Iconoclasm or the breaking of images commenced. Leo, the Isaurian, a rough, unpolished soldier, springing from the ranks to the throne, was also ambitious of being a legislator for the Church, and his successor, Constantine Copronymus, followed in his steps. In 754, in the midst of the violences of this turbulent oppression, a number of bishops were forced to assemble at Constantinople and to sustain the edicts of Leo and of his son. The decisions of this assembly were rejected by the Church. In 787, by the exertions of the Empress Irene, and by the authority of Pope Adrian, the Second Council of Nice was assembled. In the sixth action of this council, the proceedings of the assembly of 754 were read by Gregory, Bishop of Neocesarea, who was admitted upon repentance, he having been one of the great leaders of the delinquent party at that assembly. The extract read by him as the last in Tom. iii, exhibited the Eucharist as the only proper image of Jesus Christ, Την ἀληθην τοῦ Χρισοῦ εἴχόνα, so that the Eucharist was said by them not to be the flesh of Christ, but the image of Christ. The refutation of the passages by the council, was read by Epiphanius, the Deacon, in which we find the following, οὐχ ἐιπη: λάθετε, φάγετε την είχόνα του σώματός μου.

He does not say, take and eat the image of my body, and so forth. But the council, after quoting the words of the Saviour and of St. Paul, proceeds to advert to the testimony of the fathers in the preceding ages, and condemns the Iconoclasts.

In the seventh century, the Paulicians, who had a Manichean origin, became remarkable in Armenia for their denial of the real presence, or rather their rejection of the Eucharist.

But in the next century, about the year 810, this sect, driven from Episperis, took refuge in Antioch, and were after a time divided under Sergius and Baanes, by whose names they were known, and made a bloody war, each against the other, until they were reconciled by the intervention and exertions of one Theodotus, or Theodore. They had now spread over a large region and were specially acceptable to the Mohammedan Saracens, who began to grow at this period into great importance. The chief cause of this attachment was the hatred which the Paulicians bore to the use of images among the Christians and their iconoclast fury, which was also cherished and encouraged by the Mussulman, as we have seen before. The Paulicians were with great severity persecuted by Theodora in 841; great numbers of them perished, but Cerbas, one of their leaders, exasperated by the death of his father, collected about 4000 of the remains of the sect and joined the Saracens, in union with whom he made dreadful ravages upon the Greek territory, and often caused Constantinople to tremble. At length, Chrisochir, the leader of this band, was, after many years, slain in a bloody and disastrous battle, and the wreck of this force took refuge in Bulgaria.

About the beginning of the 10th century, a considerable number of them passed from Bulgaria towards the West, and entering Italy, made settlements in many spots of Lombardy. Here they did not so openly proclaim their principle of two Gods, but taught freely their opinions regarding the incarnation, the Eucharist, images, and so forth. They also introduced criminal habits, whose nature is known by the very name of the region whence they migrated into Europe.

In the process of that century, their opinions were carried into many parts of France, so that in 1020, some Canons of Orleans were found steadily attached to them. They prevailed most in Provence and Languedoc, but they spread even into England and penetrated Germany.

Having traced the progress of the Gnostic opinion, I now come to see other persons, who, without any connexion with the Manicheans, contradicted the doctrine of the Church on this head. The first I can find is John Scot Erigena, the preceptor of Charles the Bald, in the latter part of the ninth century. This, you are aware, is not the celebrated

John Duns Scot, but one infinitely beneath him in talents and information. He had but few adherents, nor did his authority weigh much.

We have, a little after, the work of Ratram or Bertram, in the time of Charles the Fat, 886—which was refuted by Paschasius Rhadbert, Abbot of Corbie. Upon this occasion, there was much discussion even amongst those who believed the doctrines of the Church, as to the precise accuracy of an expression of Paschasius.

Berengarius or Berenger, Archdeacon of Angers in France, reading the work of Paschasius, got perplexed, and in the year 1047, denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, though he appears to have admitted that of real presence. He frequently retracted and relapsed—but he appears to have died in the communion of the Church.

Guitmond, Archbishop of Aversa, who wrote against him, informs us, respecting his followers, "They all agree in saying that the bread and wine are not essentially changed; but they also differ, in that some of them deny that there is present anything of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, but that the Sacrament is only a shadow, a figure; others, yielding to the reasons of the Church, yet without quitting their error, say that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are in fact contained in the Sacrament, but concealed by a sort of impanation, so that we may be able to receive them; and they say that this is the most subtle opinion of Berenger himself: others believe that the bread and wine are changed in part: some sustain that they are changed entirely, but that when they who are unworthy present themselves for communion, the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ take back the nature of bread and wine." (*Bilioth. PP. contra Bereng.* p. 327).

Thus we have exactly the same exhibition of confusion, contradiction, doubt and perplexity as we found in the 16th century.

It is now quite unnecessary to enter farther upon the subject, save summarily to give the names of those whom history exhibits, as special leaders of the Manicheans that we have seen spread in Europe. Peter, the Abbot of Cluni, informs us of the opinions of Peter de Bruis about the year 1140; from him some of them were called Petrobrussians. Many of them who were examined upon the subject at Lombez, a little town near Alby, in 1176, clearly exhibited their Manichean principles. In truth they rejected the Eucharist altogether, as did the division which was examined at the Council of Oxford, in England, in 1160. *Sacrum baptisma, eucharistiam, conjugium detestantes.* It is said that they erred concerning the Eucharist? No, Sir, but as the most of the Manicheans of the latter five centuries, they rejected it altogether—

and few, if any, held the opinions of Berenger in the year of which I write.

The Albigenses were also Manicheans, and rejected the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

John Wickliff, in 1370, denied transubstantiation, held the real presence, is supposed to have subsequently denied it and retracted. Whether sincerely or hypocritically, he again embraced the doctrine of the Church and died in its communion.

Some persons state that Wickliff's writings induced many of the Bohemians to deny the doctrine of transubstantiation even previous to the days of Luther, but I believe there is no evidence of the fact that they did so deny it; when the point shall be established, it will be time enough to seek the cause. Neither did the Vaudois err on this point.

And now, Rev. Sir, I come down to that period when, in the midst of a variety of disorders, the best and greatest men avowed, that from a variety of causes, great relaxation of discipline had prevailed in the Church, many disorders needed powerful and speedy remedy, gross crimes were left unpunished, scandalous vices were connived at, and the prevalence of a worldly spirit in the sanctuary, loudly proclaimed the necessity of a great moral reformation; but the faith of the Church was uncontaminated: and Luther and his associates, instead of confining their efforts to the correction of the acknowledged evil, by leaving the doctrine untouched and exerting themselves to cause the practice to conform thereto, united together to break down the barrier which separated truth from error, and added their own speculations to the floating mass of error, so that from that day to this, many well disposed persons are rendered unable, amidst the confusion which surrounds them, to discover any mode of being extricated from the mazes and the uncertainty of their wanderings.

May we, Sir, be aided to seek for truth and not for victory, is the prayer of your obedient, B. C.

LETTER VII.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—I shall now proceed, without entering very extensively upon the proofs, to lay before you some of the reasons why the Roman Catholic divines teach, that the body and blood, soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ are really, truly and substantially present in the holy Eucharist, and are so present by transubstantiation:—that is:—that though the sensible qualities continue unchanged, yet that a substantial

change takes place, by the substitution of the body and blood of Christ for the bread and wine.

As a Catholic, I have one, to me very sufficient reason, which is as conclusive as it is short and simple, viz. We know the nature of this sacrament only from the teaching of Christ. He taught its nature to those who were the first members of that tribunal which he established to testify his doctrine to all ages and nations. He appointed that tribunal to be the witness of what he thus taught; that witness still subsists and testifies: I receive its testimony; through that I learn from Christ, the nature of the sacrament. Upon his authority, I believe in the real presence by transubstantiation.

But however, this may suffice for me, it will not be perhaps amiss, to show to others, that the foundation upon which our divines rest their teaching, is not so utterly ridiculous as you desired to exhibit it, when you wrote, (par. 25):

"Among persons of plain common sense, especially among Protestants, it is scarcely necessary to expose the absurdity of this doctrine by serious argument. Our own senses give us the most positive evidence of its untruth: we see, we feel, we taste, and smell, that what was bread and wine before consecration is bread and wine still. If a man can once bring his mind to believe such a doctrine, he must have arrived at a state of credulity that will render him incapable of deciding between truth and error. 'It is a doctrine,' as Dean Swift says, 'the belief of which makes every thing else unbelievable.' And before an audience, like that which has favored us with their attention this evening, it is unnecessary to enter into those arguments which reason suggests, and the evidence with which the Scriptures abound, to prove its absurdity and error."

I have already shown that the senses give evidence only of the sensible qualities of bodies, but that they give no evidence of the nature of the substance itself. You have, as many others have done, confounded the evidence which they give, with the inference which you make from that evidence.

I have already shown, that amongst Protestants, nothing is more correct than what you wrote, (par. 36) that having rejected transubstantiation, they unfortunately differed amongst themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead,—and that from the days of the Apostles to the present day, it would be useless to go to Gnostics, Manicheans, Berengarians, Petrobrussians, Wickliffites, or any division of Protestants, to learn what is the nature of this sacrament, for "they had

all their peculiar views, in which there may be traced considerable shades of difference as well as of obscurity."

I have also shown that as little philosophic difficulty is to be found opposed to the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, as to Schmucher's doctrine of consubstantiation. So that the absurdity with which our doctrine is charged, is not a whit greater than may be found in that which appears to merit your own approbation.

Catholics have, at all events, a doctrine which is plain and intelligible, precise and consistent. Now we shall see what they consider to be its scriptural evidence.

One of the doctrines which Catholics proclaimed against the Manicheans, was, that the same God was the author of both Testaments; the old and the new: for the Manicheans taught that the Old Testament and the Mosaic institutions emanated from the evil principle, but that the New Testament and the Christian institutions were derived from the good principle.

Hence the Apostle St. Paul tells us, (*Coloss.* ii, 17) respecting the Mosaic institutions, that they "are a shadow of things to come," which he more fully explains in Heb. x, telling us "the law hath a shadow of the good things to come, not the very image of the things,"—and to the same intent he writes of some occurrences stated in the history of the Hebrew people, (*I Cor.* x, 6) "Now these things were done in a figure of us," and, in the same chapter, again, ver. 11. "Now all these things happened to them in figure." Thus it has been, from the beginning, a doctrine of the Church, that a vast portion of the occurrences of the old law, and nearly all its observances were typical, not only of the redemption by the Saviour, but also of the institutions of Christianity.

Thus the enslavement of Israel in Egypt, typified the subjugation of the human race to the enemy of our God:—and the liberation of this people shadowed forth our redemption. The Paschal lamb of a year old, figured Christ in the perfection of his age: as this lamb was without blemish, so was the Saviour without sin; this lamb was slain on the 14th day of the first month towards evening, which corresponds with the day on which the Saviour was put to death;—the lamb was to be slain without breaking a bone thereof:—the evangelist relates, (*John* xix, 33, 36) that when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was already dead, they did not break his legs,—and he further says, "these things were done, that the Scripture might be fulfilled: You shall not break a bone of him," and this passage is found in *Exodus* xii. 46, directing the mode in which the lamb was to be slain. The blood of the lamb exhibited upon

the door posts, saved the Israelites from the destruction which the Angel inflicted upon the Egyptians, who were not partakers of the saving effects of this blood;—thus clearly showing, how by the efficacy of the blood of Jesus the redeemed people are saved from the ruin that must come upon those who are not made partakers of its benefits. Need I follow up the figure, by exhibiting the people redeemed from bondage, signifying the enlargement of the children of Adam from the thraldom of Satan; their going out loaded with the spoils of Egypt, significant of the enrichment of the Christian people by the spiritual favors conferred upon them as they proceed to that true region of their eternal inheritance, concerning which it was promised, that they should therein obtain a lasting and glorious habitation?

Many similar instances to this may be adduced.

Now the Catholic divines teach that this Paschal lamb was a figure of Christ, and St. Paul in his *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, v. 7, makes a beautiful allusion to this belief, where having reference to the rite which accompanied the observance of the Jewish solemnity, by which all leaven was cast out from the houses during the celebration, he says, "purge out the old leaven, that you may be a new mass, as you are unleavened: for Christ our Pasch is sacrificed."—And they further say, that unless we do really eat the true flesh of Christ, this figure never has been carried out to its fulfilment:—because the children of Israel were commanded to eat of the flesh of that lamb, by whose blood they were saved. (*Exodus* xii. 8)—"And they shall eat the flesh that night roasted at the fire, and unleavened bread with wild lettuce."

Thus they say the figure is; that the Israelite was saved by the blood of a lamb slain on his behalf, without a bone being broken in his body, and he was to eat the flesh of that lamb by whose blood he was saved. This observance of eating the flesh of the lamb was to continue a perpetual ordinance as long as the law of this religion should be in force:—and the Israelite upon the recurrence of the solemnity, was to eat the flesh of the lamb that was slain and sacrificed, and the flesh was to be eaten, amongst other reasons, in remembrance of the redemption. (*Exodus* xii. 14). "And this day shall be for a memorial to you: and you shall keep it a feast to the Lord in your generations, with an everlasting remembrance." The fulfilment is: that Christ is the true lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world, (*John* i, 29). That he was slain for our sins, without a bone being broken in his body, xix, 33. That we are redeemed by his blood, and that we are commanded to eat the flesh of that lamb by whose blood we are saved, (*Matt.* xxvi, 26)—of that lamb that was slain and sacrificed on our behalf. (*Luke* xxii, 19).

And that this is a law to be observed as long as the Christian religion shall continue. (*I Cor.* xi, 26). That his flesh is to be eaten, amongst other purposes, in remembrance of the redemption which has been achieved by his death and sacrifice. "Then Jesus said to them; unless you eat of the flesh of the son of man and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath everlasting life: and I will raise him up at the last day, for my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him. As the living father hath sent me and I live by the father; so, he that eateth me, the same also shall live by me." (*John* vi, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58) "Take ye and eat: This is my body." . . . "Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins." (*Matt.* xxvi, 26, 27, 28). "And taking bread, he gave thanks, and brake and gave to them saying: This is my body which is given for you: Do this for a commemoration of me." (*Luke* xxii, 19).

The reasoning of Catholic divines then is as follows: The Paschal lamb was a figure of Christ in his atoning death and in the redemption of his people. It was also a figure of the Eucharistic institution.—However some of our opponents say that it was not a figure of the Eucharist: but that the Eucharist is also like the lamb, a figure of Christ's death, and of the redemption of his people.—Nothing could be a more vivid and striking figure of that death and of this redemption than the slaying of that lamb and the saving of the people from destruction by its blood. Now let us suppose the Eucharist to be only a figure. That figure consists in eating bread and drinking wine, and recollecting that Christ died for us.—Which is the better, the more vivid, the more striking, the more instructive, the more significant ceremony?—Will any one hesitate to prefer the Mosaic to the Christian?—Yet such cannot be the case; because a fundamental principle of the Christian religion is, that the Mosaic rites were but faint emblems of the Christian institutions.—"Now all these things happened to them in a figure:" they are only "a shadow of things to come." "The law having a shadow of the good things to come not the very image of the things." The Mosaic institution here would be the very image, whilst the Christian institution would be scarcely the shadow. Thus, if the Eucharist be only a figure of Christ and of his redemption, we must abandon one of the most clearly established, and one of the most universally admitted, and one of the most uniformly received and unquestioned principles of Christianity, viz.

that the figures and the institutions of the old law were but imperfect and shadowy emblems of the institutions of the new law.

Again, one of the principal actions of the Mosaic rite was that of eating the flesh of the lamb, by whose blood salvation was obtained. Unless the Paschal lamb was a figure of the Eucharist, this action had no object. The slaying or sacrificing of the lamb had its object in the death of Christ, by which he was sacrificed upon the cross:—the salvation by blood had also its appropriate object in the effect produced by the blood of Christ applied to the souls of men. But take away the Eucharist in which Christ tells them "Take and eat: this is my body,"—and where are we to find the object of that figurative action which consisted in eating the flesh of the lamb slain and sacrificed for the purpose of redemption?

It would be an useless display to quote the list of early and eminent writers in the Church who have proclaimed that the Paschal observance was a figure of the Eucharistic institution. I shall not exhibit that array but shall content myself with shortly explaining what is exhibited in the Gospel to sustain this point. Indeed it may be done in one line: Jesus Christ substituted the Eucharist amongst Christians for the Paschal lamb of the Hebrew. For on the night that he was betrayed, he told his disciples to prepare for the celebration, and informed them how ardently he desired to eat this Pasch with them before he suffered, (*Luke* xxii, 15) because that typical observance was now to be fulfilled in the new institution which it prefigured and which he there substituted for the Egyptian rite, by giving to them in the new banquet, the flesh of that lamb sacrificed for the redemption of the world, by whose blood the sins of that world were taken away and his chosen people saved from the destroying angel. "Take ye and eat; This is my body."

Thus unless the Christian did, in the Eucharist, receive, to be eaten, the flesh of Christ the lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world, this ancient figure has not been by any means, fulfilled.

Thus if in the Eucharist there be only a figure to show forth the death of the Saviour, that figure is far inferior to the one possessed by the ancient Hebrew.

But if in the Eucharist, there be truly, really, and substantially the flesh of the lamb by whose blood we are redeemed, of that lamb that was slain without breaking a bone in his body, of that lamb without blemish that was sacrificed for our deliverance; and we are commanded to eat that flesh; then is the reality substituted for the shadow, the figure is

fulfilled to the utmost perfection, and the Christian institution surpasses that of the Israelite to an inconceivable extent.

Thus, Rev. Sir, we believe that as the evangelist declared, they did not break his legs, "that the Scripture might be fulfilled: You shall not break a bone of him," (*John* xix, 36,) so we should have his true flesh in the Eucharist, that the Scripture might be fulfilled. "And they shall eat the flesh." (*Exodus* xii, 8). For though the heavens and the earth should pass away, that word will not fail. (*Matt.* xxiv, 35).

Thus St. Augustin, bishop of Hippo, said in his second book against the letters of Petilian c. 37: "One thing is that Pasch which the Jews celebrate in the flesh of a sheep: another that which we receive in the body and blood of the Lord."

This however is not the only figure given to us in the Old Testament, though it be a principal and a striking one. There is another, bearing considerable similitude thereto; and to which St. Paul draws our attention in chapter ninth of his Epistle to the Hebrews. In that place he, in a full and forcible manner, exhibits that principle to which he gave expression in his *Epistle to the Colossians* and in the 10th chapter of this same to the Hebrews: that the occurrences and rites of the old law shadowed forth and prefigured the facts and the institutions of the Christian religion. Beginning at the 18th verse, we read as follows: "Whereupon, neither, was the first indeed dedicated without blood. 19, For when every commandment of the law had been read by Moses to all the people, he took the blood of calves and goats, with water and scarlet wool and hyssop; and sprinkled both the book itself and all the people. 20. Saying, this is the blood of the Testament which God hath enjoined unto you. 21. The tabernacle also, and all the vessels of the ministry, in like manner, he sprinkled with blood. 22. And almost all things, according to the law are cleansed with blood; and without the shedding of blood there is no remission. 23. It is necessary, therefore, that the patterns of heavenly things should be cleansed with these: but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these."

Thus St. Paul shows us that the blood which was sprinkled upon the book of the law and on the people by Moses, was far inferior to what it prefigured,—was but a pattern of heavenly things, that indeed, it shadowed forth the "blood of Christ, who, through the Holy Ghost offered himself without spot to God to cleanse our consciences from dead works, to serve the living God." (*Heb.* ix, 14). It was not the figure of a figure, but it was the type of reality, that is of the blood of Christ with which "he entered into the sanctuary, having obtained eternal redemption,"—(p. 12) viz. the remission of sins.

The Apostle has reference in this place chiefly to the transaction related (*Exod.* xxiv, 4), "And Moses wrote all the words of the Lord, and rising in the morning he built an altar at the foot of the mount, and twelve titles, according the twelve tribes of Israel. 5. And he sent young men of the children of Israel, and they offered holocausts, and sacrificed pacific victims of calves to the Lord. 6. And Moses took half of the blood and he put it into bowls: and the rest he poured upon the altar. 7. And taking the book of the covenant, he read it in the hearing of the people: and they said; all things that the Lord hath spoken, we will do; we will be obedient. 8. And he took the blood, and sprinkled it upon the people: and he said: This is the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words." Thus, this blood of the Old Testament in which the covenant was established between God and his people, and in which consecration was made, (*Exod.* xxix,) showed forth, figuratively, the blood of Christ by which remission of sins was to be obtained.

We now turn to the Gospels to discover the Christian institution, and in Matt. xxvi, we read that the Saviour at the institution of the Eucharist, 27, "taking the chalice, he gave thanks; and gave to them saying: 'Drink ye all of this: 28. For this is my blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins.' " Thus does the Saviour himself distinctly exhibit the object which this figure shadowed forth, viz. the blood of the New Testament, which should be shed for the remission of sins, and which he then gave in the Eucharistic institution. That is, the blood of himself who alone is the propitiation for our iniquities. St. Mark thus relates it, (xiv, 23) "And having taken the chalice, giving thanks, he gave it to them: and they all drank of it. 24. And he said to them: This is my blood of the New Testament which shall be shed for many." St. Luke thus relates it, (xxii, 20) "In like manner the chalice also, after he had supped, saying: This is the chalice, the New Testament in my blood which shall be shed for you." As the Old Testament was confirmed in the blood of calves, and other victims, so the New Testament which was shadowed by the rites of the old, was confirmed in the blood of Christ which was shadowed by the blood of those victims.

Our early witnesses carry out the comparison to this effect. Moses published the law as God's precept to the people, and then sprinkled them with the blood of the victims. The Saviour, on this occasion, publishes his new commandment, (*John* xiii, 34) "I give you a new commandment: that you love one another; as I have loved you that you love one another:"—and he scatters his blood amongst them, by giving

it to them to drink from the chalice. The blood of the Old Testament was that of calves and goats; the blood of the New Testament is that of Christ, our true victim. The Mosaic law is the Old Testament, the shadow and the type in the figurative blood; the Christian law is the New Testament, the substance and the reality, in the true blood of the Redeemer.

They farther remark, that a testament was always made before death, but it is only by death, as the Apostle writes that it becomes of force. (*Heb.* ix, 16) "For where there is a testament, the death of the testator must of necessity intervene. 17. For a testament is of force after men are dead: otherwise it is not yet of force, whilst the testator liveth." Hence the ancient figure of the testament in blood referred to the Eucharistic institution, where the Saviour yet living and free, before many witnesses, leaves in this sacrament the most precious legacy to his children—which New Testament of the Saviour is made of force by his death, thereby confirming to us for ever and irrevocably, the legacy of this institution which is our most valuable inheritance.

In this view every thing is consistent; all the parts are in harmony; the ancient figure is far beneath the modern institution. But let us say that in the Eucharist, we have not the blood of the New Testament: we shall have only emblematic wine as a token that Christ shed his blood for us. How far inferior this to the ancient figure in which a victim was slain and blood was shed, and sprinkled upon the people, to signify that by it they were cleansed?

But the Saviour by his own expression shows that the blood of the Old Testament foreshowed the Eucharistic institution. He calls that his blood of the New Testament—or the New Testament in his blood. Then upon the Protestant supposition the former blood is a type of the modern wine and the wine is a figure of the blood of Christ, and is a better figure of it than was that ancient blood!—And of this wine the Saviour says, it is my blood which shall be shed for the remission of sins. If it be not the blood of Christ, the Saviour has in the most solemn manner used most inappropriate expressions; he has given to us a more inadequate figure than was given to the ancient Hebrew people; and the shadow which to them exhibited in this case, a good thing to come, has never been produced by a substance, but had reference to another shadow,—even less perfect than itself. And for what purpose are we to destroy the analogy which so beautifully pervades both testaments? Merely to be able to say, that when the Saviour declared "This is my blood," he really meant "This is not my blood, but it is wine!" And what will be gained by this assertion? Nothing. For when you deny

the truth of transubstantiation you are absolutely at a loss to know what you shall substitute in its stead, and your leaders, your confession-makers, your doctors, and your preachers, have exhibited to the world, upon this topic, a mass of expressions, generally unintelligible, frequently contradictory, seldom having any definite meaning; and in those of them which can at all be grappled with, there may be traced considerable shades of difference and of obscurity.

I shall now exhibit another of those ancient occurrences that manifestly shadowed forth the Eucharist itself—omitting the testimony of a host of the most venerated witnesses during the first ages of our religion; I shall open the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians,—and begin the tenth chapter. "1. For I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that our fathers were all under the cloud and all passed through the sea: 2. And all in Moses were baptized in the cloud, and in the sea." Thus does he show again the application of that principle to which I have previously adverted, and which he lays down in the 6th verse of this chapter, and finely establishes in so many instances. After-having shown the figures of baptism, he proceeds to show those of the Eucharist. 3. "And they all eat the same spiritual food. 4. And they did all drink the same spiritual drink." In this place he alludes to the manna, and to the water which flowed from the rock (Christ) which was stricken, and this is but a preparation for his treating of the doctrine of the Eucharist, which he does in the subsequent part of the chapter, (v. 15, and so forth) and thus the Apostle shows us that the manna was a figure of the Eucharist. 1. The manna was given to those who had been under the cloud and who had passed through the sea; the Eucharist is given only to those who have been baptized. 2. The manna was given to the children of Israel, whilst they sojourned in the desert, on their way to the land of promise; the Eucharist is given to Christians during their pilgrimage through this world to the regions of bliss promised to them by the Saviour. They who gathered the manna had sufficient when they gathered less and no residue when they gathered more, (*Exod.* xvi, 18). In the Eucharist that which is received, is the same, whatever may be the apparent size of the sacrament that you feed upon. The pious and learned men of the early days of Christianity dwell upon many other points of similitude, such as, that both were miraculously produced. That both were a subject of doubt and of contradiction to the carnal man. Thus (*Num.* xx, 13) and so forth, the waters which are by the Apostle joined in the same figure with the manna, are called "the waters of contradiction," and (*Num.* xxi, 5): The people say, "our soul loatheth this very light food,"—but their murmuring and unbelief

are more clearly exhibited in the account given in *Psalm* lxxvii, 19. "And they spoke ill of God: they said: Can God furnish a table in the wilderness?" And concerning the Eucharist we read in *John* vi, 53: "The Jews therefore debated among themselves saying: How can this man give us his flesh to eat." 61. "Many therefore of his disciples hearing, said: This saying is hard and who can hear it."

We, however come to view what the Saviour himself teaches. After the miraculous multiplication of the five loaves, related in *John*, chapter vi, the Jews refer verse 31, to the manna: saying of it, "He gave them bread from Heaven to eat." 32. "Then Jesus said unto them: Amen, Amen, I say unto you: Moses gave you not bread from Heaven; but my Father giveth you the true bread from Heaven." 33. "For the bread of God is that which cometh down from Heaven, and giveth life unto the world," v. 49, "Your fathers did eat manna in the desert; and they died." 50, "This is the bread descending down from Heaven: that if any one eat of it, he may not die." 51, "I am the living bread which came down from Heaven." 52, "If any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever: and the bread which I will give is my flesh for the life of the world." Now, when we consider the above, in connexion with the other passages of this chapter previously quoted, there can be no question but that the Saviour himself, even more distinctly than St. Paul did, announces that the Eucharist was foreshadowed by the manna; and was as infinitely superior to the manna, as that which has a heavenly origin is to that which has not.

Let us then, for the moment, suppose the Eucharist to be merely bread and wine, figuring the body and blood of Christ. It will be manifest to the plainest capacity that the Eucharist is far inferior to the manna.

1. The manna if not formed by Angels, was at least said to be their food, for in the *Psalm* lxxvii we read 21, "And he rained down manna upon them to eat, and he gave them bread from Heaven." 22, "Man ate the bread of Angels: he sent them provisions in abundance." (*Wisdom,* xvi, 20) "Instead of which things thou didst feed thy people with the food of Angels, and gavest them bread from Heaven prepared without labor: having in it all that is delicious, and the sweetness of every taste." Whereas, upon the Protestant supposition, the Eucharist is substantially no more than bread produced from corn, and wine expressed from the grape.

2. The manna came from Heaven, not indeed the place of God's glory, from which the Saviour descended, but from regions superior to this earth, and probably was furnished by Angelic ministration. Upon

the Protestant supposition, the Eucharist is a product of this earth, fashioned by bakers and by brewers.

3. The manna miraculously accommodated its taste to the gratification of every palate of the obedient Israelite. Whilst upon the Protestant supposition, there is no miracle in the Eucharist, nor is it substantially more than ordinary food.

4. Now if we look to signification, there can be no question, but that the manna descending from a higher region for the purpose of nourishing the Israelite, better represents the descent of the Son of God from Heaven, to nourish the true believer, than upon the Protestant supposition, the same is figured by eating bread produced by the culture of the soil.

I shall follow it up no farther, because I am convinced that what I have written is sufficient to show that upon the supposition that the Eucharist is substantially bread and wine, and not the body and blood of Christ, the figure of the manna, the figure of the blood of the Old Testament and the figure of the Paschal lamb are infinitely more noble, more expressive, more significant, more striking and more instructive than is the figure of bread and wine. But neither the testimony of St. Paul, nor the spirit of Christianity, nor the manifest object of the Mosaic rites, nor the express declaration of the Saviour would permit this conclusion; therefore the principle which inevitably conducts thereto must be false. But that principle is, that the Eucharist is but a symbolic representation, which contains substantially only bread and wine and not the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

I shall proceed, Rev. Sir, in my next to examine other ancient types of this holy sacrament. I have the honor to be,

Yours, and so forth, B. C.

LETTER VIII.

CHARLESTON, S. C., March 29, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—I proceed to the consideration of another type of the Eucharist; under the impression which exists in the minds of many Catholic theologians, and commentators on the holy Scriptures, that the figure exhibited by God, in this case, has never, and can never have its completion, except the Saviour has left us his body and blood, soul and divinity, truly, really and substantially, under the appearance of bread and wine, in the holy sacrament of the Eucharist.

We read in the 14th chapter of the *Book of Genesis*, according to

our version, the following passage: "18. But Melchisedech the King of Salem, bringing forth bread and wine, for he was the priest of the Most High God, 19, blessed him and said: 'Blessed be Abram by the Most High God, who created heaven and the earth. 20. And blessed be the Most High God, by whose protection the enemies are in thy hands.' And he gave him tithes of all." This is all the account of Melchisedech in the records of the Old Testament. Nor does his name again occur therein, save in one passage of the *Psalm* cix, which we shall have subsequently to consider.

The question which in the first instance presents itself to us, is, whether the above translation is accurate. The English Protestant versions have, in the latter part of the 18th verse, the word *and* where we have *for*, thus, "bringing forth bread and wine, and he was a priest." The importance of the point arises from the question, as to what was the object of producing the bread and wine. Was it merely to refresh Abraham and his troops on their journey? Or was it, also, for the purpose of sacrifice? In the first supposition, the bread and wine would have no connection with the priestly character of Melchisedech; and we may say, he brought out bread and wine to refresh the soldiers: it would matter nothing to read, and he was a priest, or, and he was not a priest; for his character of priesthood would be immaterial in that case. In the second supposition, there would be an intimate connection between the bringing of the oblation and the character of the offerer; for the bread and wine would be brought out not only to refresh the troops, but also to be offered by Melchisedech in sacrifice, for he was a priest; and this was his oblation or victim.

So far as regards the sacrifice, I believe it matters very little which expression we use, because there will be abundant evidence thereof, whether the particle be and or for. Yet it is well to see upon what ground the word for is retained.

The Syriac Bible is not the original, but a version of considerable authority; it gives us the passage "Melchisedech, the King of Solim brought out bread and wine: and this person was the priest of the Most High God." Thus, this which is an ancient version, though it asserts the fact of bringing out the bread and wine, and the fact of the priesthood, yet does not use the particle which shows the connexion between both facts, but neither does it deny their connexion.

The Arabic is a paraphrase, and is in many places loose in its expressions. In this place, it does not give us the proper name of the priest, but it gives us the interpretation for the name. "And, the King of Justice, King of Solim, brought out food and wine to him,

and he was himself a priest of the powerful High One." This does not give us a connecting casual particle, nor does it deny such a connexion, though it appears more favorable to the object of the bringing out the bread and wine to be food, for the purpose of refreshment. The fact, however, of the priesthood of Melchisdech is plainly asserted, nor is there any denial of the sacrifice.

The Chaldaic paraphrase is like the Arabic, rather loose, and does not assume to be a liberal translation. It has not the casual connecting particle, but it does not deny such a connexion, and it also gives us the two principal facts. "And Melchisedech, the king of Jerusalem, brought thither bread and wine; and he was a minister before the High God."

I need not, Sir, I suppose, remind you, but it may be necessary to inform most of my readers, that this Chaldaic paraphrase was made after the Babylonish captivity, when the people had lost the knowledge of the ancient language of their fathers, and therefore, that it is not, upon your principles, an original work, but a loose translation. I respect it, however, very highly.

The Arabic is generally considered by the Easterns to be a very clearly and excellent paraprhase, but of course is not an original—perhaps it is not very easy to trace a copy of it higher than the third or even the fourth century of Christianity.

The Syriac is the most ancient of the above, and would be of great weight, were we certain of having an exact copy of the older version, which is said to have been made by Solomon, or under his inspection, for Hiram, King of Tyre, so far as the Pentateuch and some other books are concerned: other books of the Old and some of the New Testament are said to have been translated under the inspection of the Apostles, especially of Thaddeus.

We now look to a few other copies: and first to the Vulgate, or ancient common Latin version, in use from the earliest days of Christianity, and that which the Church has considered to have been the best preserved. This version coming down from the Apostolic age, gives us the causal particle—"for he was the priest of the Most High."

We have the same, equivalently in the Septuagint, or ancient Greek copy, taken in the time of Eleazer, for Ptolemy Philadelphus. In this we read ἦν δε ἱερευς του θεου του ὑψίχου, "*but he was a priest,*" and so forth.

The Hebrew, or what has come down to us for the Hebrew original, has the particle, which, according to St. Jerom, and the best and most erudite of those who give its perfect meaning is "*for he was the priest,*" and so forth.

The Samaritan translation is by many considered to be one of the best preserved and most authentic of those early copies, made about 770 years after Moses, and about the same number of years before the Christian era. This has the causal particle in the very strongest form. "But Melchisedech, the King of Salem, brought out bread and wine, because he was himself the priest to the Most High God."

Thus, Rev. Sir, we have no evidence against the fact of his bringing out the bread and wine because of his being a priest, but we have evidence of his doing so for that cause. It is, then, going a little too far, as some Protestant writers do, to assail us for preserving that mode of expression which from the beginning has been found in what we received as the genuine word of God, from the hands of the Apostles.

Having said so much respecting the particle, I shall now examine the facts related. The kings who carried off Lot and the victuals, and other substance of the kings of Sodom, and so forth. (*Gen.* xiv, 10, 11, 12) having been overcome by Abram, he brought back all the booty and the prisoners (16) and was met by Melchisedech, who was a priest of the Most High, as was Abram himself; the only facts related of this priest are, 1. That he brought forth bread and wine; 2. That he blessed Abram; and, 3. That Abram gave him tithes of all. There is a peculiarity of this man, also, which it is necessary to remark, viz. that no mention is made of his lineage, nor of his genealogoy. In what, then, did his priesthood consist? St. Paul informs us, (*Heb.* v, 1) "For every high priest taken from among men, is appointed for men in the things that appertain to God, that he may offer up gifts and sacrifices for sins." Melchisedech's priesthood, then, must have consisted in "offering up gifts and sacrifices"—not merely in blessing, which is the prerogative of parents, rulers and others besides priests; nor in receiving tithes, which were also partaken of by the Levites, who were not priests; and which were not received by our great high priest, Jesus Christ. What other act of Melchisedech's then remains? None other than the bringing out of bread and wine. Either then his priesthood must have consisted in offering this only as a sacrifice, which we find to have been peculiar to him, amongst all the priests of those ancient times, or it must have consisted in his making similar offerings to those of Abram or Aaron and of his descendants; which, if true, would give no peculiar character to his priesthood. But the whole context of the Scripture requires that there must be for his priesthood a character essentially peculiar, and in striking contrast with that of Aaron, and of Abram himself. Their offerings were in blood. Our divines say that his was

in bread and wine; such was the testimony of the whole host of early Christian expositors of the Sacred Scriptures.

Now, the word which is translated "bringing out," as referred to the bread and wine, is used in many places of the Old Testament to describe, bringing out for sacrifice. It is therefore asserted, that the fair, natural meaning of the passage is, that Melchisedech bringing out bread and wine for the sacrifice, for he was a priest of the Most High God, made the offering, and then blessed Abraham, and received from him his gift of tithes. This, indeed, would be a strong peculiarity, distinguishing the priesthood of Melchisedech from every other. Nor does this contradict the assertion, that the soldiers partook of the offering; for it is, on the other hand, natural to suppose that they did; and probably they did: because, on such occasions, they who attended at such a sacrifice, especially if it was offered on their account, became communicants therein, by partaking of the victim or of the oblation.

That Abram needed not refection for his soldiers, is evident from two passages of the context: the first showing that they had abundance of provisions; the second showing that they had partaken of them. In the sixteenth verse we see that all the booty was recovered; and in the eleventh we find that all the provisions of the Sodomites, and of the Gomorrhites formed a part thereof: and again in verse 24, we find that Abram, whilst he refuses to accept from the King of Sodom any compensation, yet states that he will make no payment for the provisions which his soldiers had eaten. They had, therefore, abundance of provisions, and had partaken of them; and had no need of the provisions of Melchisedech, as mere food, for ordinary refreshment. This, our divines, after the example of the ancient Christian expositors, exhibit as the correct meaning of this passage in *Genesis* xiv. But Melchisedech brought out the bread and wine for sacrifice.

We next come to *Psalm* cix, or according to you, cx. The royal prophet, David, writes, "The Lord said to my Lord: sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool." In *Matthew* xxii, 44, *Mark* xii, 36, and *Luke* xx, 42, the Saviour shows that this Psalm regarded himself. The 4th verse of that Psalm is, "The Lord hath sworn and he will not repent. Tou art a priest forever, according to the order of Melchisedech." Thus, it was manifest that Christ was a priest according to the order of Melchisedech, and that his sacerdotal action must be exhibited in that peculiarity which distinguished this priest from all others. I have already shown what that peculiarity was. But, as several Protestant writers, fully aware of the force which this reasoning has, have sought to destroy its foundation, I shall go through

the difficulties which they have endeavored to raise, previously to my winding up the argument by its full application. I have already adverted to the effort made to sever the connexion between the priesthood of Melchisedech and the fact of his bringing out the bread and wine, by destroying the causal particle. I have shown, that whatever that particle may be, there is no denial in the relation there given, of the fact of sacrifice, and I have shown, moreover, that in the greater number of readings and in those entitled to the highest consideration, the particle establishes the connexion: and I have also shown that there was no necessity for bringing out food for refreshment, though on such occasions eucharistic sacrifice was almost a matter of course, as is known to every one at all acquainted with the customs of the age and of these regions. I may add to these considerations the fact, that amongst the early Christian writers upon the subject, there is a mass of evidence to show that the offering of the bread and wine in sacrifice by Melchisedech was considered to be as certain as was that of his existence.

St. Paul, in the fifth chapter of his *Epistle to the Hebrews*, referring to the same passage of the Psalm, informs us that Christ is called by God a high priest, according to the order of Melchisedech; and in vv. 11 and 12, he says of this same Melchisedech, "of whom we have great things to say and hard to be intelligibly uttered: because you are weak to hear. For whereas for the time you ought to be masters; you have need to be taught again what are the first rudiments of the word of God: and you are become such as have need of milk, and not of solid food."

Thus the Apostle shows that he is unable to explain fully to those to whom he writes, all that regards this personage, and the difficulty arises from their imperfect knowledge of the Christian law: so that he can only treat with them of its rudiments, which he calls milk, and not of its higher mysterious truths, which he calls solid food. We are not then to expect from the Apostle, in this place, the full development of those more sublime doctrines which were hard to be intelligibly uttered; yet we will see that he proceeds by several topics to establish what he sought to prove, viz. that the priesthood of Christ, according to the order of Melchisedech, excels the Aaronitic priesthood. This he effects in the seventh chapter. His first topic is, because Abraham paid tithes to Melchisedech, therefore the latter is greater, (vv. 2, 4, 5, 6). His second topic is, that Melchisedech blessed Abraham, (v. 7). His third topic, that Melchisedech is emblematic of an eternal existence, (vv. 3, 8, 16, 24). His fourth topic, that Christ was made priest with an oath, (v. 21). His fifth topic, that the Saviour, by one oblation, per-

fected all, (x, 14) as we read of but one bringing out, made by Melchisedech. These topics show, indeed, a superiority, but with the exception of the fifth topic, not even one of them alludes to what was the sacrifice offered by either Melchisedech or by Jesus Christ. And, St. Paul informs us, not only in the fifth chapter, to which I have previously referred, but also in chapter viii, 3, "For every high priest is appointed to offer gifts and sacrifices: wherefore it is necessary that he also should have something to offer." The sameness of their priesthood is found in the similarity of their offering. And, St. Paul does not advert to this topic throughout his entire Epistle. This is then that "great thing" which he had to say, and "hard to be intelligibly uttered," and, therefore, he avoids entering upon its explanation to this weak people, though he adverts to it, by saying, that they are not fit to receive this solid food being "unskilful in the word of Justice"—being "as little children"—and thus manifestly shows that he does not give a full explanation, nor enter upon the higher topics, but upon such as they who were "unskilful in the word of justice," could easily understand and appreciate: he is, then, satisfied with giving them milk, that is, proving the superiority of Christ's priesthood over that of Aaron, by the lesser topics which I have enumerated; and which contained very little that required more than the mere rudiments of the Christian doctrine, to comprehend their force; but he does not give them the solid food of the more sublime and mysterious truth, "because they were become weak to hear," and, "had need to be taught again what are the rudiments of the word of God."

Calvin acknowledges, of course, that "this mystery," or the high priesthood of Christ, "had long before been prefigured in Melchisedech, whom the Scripture has introduced once as 'the priest of the Most High God,' but never mentioned him afterwards, as if there had been no end to his life. From this resemblance, Christ is called a priest after his order." (*Institut.* b. iv, c. 18, s. 2) Calvin does not tell us any thing here which is great or hard to be intelligibly uttered; on the contrary, he tells us what is very simple, and easily conveyed to the most humble capacity. He states a little further on, "Melchisedech gave bread and wine to Abraham and his companions, to refresh them when they were fatigued on their return from battle." . . . "Moses praises the liberality of the pious king: these men (Catholics) presumptuously fabricate a mystery of which the Scripture makes no mention." I am under the impression that the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews is a portion of Scripture, and a portion of that Epistle referring to Melchisedech is, "of whom we have great things to say, and hard to

be intelligibly uttered;" and this is certainly making mention of a mystery! Calvin proceeds, by stating that the Catholics "varnish their error with another pretext, because the historian immediately after says, 'and he was the priest of the Most High God.' I answer, they misapply to the bread and wine, what the Apostle refers to the benediction, 'For this Melchisedech, priest of the Most High God, met Abraham and blessed him,' from which the same Apostle, than whom it is unnecessary to seek for a better expositor, argues his superior dignity, 'For without all contradiction the less is blessed by the better.' But, if the offering of Melchisedech had been a figure of the sacrifice of the Mass, is it credible, that the Apostle, who discusses all the minutest circumstances, would leave forgotten a thing of such high importance?"

In the first place, I think the Apostle himself gives the reason for his not discussing the sameness of the priesthood, when he discusses the rudiments, "because it was hard to be intelligibly uttered," because there was a necessity of teaching these persons "rudiments," instead of "great things."

Again, Calvin flies from the passage in Genesis to that of the seventh chapter of St. Paul, which he affects to quote, but which is garbled in his exhibition. He quotes the passage as describing a perfect and complete act, whereas, in the original such is not the meaning. The whole passage is this: "1, For this Melchisedech, (King of Salem,) priest of the Most High God, (who) met Abraham (returning from the slaughter of Kings,) and blessed him; (2, to whom also Abraham divided the tithes of all; who, indeed, first by interpretation, is King of Justice, and then also King of Salem, that is King of Peace; 3, without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life, but likened to the Son of God)." I have here marked within crotchets those parts which Calvin omits. The reader will then perceive that, by garbling the text, he gives some of the words but not the meaning of the Apostle; for he makes a perfect sentence where the Apostle had not concluded his description; and he causes that perfect sentence to convey to the reader the notion that this priest showed his sacerdotal power, merely in blessing Abraham; whereas, the blessing is but one of a number of circumstances which enter into the description of Melchisedech; and, the whole of what I have thus given, is still but an unfinished sentence, which is concluded and made perfect by the following verb and object, "continueth a priest for ever;" so that the passage of St. Paul is not "Melchisedech blessed him," but "Melchisedech, who blessed him, continueth a priest for ever."

But, it may be asked, why Calvin fled from the text of Genesis?

I would answer, that he abandoned it for the very same reason that he garbled the seventh chapter of the *Epistle to the Hebrews.*

The text of *Genesis* is, "18. But Melchisedech, the King of Salem, bringing forth bread and wine, (and) (for) (because) he was the priest of the Most High God, 19, Blessed him, and said," and so forth. Calvin writes, "because the historian immediately after says, 'and he was the priest of the Most High God,' I answer that they misapply to the bread and wine, what the Apostle refers to the benediction." We have seen that the Apostle did not refer it to the benediction. Now, to show that our divines do not misapply it to the bread and wine, it will perhaps be sufficient to observe that at the termination of what is given as the 18th verse, the Hebrew has that mark which shows the close of the sense, or the completion of a paragraph; and thereby it applies the fact of the priesthood to the bringing out of the bread and wine, by placing both in the same sentence; and it separates the same from the blessing, by placing the statement thereof in a separate sentence. Nor is it the Hebrew only which does this; the same is the case in the Septuagint, in the Chaldean paraphrase, in the Latin of St. Jerome, in the Arabic, and in the Syriac. I will not undertake to assert that it was the consciousness of this, which made Calvin fly from the book of Genesis to the clipping of St. Paul; but, I know that the Polyglot of Le Jay, and other editions, afford evidence of the fact which I state. I trust that I have sufficiently met the efforts to destroy the testimony which the sacred volume furnishes, that Melchisedech offered bread and wine in sacrifice; that this was the principal distinctive character of his priesthood; and that this his priesthood was figurative of that of Christ, not only in his exhibition of its duration, and in having made but one offering, but also in that offering having been made in bread and wine; and that it was greater than the priesthood of Aaron, as was proved by his blessing the progenitor of Aaron, who was himself a patriarch and a priest, and who bore Levi, the parent of the Aaronitic priesthood, in his loins; by his receiving also from him the homage of tithes; and by the other circumstances to which I have adverted.

The whole of the ancient writers concur in this with St. Clement of Alexandria, who, in lib. 4, Strom., writes, "Melchisedech, the King of Salem, the priest of the Most High God, who gave sanctified bread and wine as refection, in type of the Eucharist:" they agree with St. Cyprian, who, in lib. 2, Epist. 3, ad Cœcil, writes, "for who is more a priest of the Most High God, than our Lord Jesus Christ; who offered sacrifice to God the Father, and offered that same which Melchisedech had offered, that is, bread and wine; to wit, his own body and his blood?"

Thus, our divines say, that Christ must be a priest according to the order of Melchisedech, whose priesthood consisted in offering bread and wine only, in contradistinction to the Aaronitic priests, whose chief offerings were slain victims, and whose sacrifices were perpetually continued by the immolation of distinct and separate victims; whereas, the Saviour, by offering only one victim, consummated all—*Hebrews* x, 14. "For by one oblation he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified." The one oblation, they say, is no other than his own body and his blood, because it is only by their sacrifice that we have the means of redemption. How, then, is he a priest according to the order of him who offered bread and wine? Clearly, because by placing his flesh and blood under the appearance of bread and wine, he makes the oblation only of his body and his blood, but they being under the appearances of these elements, he is a priest according to the order of Melchisedech. His own words are related by the Evangelists. *St. Matthew* thus records the institution, (xxvi, 26) "And whilst they were at supper, Jesus took bread and broke, and gave to his disciples and said: Take ye and eat: This is my body. 27. And taking the chalice, he gave thanks; and gave to them saying: Drink ye all of this. 28. For this is my blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins." *St. Mark* writes, (xiv, 22) "And whilst they were eating Jesus took bread, and blessing, broke, and gave to them and said: Take ye; this is my body. 23. And having taken the chalice, he gave to them: and they all drank of it. 24. And he said to them: This is my blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for many." *St. Luke* states, (xxii, 19) "And taking bread, he gave thanks, and brake, and gave to them saying: This is my body which is given for you; do this for a commemoration of me. 20. In like manner the chalice also, after he had supped, saying: This is the chalice, the New Testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you." *St. Paul* also, (*I Cor.* xi), gives us a similar account. Thus, by the plain declaration of the Saviour, we have, under the appearance of the bread, his body, which is given in sacrifice for us,—and under the appearance of wine, that blood which is shed for the remission of our sins,—and thus is Christ our Lord, a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedech, who offered bread and wine, and who gave it in communion to Abraham and his soldiers, in token of the manner in which, under the appearance of bread and wine, Christ Jesus was to give his body and blood to his Apostles. Upon this same principle, also, we find the flesh of the lamb is delivered to be eaten by those who are reedeemed by his blood:—we see that [the] blood of the New Testament is sprinkled amongst those who have bound them-

selves to the observance of the law; and we discover in this heavenly food that true bread which came down from heaven; this living bread which descended from heaven, not when Israel journeyed in the desert, but when the Word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us. "And the bread which I will give is my flesh for the life of the world." (*John* vi, 52).

Thus, Rev. Sir, unless Christ makes the oblation under the appearance of bread and wine, he is not a priest according to the order of Melchisedech. And if he offers any thing besides himself, he is not the priest who makes only one oblation; because whatsoever he should offer, besides himself, would be distinct from himself, it would be something separate, and would be an additional oblation. But, according to the Catholic doctrine, every thing is easy, natural and consistent. Melchisedech offers bread and wine. Christ makes only one oblation, viz. his body and blood under the appearance of bread and wine; the figure is fulfilled, the oblation is single, every circumstance upon which St. Paul dwells is also fully carried out. The text in *Genesis* xiv suffers no violence; the words of the Evangelists, or rather of Christ, have their full natural signification, our explanation is in full accordance with the exact fulfilment of the other divinely given figures which shadowed forth and foreshowed the sufferings of Christ and the institution of the Gospel.

And now, Rev. Sir, for what purpose are we to forgo all this consistent and natural interpretation which is in the most strict accord with the doctrine and interpretation of the early witnesses who testify to the faith of the primitive Christians? Is it not equally possible for God, by occasion of the body and blood of the Saviour, to produce upon our senses similar impressions to those usually produced by bread and wine, as it was in various times of which the Scriptures contain the record, to produce upon the senses of multitudes by occasion of the angelic substance, the same impressions as if men were there? Surely his hand is not shortened. Neither did he deceive those persons; for he subsequently informed them that the beings who bore human appearance were truly, really and substantially angels. Nor does he deceive us, because he forewarns us, that after the consecration which we witness, that which to us will bear the appearance of bread and wine, will be truly, really and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of Jesus Christ. And if any philosophic difficulty should present itself, which is not the case, against the real presence of this body in its supernatural and sacramental, and if I may use the term, spiritualized state of existence, whole and entire in several

places at the same moment, that difficulty, Sir, would be of just as much force against yourself and your friend Schmucher, and your consubstantiation. What, then, I ask, would be gained by our cutting away from the anchor of our faith? by giving up transubstantiation? You have already told us, and I thank you for it. We should unfortunately be at a loss what to substitute in its stead; all the teachers to whom you would refer us, have "their peculiar views, in which there may be traced considerable shades of difference, as well as of obscurity."

You must excuse me, Rev. Sir, for dwelling so long upon the topic of the Eucharist; but really I had no intention of thus trespassing when I commenced; however, I must avow, that I was weak enough to feel a little provoked at the supercilious manner in which you treated this doctrine in your paragraphs 24 and 25; and it struck me, that it would be no harm to show you and others, that although we are so credulous and absurd, though we could not lay claim to as much "plain common sense" as either Dr. Bachman or Dean Swift possessed, nor to as much of this rare quality as is to be found "especially among Protestants"—yet that it would be well, even though tiresome, to show that our folly was not without some show of excuse.

This, Rev. Sir, must be our apology for still troubling you on the same subject in my next.

Yours, and so forth, B. C.

LETTER IX.

CHARLESTON, S. C., April 5, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—I now proceed to examine the meaning of a promise made by the Saviour, about a year before his death, to a number of his disciples and others; and which promise has never been fulfilled, unless the true body and blood of that same Jesus has been placed in the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist.

That promise is contained in the sixth chapter of the Gospel according to St. John.—That chapter commences by the relation of an additional miracle wrought for a number of persons, who "followed him because of the miracles which he did on them that were infirm," v. 2. These persons had followed him without having provisions: and, by the directions of the Saviour, "they sat down in number about five thousand," v. 10.—"A boy had five barley loaves and two fishes," v. 9: that is, one loaf for a thousand men, and one fish for two thousand five hundred; not taking a multitude of others into account. In the 11th

verse, we are informed that the Saviour having taken the loaves and given thanks, distributed them to those that were set down, and in like manner also of the fishes, as much as they would. *St. Matthew*, (xiv, 21) informs us that besides the 5000 men, there were women and children; and in v. 20, that "they eat and were filled." Originally, we should suppose that the whole quantity may be placed in one basket, and that basket not be filled. Now, we find by the united testimony of four Evangelists, *Matthew*, (xiv, 20) *Mark*, (vi, 43) *Luke*, (ix, 17) and *John*, (vi, 13) that the disciples gathered up the fragments, "and filled twelve baskets with the fragments of the five barley loaves which remained over and above them who had eaten." Yet this was not a creation of new loaves, but a multiplication of the original loaves, by divine power, in such a way as not only to fill the five thousand men, besides women and children, but to leave, of the original loaves, a larger quantity, than that which appeared originally to have been given for distribution. This is then, one of the most extraordinary and peculiar miracles which we have upon record: for it not only is above our comprehension, but really appears to be more difficult to reconcile with our notions of philosophy, than any other miracle mentioned in the whole of the sacred books. And yet, if the four Evangelists have stated what is not true, of what value are the Gospels? We are then compelled to decide between admitting the truth of this fact, and the folly of what we call revelation. If we believe in the truth of revelation, we must believe in the existence of this miracle: that is, that a small quantity of food was so multiplied, as to satisfy the hunger of thousands of persons, and yet, that the remains occupied a larger space than would the original quantity. Catholics firmly believe it. The Saviour does nothing out of its time or place: this miracle was wrought at that particular time, for the wisest purpose; it was to manifest his power in a way appropriate to the doctrine which he was about to communicate to those for whom this miracle was wrought. To the Christian who this day contemplates it, the multiplication of this ordinary food for the body, seems to be a proper, an analagous exertion of the Lord's omnipotence when about to inform the disciplines of a doctrine, showing how he would, as it were, multiply himself to bestow upon them food for their souls.

After they had witnessed this miracle, (v. 14,) they were brought to that state of mind which the Saviour desired; and, recollecting the declaration of their holy legislator, (*Deut.* xviii). 15, "The Lord thy God will raise up to thee a prophet of thy nation and of thy brethren like unto me: him shalt thou hear," they say that this was the Christ,—"This is the prophet indeed, that is to come into the world."

Next day having taken shipping, they find him at the other side of the sea in Capharnaum, (v. 24) and he commences the discourse, in which he desires, gradually to lead them to an expectation of his giving them, on a future occasion, his flesh and blood to be their food. My object now, Rev. Sir, is to show the ground on which the great body of Catholic divines teach that our Saviour, on this occasion, made a promise which has never been fulfilled, unless the doctrine of the real presence be true. I shall endeavor for that purpose to exhibit their view of this chapter. The Saviour having told the multitude, in the Synagogue of Capharnaum, (v. 60) that they sought him, not precisely because of having generally witnessed his miracles; but because they had partaken of the loaves: (26) exhorts them to labor, not for perishable food, but for which endureth to everlasting life; and which the Son of man will give them; showing that giving them this food was a great object of his mission. They ask him what they are to do. He answers them, that they are to believe in him. The Saviour had previously stated, that the miracles which he had wrought had not produced a due effect upon them; though they were led to acknowledge that he was the great legislating prophet in whom, according to the direction of Moses himself, the law was to terminate. They give full proof of it now, when they ask him, (v. 30) what miracles does he exhibit, upon which they may found their belief. He had wrought many, and he knew that they did not seek so much for evidence to induce them to submission, as for pretexts to avoid it, (v, 65) "For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were who did not believe, and who he was that would betray him." He therefore treats them as he treated Herod, (*Luke* xxiii, 8, and so forth). He wrought no farther miracles for them; because they had already "no excuse for their sin," (*John* xv, 22) he "had done among them works that no other man had done," (24.) Yet he permits them to proceed; that by their very inquiries and remarks, the way may be naturally opened to effect his own purpose. They refer to the manna which Moses gave their fathers in the desert. The Saviour then proceeds to inform them, as I stated in my sixth letter, that the manna did not come from heaven; but that "his father giveth them the true bread from Heaven," (v. 32) that is, in giving them his "beloved son who came down from heaven to give life to the world," (v. 33) and who being then present with them; the present tense expresses the fact, *giveth*, δίδωσιν. (32) and *giving* διδοὺς; (33) was giving that life. In verse 34, the Jews appear to misapprehend him, for they ask "Lord give us always this bread." Upon which he immediately gives the proper explanation, (v. 35) "I am the bread of life;"

and he proceeds to show the manner in which it is to be turned to profit; "he that cometh to me, shall not hunger: and he that believeth in me, shall never thirst," and he continues to inculcate the necessity of this faith and this obedience, down to the end of the 40th verse. In the 41st and 42d, we have stated for us the difficulty which they entertained. 41. "The Jews then murmured at him, because he said, I am the living bread which came down from Heaven." 43, "And they said, Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know? How then saith he, I came down from Heaven?"

The doctrine which he proposed to them was, therefore, that he had been given from Heaven to them to teach them the truths of God: and that they were bound upon his testimony to believe the doctrines of Heaven. Their objection was, that he did not come down from Heaven, because they knew his parents, and were convinced by the testimony of their senses, that he was no more than a human being. In the 43d and to the termination of the 46th verse, the Saviour makes and continues his remarks on their incredulity; and concludes this topic by the solemn asseveration that this faith, to the exercise of which he invites them, and which will lead to eternal life, must be a gift from the Father.

In the 47th verse, he concludes his argument, by asserting the proposition which establishes his authority to teach; and he commences a new topic by the farther development of the same truth. "Amen, Amen, I say unto you: He that believeth in me hath everlasting life." Upon this foundation he requires them to give their special assent to his several doctrines. He had told them, 1. that in giving him as their teacher, the Father gives them true bread from heaven: 2, that he had been in Heaven and came down upon the earth to do the will of his Father, by bringing them to eternal life, and that to this end, 3, it was necessary that they should receive his testimony and believe his doctrines. Now he proceeds to give one of those doctrines. He repeats, (v. 48) "I am the bread of life," in verse 49, he refers to their specification of the manna, "your fathers did eat manna in the desert; and they died." He contrasts his bread of life with the manna. 50. "This is the bread descending from Heaven; that, if any one eat it he may not die." The Syriac gives us "that one may eat thereof and may not die." To show still the complete identity of what he is, with what he will give, he repeats, (51) "I am the living bread which came down from heaven." The Vulgate here terminates the verse, but the Greek, the Syriac and the Arabic include what the Vulgate makes, verse 52 in verse 51. "If any man eat of this bread he shall live forever: and the bread which *I will*

give is my flesh for the life of the world.'' In this place the Saviour does not speak of any thing already given in a past time, nor actually given at the present, but of something to be given at a future time, χαι ὁ αρτος δε ὃν εγω δωσω, ἡ σαρξ μου ἐσιν. ''and the bread which I *will give* is my flesh''—the Greek is much stronger than the Vulgate; for it proceeds again with the future, δωδω, I *will give*, in reference to the flesh:—ήν έγώ δωσω ὑπερ τῆσ τοῦ κόσμου Ζωῆς, ''which I will give for the life of the world.''—So that in Greek we read ''I am the bread of life which came down from heaven. If any one shall eat of this bread he will live for ever; and the bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.'' The identification of the bread with himself is perfect, and the identification of the bread which he will give, with the flesh which he will give for the life of the world is perfect. Now let us for a moment turn to *Luke* xxii, 19. ''And taking bread he gave thanks and gave to them, saying: This is my body which is given for you.'' Can any thing be more distinct than the relation between the expressions—''my flesh which I will give for the life of the world,'' ''my body which is given for you?'' The Syriac has it, indeed a little different from the Greek, but it is not a difference which injures our explanation, but one that serves to confirm it.—''And the bread which I will give is my body, which I do give for the life of the world.'' The Arabic corresponds exactly with the Syriac.

To any person who calmly and dispassionately considers these expressions, we apprehend they will appear to be an explicit promise that he would in some way give to them, in like manner as the manna was given to their fathers, to eat, a true living bread which really descended from Heaven, and which living bread was the flesh or body of Jesus Christ, which he was to give or did give also for the life of the world.

That he was so understood by the Capharnaites does not admit of a question, for the Evangelist proceeds in the next verse to inform us of the natural and necessary consequence of such being the impression on their minds.—53. ''The Jews therefore debated among themselves, saying: How can this man give us his flesh to eat?'' The Syriac says they quarreled one with another and were saying: How can he give us his body to be eaten?'' The Arabic. ''The Jews therefore debated one with another saying: How can this person give us his body to eat it.'' The Saviour was aware of their dispute, and of the source of their difficulty. He came for the purpose of teaching truth; surely then if they were under the egregious delusion of imagining that they were to get his flesh to eat, when it was his intention that they were to get only bread, or only to believe, what he would teach; and that it was no part

of his teaching, that they were to eat his body; this was of all others the moment to correct their mistake: not only common sense, common justice and common prudence would require it: but of all other persons who ever existed, the Saviour was he who would be most ready to do so. Yet what is his conduct? Fully aware of their dispute, and difficulty; he now proceeds (v. 54, *Vulg*, of 53, *Greek*) to say, "Amen, Amen, I say to you: unless you eat of the flesh of the son of man and drink his blood you shall not have life in you." The Syriac and the Arabic have, "unless you eat the body of the son of man and drink his blood," and so forth. Numbering according to the Vulgate, he proceeds 55. "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath everlasting life and I will raise him up at the last day." The Arabic says "He that eateth my body and drinketh my blood, to him it will be eternal life," and so forth. 56. "For my flesh is meat indeed and my blood is drink indeed." Arabic "For my body is true food, and my blood is true drink." 57. "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me and I in him. 58. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father: so he that eateth me the same shall live by me." The Greek has "the person eating me shall live by me." The Syriac, "whosoever shall have eaten me, the same person shall live by reason of me." The Arabic corresponds with the Syriac. 59. "This is the bread that came down from heaven. Not as your fathers did eat manna and died: he that eateth this bread shall live for ever." The Syriac, "he who shall have eaten of this bread shall live for ever." The Arabic, "This is bread which came down from heaven: not as the manna which your fathers eat and are dead, he who eateth of this bread shall live for ever." Thus the assertions of the Saviour, but tend fully to show that they understood him correctly, when they regarded him as promising to give them his flesh to eat;—and he shows that he has no explanation to give which will tend to do away that impression. We perceive therefore the natural consequence. 61. "Many therefore of his disciples hearing it, said: This saying is hard, and who can hear it?" Clearly their difficulty is not removed. They look upon him now present with them, they hear the promise that he makes, that he will give them his flesh to eat. The difficulty is to them very great. "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" He does not say to them "Fear not; you are not to eat my flesh, but you will eat bread and wine, and eating this food, you will believe that I have come to show you the way to heaven and to enable you to arrive there." In all this there would be no difficulty, but in his explanation and in their apprehension there was indeed a mighty great difficulty. Let us see how he proceeds. 62. "But Jesus

knowing in himself that his disciples murmured at this, said to them: Doth this scandalize you?"

Hereby he shows them who he is, for he reads their hearts, and he exhibits his knowledge of their secret thoughts, and is aware of their difficulties. Yet what is the explanation? He continues, 63. "If then you shall see the son of man ascend up where he was before?"—Syriac, "where he was from the beginning?" Our early witnesses testify to us, two objects of the Saviour for this expression, the meaning of which is, If the difficulty is now great, as you imagine it to be, will it not be greater upon the supposition, that with this body which is now present, I shall ascend to regions far distant from the earth? Yet even when this shall have happened you shall get this flesh to eat. His first object was then to show that it would be a permanent observance to continue after his ascension. Next, he had an object in correcting their mistake; which was, that they should receive his body, as they would the flesh of animals exposed for sale at the shambles,—and this would be corrected by showing them that his flesh would be eaten after his ascension, such as he would bear it to heaven, consequently not in the way that they imagined. This is still farther confirmed by what follows, 64. "It is the spirit which quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing." Dead flesh of that description would not avail you: that which will be given for your profit and to bring you to life, will itself be living, quickened by the spirit and in a peculiar mode of existence, such as will be exhibited at my ascension, such as I shall have with me in Heaven, "the words that I speak to you are spirit and life." If you believe me and receive my doctrine, you will have your minds rendered capable of understanding those spiritual things concerning which I testify to you the words which would lead to life: but with your carnal, worldly notions you cannot understand those things that are of God. 65. "But there are some of you who believe not." They did not yield to the Father's grace, nor co-operate therewith. 69. "And after this, many of his disciples went back and walked no more with him."

The Saviour was accustomed frequently to explain to the twelve, in a special manner, what he had said to the people at large in other terms, because the twelve were to be his witnesses after his ascension. On this occasion many of his disciples left him, because they believed that he had declared they must eat his flesh and drink his blood; they would not wait to see how it would be done. They looked upon the words to have been used in their plain, obvious, natural meaning, with only this qualification, that the flesh would be living and united with his spirit; and be eaten equally after the ascension as before it. And

he permits them to depart under this notion. Let us hear, now, his explanation to the twelve: 68. "Then Jesus said to the twelve, will you also go away?" He has therefore no farther explanation to give, and unless they think proper to remain and to believe what he has thus declared, they are not needed. 69. "And Simon Peter answered him: Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life." That is, it is useless for us to seek for information any where else, for your doctrine is to be for us the source of eternal life: and we will believe all that you require. Already we have ample proof, to establish our knowledge of the fact, that you are the Son of God; and knowing this, we must from you receive the testimony of God; we therefore are quite ready to believe that you will perform all that you promise. 70. "And we have believed and we have known that thou art the Christ the Son of God." The Saviour however shows that Peter was too forward in undertaking to answer for the others, equally as for himself. 71. "Jesus answered them: Have I not chosen you twelve; and one of you is a devil? 72. Now he meant Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon; for this same was about to betray him; whereas he was one of the twelve."

In this chapter then we find evidence of a promise by Jesus Christ, that at a future period he would give to his disciples, to be eaten, that same flesh which he gave for the salvation of the world; and that this was the true bread from heaven, far preferable to the manna which did not come from heaven, this, the flesh quickened by the spirit, and believed in, by those who faithfully hear and receive the words of Christ, which are intelligible to the spiritual man and which are the source of eternal life to these faithful persons.

I am aware that it is said by many that this promise does not relate to the Eucharist. To what then does it relate? He was asked for a sign corresponding to the miraculous bestowing of the manna. He tells them that he will give, at a future time, a bread better than the manna; that he would perform a miracle of a more sublime and beneficial character. The Father at present gives them his Son as the true bread which descends from Heaven; but at a future day, that Son would give them a better food that the manna, because he would give them his own flesh to eat, and his blood to drink: for they are truly food,—the partakers of which will have everlasting life; whereas they who partook of the manna died. Thus they were in some manner, but in one very different from any in which the ancient fathers had done, to eat his flesh and drink his blood. Now the ancient fathers believed in the doctrines taught by God. Abraham knew the Saviour, he rejoiced to

see his day: he saw it and was glad. (*John* viii, 56) Moses saw and described him, (*Deut.* xviii, 15) so did Israel when in extatic rapture he pointed to him washing his garment in the blood of the grape, (*Gen.* xlix, 11). He was known to David, when the Lord swore that he was a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedech, (*Ps.* xc). Isaias beheld him when he proclaimed his miraculous conception, (c. vii.) and traced the prophetic history of his glorious reign, (xi: and so forth). Daniel was undoubtedly well acquainted with him, whose weeks with their events were unfolded to his desires, (ix.) Micheas fixed his eye upon Bethlehem and beheld this little one send forth the ruler to preside over Juda. (v.) Zacharias gazed upon the orient shedding his splendor upon the overshadowed regions of the earth, (iii.) Aggeus viewed him entering the temple, to give peace; and to make the glory bestowed by the desired of nations by his presence in that latter house far to exceed the splendor of the costly pile which the son of David had erected, (ii.) All these and thousands of other holy ones, had faith in the Redeemer; they beheld afar off the things promised, they saluted them, (*Heb.* xi) they confessed the truths of God, and if believing was eating and drinking the body and blood of Christ, they indeed eat of his flesh and they drank of his blood:—but they did not receive the promises in the manner that they are here specially made. "All these being approved by the testimony of faith received not the promise, God providing something better for us, that they should not be perfected without us." Thus faith is not this eating his flesh and drinking his blood.

Again the Saviour says that we must eat and drink, and his words were thus understood by his hearers. This eating and this drinking are bodily acts; believing is a mere mental act; which will by no means satisfy the force of the Saviour's expressions, nor accord with the notions of those to whom they were addressed.

The Saviour speaks of a bread which he will give at a future day, but this could not be Faith; because it was already in existence, not only in Peter, who says in the past time, 70. "We have believed and known that thou art Christ the son of the living God;" but this Faith had moreover been already given to that glorious band enumerated and described by St. Paul, (*Heb.* xi). The more closely the passages are examined, the more plainly do they show, that here the Saviour promises to give then this true bread of life in the holy Eucharist.

If St. John does not here speak of the Eucharist, we have not in his whole Gospel a single word regarding that greatest of our Christian institutions. If St. John does not here describe the Eucharist, we have not on record a syllable pronounced by the Saviour concerning the ef-

fects which this sacrament would produce upon the worthy communicant! If St. John does not here treat of the Eucharist, the Gospels do not give us any information of one word spoken by the Saviour to prepare his disciples for the most solemn scene of the substitution of the Paschal lamb of the New Testament for that of the old! A number of the most ancient councils, a host of venerable and learned witnesses of the early ages of Christianity, all testify to us that the latter portion of this touching and mysterious discourse of Jesus, is the promise which he made, of giving his flesh and blood to be received by his children in that holy sacrament which he instituted on the night in which he was betrayed.

And, Rev. Sir, if you believe in the doctrine of Consubstantiation, if you sustain the explication of Schmucher, those passages of St. John present no difficulty to you.

They who do not, however, believe in the doctrine of the real presence, very consistently indeed, endeavor to get rid of its force, by denying that any part of the chapter regards, in any way, the holy Eucharist. Nor could their effort to fix a figurative meaning to the command of eating the flesh of the Saviour, especially as given by himself in verse 54, be maintained for a moment without producing the most unfortunate results. If we are to understand eating the flesh or body of a person figuratively, we must understand the figure according to the custom of the people among whom that figure is used, and according to the idiom of the language in which the expression is conveyed. I am far from saying that the Eastern people did not formerly, and do not at present use in a figurative sense, the phrase of eating one's flesh: but that figurative meaning has always been to detract, to calumniate, to destroy the person or the reputation of him whose flesh is said to be eaten. Thus we read in Job, where he reproaches those who have spoken unkindly of him in the day of his affliction (xix, 22) "Why do you persecute me as God; and glut yourselves with my flesh?" And, in *Psalm* xxvi, of our version, (*Prot.* xxvii. vv. 1, 2) "The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? The Lord is the protector of my life; of whom shall I be afraid? Whilst the wicked men draw near against me to eat my flesh. My enemies that trouble me, have themselves been weakened," and so forth. In the figurative eating of flesh, then, in the sacred volume, the meaning is, calumniating, detracting, and such like. Surely the Saviour did not give such a precept to his disciples! Nor did he use the figure in that other way, in which we sometimes find it, as in *Micheas* iii, 2, "You that hate good, and love evil; that violently pluck off their skins from them, and their flesh from their bones," 3,

"who have eaten the flesh of my people, and have flayed the skin off from them," and so forth. Here eating flesh is figuratively used for oppression and robbery. And in no other sense but one analagous to this, is there any instance of its being figuratively used by any Eastern nor in any part of the sacred volume. Surely then, our Lord Jesus gave no such precept to his disciples! He, therefore, used the words in their plain literal meaning, and was so understood by the disciples who left him, and by those who remained with him. He thus promised that he would give them his flesh to eat, and his blood to drink, and this promise has never been fulfilled except in giving them his flesh and blood in the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. And that he has there fulfilled it, will be seen by examining the history of the Institution.

I have the honor to be, Rev. Sir,

Yours, B. C.

LETTER X.

CHARLESTON, S. C., April 12, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—I have dwelt at greater length upon the subject of the Eucharist, than I originally intended to do upon all the topics of your Sermon; and having gone so far, I am tempted to examine the other scriptural passages which manifestly regard this sacrament, previously to my noticing any other subject.

In the view which I have taken:—it will appear that the Apostles must have been fully prepared for some extraordinary and very sublime manifestation of the Saviour's power and goodness, previous to his departure from the world. They had been prepared by him in a special manner by various instructions and conversations, of which we have no record, fully to comprehend and to appreciate duly, several of those actions of the Saviour, of which only an exceedingly brief and imperfect description is given to us in the sacred history. St. John, whose Gospel is the latest written of the inspired books, informs us at its conclusion, (xxi, 25) "But there are many other things which Jesus did: which if they were written every one, the world itself, I think, would not be able to contain the books that should be written." And St. Luke informs us in *Acts* i, 3, that after his resurrection, the Lord Jesus continued "for forty days appearing to them, and speaking of the kingdom of God."

We are not then to imagine that all the conversations, the instructions and preparations which the Saviour made for aiding the Apostles,

are to be found in the account left to us by the Evangelists. And if we do not find the record of any special mode of preparing them for an institution, registered in the Gospel, it would be going a little too far, to assert that no such preparation was made.

We may also, in various places of the Gospel, perceive that the Redeemer shows how the old law and its institutions were types of himself. (*John* iii, 14), "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of Man be lifted up," and so forth. (*Matt.* xii, 40), "For as Jonas was in the whale's belly three days and three nights: so shall the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights." (*Luke* xxii, 37), "For I say unto you, that yet this, that is written must be fulfilled in me: And with the wicked he was reputed: for the things concerning me have an end." (*Luke* xxiv, 44), "And he said to them: These are the words which I spoke to you while I was yet with you, that all things must needs be fulfilled, which are written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me."

We have then his own testimony for asserting that he used to converse with his Apostles during his mortal life, to show them the prophecies, and the types of himself and of his institutions, though it was only after his resurrection that he gave to them that full knowledge of the true meaning of the ancient Scriptures, by which they were enabled clearly to discern their full application.

It is then a complete begging of the question; I should rather say, a manifest delusion, to suppose that the Saviour on the night before he was betrayed, instituted the Eucharist, without having in any way prepared his Apostles for knowing what he would do, and for appreciating the power which he was about to bestow upon them. I shall not go farther than the discourse recorded in the sixth chapter of the *Gospel of St. John*; as examined briefly in my last letter. Neither is it likely that he left them uninformed of the manner in which he was to substitute the flesh of the true Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world, for the typical flesh of the Lamb by which the Egyptian deliverance was commemorated; especially as we find him explaining to them the way in which all the ancient prophecies concerning him were to be fulfilled in Jerusalem: and this not once or twice, but frequently. (*Matt.* xvi, 21), "From that time forth, Jesus began to show to his disciples that he must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things from the ancients and scribes and the chief priests, and be put to death, and the third day arise again." (*Mark* x, 32, and so forth; *Luke* xvii, 25, xviii, 31, and so forth). And although it frequently happened that they did not perfectly comprehend the full meaning of his explanations in the

first instance, yet when the occurrence to which they referred took place, they recollected the previous instruction and were fully enlightened. (*Matt.* xxvi, 75, xxvii, 63; *Luke* xxiv, 6, 8, 44. *John* ii, 22, and so forth,)

It was not then, without previously having given them a promise and some explanations that the Saviour assembled his disciples for the institution of the blessed Eucharist: though even if he had given them no previous instruction, he could, in a moment, enlighten their minds by his divine manifestations. The occasion was the most solemn of his mortal life. He was about to be separated from them, and delivered up to those who would immolate him. He was about to substitute the most important rite of his religion for the most sublime figures of the typical code of that dispensation which shadowed forth the better things to come. He was seated in the midst of those whom he called friends, (*John* xv, 15) to whom he was making known all things whatsoever he heard from his Father. It was the hour when he was no more to speak to them in proverbs; (*John* xvi, 25) but when as his disciples themselves remarked, (29) "Now thou speakest plainly, and speakest no parable." It was in this hour, that he, looking forward through so many intervening ages, and gathering in his view the extended nations; saw that through respect for him and his expressions, myriads upon myriads would to the very last moment of this world's existence, be guided by the plain import of his expressions, to believe literally, in the simplest fulness of their faith, that the obvious meaning of his testamentary declaration was the truth which he desired they should believe. All this was open to his view, and therefore the propositions are as plain, as simple and as explicit as it was possible they could be.

Feeling himself the deep importance of the hour: he says in emphatic language to the twelve: (*Luke* xxii, 15) "With desire, I have desired, to eat this pasch with you before I suffer; 16, For I say to you that from this time I will not eat it, till it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God." I know not, Rev. Sir, whether you will admit as correct, the explanation which is given of this text, by the great body of our commentators, but it is that which has accompanied the text from the beginning. In the first place it is clear that the Pasch never was, after this, eaten by Christ. The Jewish observance was henceforth to cease. Next, the Paschal observance was a figure to be fulfilled by a better institution. Again, that was to be an institution in the Church of Jesus Christ. And lastly, the Saviour was in the habit of calling that Church, "the kingdom of God," "the kingdom of his Father,"—"the kingdom of heaven," and so forth.

The plain and obvious meaning of the passage then is: "I will not from this time eat of the pasch until the old figure be fulfilled by the substitution of the pasch of the Church." And St. Paul tells us what this Pasch of the Church was. (*I Corinth.* v, 7.) "For Christ our pasch is sacrificed." The Saviour proceeds with the rite usual at the Paschal supper, of raising the wine whilst he gave thanks or besought a blessing, and then sending it round to those at table for each to drink of it. 17. "And having taken the chalice, he gave thanks and said: 'Take and divide it among you: 18. For I say to you, that I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, till the kingdom of God come.' " Thus terminated the observance of the Mosaic rite. And now the period has arrived for the institution of the Eucharist; the substitution of the reality for the figure: and that figure is to be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. 19. "And taking bread, he gave thanks, and brake and gave to them saying: 'This is my body which is given for you: Do this in remembrance of me.' 20. In like manner, the chalice also after he had supped saying: 'This is the chalice, the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you.' " It may perhaps be as well to notice in this place that the translation here given is exactly in accordance with the Greek. The Syriac instead of "after he had supped" has "after they had supped."

The Arabic has "after supper," and, instead of "my body which is given for you" it has "my body which shall be exchanged for you."

We believe that by this plain language he informs the Apostles, that, if it was possible for him to give them his body under the appearance of bread to be eaten by them, he has done so. I treated in my fifth letter the question of its possibility; and, if you believe as Schmucher teaches, if you believe as Luther taught; you not only believe it possible, but you believe it to be a fact that he gives his body with the bread: believing this, if you also believe the facts so frequently related in the Scripture, which I presume you do, of his having given to one substance the appearance of another; you can have no difficulty in admitting that he can do so here, for his power is not diminished. Nor can you nor any other person show any philosophical objection, of any moment, against this possibility. The question, then, I repeat, is one of fact: the fact to be ascertained is, what the Saviour said. The declaration here is, that he gave in what appears to be bread, his body. What body? His body which is given for them. That is, the body which is given for their redemption. That is, his real, true, substantial body.

The subsequent clause consists of two parts:—first, a direction to the Apostles to do what he had done, "Do this." What he had done

must have been complete and concluded at the time—that is, giving them his body. "Do this," refers to something already known—that is, to which he had done. The second part of the clause shows the object for which it was to be done by them, "for a commemoration of me." The object for which an act is done is not a part of the act. The agent does an act for a purpose. The Apostles were to be the agents, the act was the consecration of the bread, which consecration made it the body of Christ, and the purpose for which that act was to be done, was for a commemoration of him;—or, as the Apostle St. Paul expresses it: (*I Cor.* xi, 26) to "show the death of the Lord until he come." Had what he gave, been merely bread, the Saviour never would have called it "my body which is given for you:" he never would have identified what he gave them as the Eucharist, with that body which he gave for their redemption, if they were different substances: but here the identification is complete.

The words regarding the chalice, state it to be "the chalice"—it was not however empty. What were its contents? "The new testament,"—did these words stand alone it would perhaps indeed be matter of conjecture what that new testament was:—but they do not stand alone, nor is the sense discernible without the words that follow—"in my blood." There is just as little of figure in this expression as in that of St. Paul, (*Heb.* ix, 20) where describing the manner in which Moses sprinkled upon the people of Israel, the blood of calves and goats which prefigured Christ, he introduces the legislator, "saying this is the blood of the testament, which God hath enjoined you," as we read in *Exodus* xxiv, 8, "And he took the blood, and sprinkled it upon the people: and he said: This is the blood of the covenant which the Lord made with you." These two phrases have exactly the same literal meaning, "This is my blood of the new testament." "This is the new testament in my blood." Nor does the description of the contents of the chalice terminate here; but, to show what blood it is, he proceeds to identify it with that by which redemption was effected, "which shall be shed for you"—and clearly it is not wine that was shed for our redemption!

I have taken, in the first instance, the history of the institution from the *Gospel of St. Luke*, for two reasons; first, because he gives the most detailed and special description of the two observances, in the order of their occurrence, viz. first, the figurative pasch or supper; and then after the supper, but whilst they were still at table, just at the conclusion of eating, in the second place, the institution of the Eucharist. My second reason was; because in the narration of St. Luke, are found the two expressions, by force of which, it is pretended

the figurative meaning can be best sustained, viz. "Do this for a commemoration of me"—and "This is the chalice, the new testament in my blood."

Having thus briefly examined the history, I proceed to transcribe from *St. Matthew*, xxvi, 26, "And whilst they were at supper, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and broke, and gave to his disciples; and said: Take ye and eat: This is my body. 27. And taking the chalice, he gave thanks: and gave to them, saying: Drink ye all of this. 28. For this is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins. 29. And I say to you: I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that I drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father." Another effort is made to establish that it was not the Saviour's blood, but wine which was in the chalice. This is made by stating that the Saviour used these words in the 29th verse, not before the consecration, as given in St. Luke, but after it, as related by St. Matthew: and, that they do not refer to the wine drank with the Paschal lamb, but to that which the Saviour had just given to his disciples, and which he had called "My blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins."

As regards the first observation; that the Saviour used the expressions after the consecration of the chalice, and not before it. As it is not an article of faith, but an opinion, we make no difficulty upon the subject. As respects the second; that the expressions regard the Eucharistic chalice, so far as the assertion is confined to this point,—neither would there be a difficulty. But so far as the assertion would establish, that by this, the Saviour intended to say that it was wine, and not blood, that was in the chalice, we certainly could not assent; for we should not feel warranted to say that our blessed Lord had contradicted himself, by saying in the same sentence, "this which is in the chalice, is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins," and "this which is in the chalice is not my blood, but is wine."

How then shall we reconcile the expressions without a contradiction, or without admitting the expression blood to be figurative, if we grant that the declaration was made after the consecration?

In the first place the opinion of the great body of our witnesses is, that it was not so used. But in the supposition that it was; they state that it regarded an impression which was still upon the minds of the disciples; and to which the Saviour himself alludes in his discourse with them on that very night, as is related by *St. Luke* xxii, 29. "And I appoint to you, as my Father hath appointed to me, a kingdom. 30.

That you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom; and may sit upon thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Thus the expression of the Saviour would mean, "I am about to leave you, and will no more be with you on this earth at any partaking of the fruit of the vine." The expression would be general and would have no special reference to the Eucharistic chalice. But, it may be asked, why did he use the expression immediately after this special partaking of the chalice, if it had no special reference thereto? The answer is plain. Because this was the last time that he was able to be at table with them, before he would be put to death.—(*Luke* xxii, 15), "With desire have I desired to eat this pasch with you before I suffer. 16. For I say unto you, that from this time, I will not eat it till it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God. 17. And having taken the chalice, he gave thanks and said: Take and divide it among you. 18. For I say to you that I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, till the kingdom of God come." In the next two verses he relates the history of the consecration of the Eucharist. It is clear then that he states to them, before the supper, or at it, that this is the last time he is to eat or drink with them before he shall suffer. He then partakes of the Paschal lamb and institutes the Eucharist. We may without any difficulty also believe, that after this institution of the Eucharist, he again uses expressions corresponding to those which preceded the supper,—as related by St. Matthew. 29. "And I say to you I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father." And he then tells them of that kingdom of his father. (*Luke* xxii, 30), "That you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom."

If it be still insisted that he meant by the expression, "fruit of the vine" the Eucharistic chalice, and that he said it contained only wine, we certainly have another very serious objection to admit this interpretation:—for by allowing it, we admit the Saviour to have declared that he would drink the Eucharist chalice with his disciples in Heaven, and that this which he would there drink new with them in Heaven, would be this same fruit of the vine. Yet we believe no one will undertake to say that the Saviour promised his disciples to partake with them of the Eucharist in Heaven,—because that sacrament is only for sojourners upon this earth. Now, whether these expressions were used only before the institution as related by St. Luke, or only after it, as related by St. Matthew, and St. Mark, or both before and after, we say, that they regard his ceasing thenceforth to eat and drink on earth; we presume, thus, that no one will say that eating and drink-

ing in the kingdom of his father, means that he and his disciples will there use our earthly meat and wine,—that therefore if the words in the 29th verse of *Matthew* xxvi are to be understood of what he was to drink in the kingdom of his Father, these words cannot mean earthly wine, and consequently if the words are to be understood of the Eucharistic chalice, they cannot mean earthly wine; and therefore, that without a manifest contradiction, they cannot be interpreted to signify that Christ used these words to declare that the contents of the Eucharistic chalice were wine. And again that if he asserted it to be only wine, he grossly contradicted his assertion that it was "my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins,"—because it was not wine which was shed for that remission. Hence, that unless it was used only in the way recorded by St. Luke, it must be understood generally of not partaking of wine during the rest of his mortal life, and consequently that this assertion had no reference to the Eucharistic contents of the chalice.

I said, however, that we did not object to admitting it to refer to the contents of the Eucharistic chalice, provided it was not so construed as to deny the contents to be what the Saviour described [as] "my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins"—because though it would be rather far-fetched, abstruse, and liable to many difficulties, still it would not then be in manifest contradiction to any other revealed truth.

St. Mark relates the history of the institution in chapter xiv, 22. "And whilst they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessing, broke, and gave to them, and said: Take ye, this is my body. 23. And having taken the chalice, giving thanks, he gave it to them: and they all drank of it. 24. And he said to them: This is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many. 25. Amen I say unto you, that I will drink no more of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it new in the kingdom of God." I shall merely remark upon this, in addition to what I gave upon the text of St. Matthew, from which Mark is said, generally to have copied and abridged;—that if the Evangelist gave us the words of this 25th verse to explain that when Christ said in verse 24, that what he declared to be his blood, was not his blood, but the fruit of the vine, it is yet to be observed, that he leaves the declaration in verse 22, "This is my body," without any qualification or explanation. Whereas St. Luke gives us a similar declaration, (xxii, 16) regarding his not eating, not the Eucharist, but the Pasch. We have also an account given by St. Paul of this institution, who, though he was not present at the time, yet had the communi-

cation, it would appear, from the best of all witnesses: from the Lord himself. (*I Cor.* xi, 23), "For I have received of the Lord that which I have also delivered to you, that the Lord Jesus, the night in which he was betrayed, took bread. 24. And giving thanks, broke, and said: Take ye and eat; this is my body which shall be delivered for you; do this for the commemoration of me. 25. In like manner also the chalice, after he had supped, saying: this chalice is the new testament in my blood: this do ye as often as you shall drink it for the commemoration of me."—Here the words of the Saviour terminate: The remarks of St. Paul follow. I shall now state what we consider to be the force and meaning of this expression, "for a commemoration of me." It is said that a commemoration cannot be made of one who is present, but only of an absent person; therefore, that if the Saviour be really present, there can be no commemoration of him. I shall only remark, that supposing this to be true, it would only cause a plain contradiction in the words, "this is my body which is given, (or which shall be given) for you"—to their supposed meaning of the words, "this is not my body which is not present but absent: but this is bread which you will eat to bring me to your recollection, though I be far distant from you." St. Paul in this very place, by his own comment, shows us the meaning of this commemoration, (v. 26) "For as often as you shall eat this bread and drink this chalice, you shall show the death of the Lord until he come." It is then a commemoration of him, offering himself a victim for us at his death; a commemoration of him, doing a special act at a particular time—a showing of his death. Now supposing the truth of the allegation, that we could not commemorate what was present. This is a producing of his body to bring his death to our recollection. Suppose his body not to have arisen, but to have been preserved in the sepulchre, would there be any difficulty in saying that his death was commemorated or shown by occasionally producing that body? How then can a difficulty arise, from saying that it is commemorated by producing that body, not indeed in the mode in which it rested in the sepulchre, but in the mode in which it is contained in the sacrament. The moment of his death has long since passed away, but it is commemorated by the consecration, and by the distribution of the Eucharist; and though the body be living in that sacrament, yet it appears as dead: though the Lamb of God be there living, yet he appears "as it were slain," (*Apocalypse*, v. 6) and his death is thus commemorated. As the Saviour placed, at the last supper, his body under the appearance of bread, so the persons empowered by him, continue to "do this for the commemoration of him"—thus, "showing the death of the Lord."

The Syriac translation gives us "you will bring back to your memory the death of our Lord." But the Apostle calls it "bread!" and we also call it bread, for it nourishes to spiritual life: and the Saviour himself calls it bread, when he tells us, (*John* vi, 52) "And the bread which I will give is my flesh for the life of the world."

Now, the host of witnesses of the faith, from the days of the Apostles, testify that these words were understood in their plain, literal, obvious meaning, from the day of the institution, through every age. In my sixth letter, I have stated the exceptions, viz. the Gnostics, the Manicheans, the Berengarians, and so forth. But why need I urge the reasonableness of this literal interpretation upon the President of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States? You appear to me, Sir, to have approved, if not adopted Schmucher's explanation; and he evidently teaches the real presence by consubstantiation, (par. 37, 38). And in your paragraph 39, you tell us, that his doctrine and Luther's have the same extent; and Luther contended for the real presence. I should then be led to hope that you also admit it, though you reject transubstantiation: and if so, you must understand the words of the institution as plainly declaring the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, in the holy Eucharist.

There is however, Rev. Sir, one passage in your 36th paragraph, that is calculated to weaken this hope, if not destroy it. "The language of Christ at the institution being highly figurative." You do not tell us in what manner it is figurative: but not so with the early Protestants; they have exercised all their ingenuity upon the subject. And if talent, industry and perseverance could have succeeded against plain, simple, open evidence, their efforts would have been crowned with success. But never were your expressions, in that same 36th paragraph, more appropriate than when applied to their exertions to make it appear that the language of Christ at the institution was figurative. They "all had their peculiar views, in which there may be traced considerable shades of difference as well as of obscurity." "Whilst all agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, they unfortunately differed amongst themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead." I shall not protract my already too far extended comments on this subject, by remarking at any length upon their productions, but I shall adduce a few specimens from the multitude, to show their ingenuity and their difficulties.

The words upon which they comment are only four, "This is my body"—and the proposition would appear to be as plain and as simple as it is short. You are, I presume, aware, that to give these words a

figurative meaning, upwards of one hundred varying comments have been given. I assure you that I am not disposed to go through the catalogue, but I think it not amiss to give my readers some of the most plausible. Luther in his book *Quod verba coenae stent*, says that at that period, the Sacramentarians gave ten different explanations. In the year 1577, a book was published giving two hundred varying explanations. I shall give but eight or nine, as specimens.

1. Carlostadt, in a treatise published at Basil, in 1524, stated that he learned, by revelation from the Heavenly Father, that the word This, meant here, *Hoc pro Hic*, so that when the Saviour gave the bread to his disciples he merely said, "my body is in this place"—meaning that he was there present with them at the table, giving them the bread. Luther was so little satisfied with the truth of this revelation, that he published a refutation, *contra coelestes prophetas*, "against the heavenly prophets."

2. Bucer in his retractions, considers the word This to refer to the whole rite, and not to the sacrament, nor to the bread nor to the body. So that the meaning is, "This ceremony represents the body of Christ."

3. John Lang in his notes on the second apology of Justin the Martyr, says, that this means bread, but that the bread is to be metaphorically understood: in this fashion, "this is my body," that is "my body is bread," because "my body nourishes your souls in like manner as bread nourishes your bodies."

We have here three writers, who tell us that the figurative word is This, but no two of them agree in explaining what that figure is; but yet figure it must be.

4. Zuinglius, in his book *On True and False Religion*, chapter "Eucharist," says, the proposition is figurative, but the figurative word is not this, but is, which means signifies. So that the meaning is, "This (bread) signifies my body." It would by no means answer that this authority should not also be supernatural; hence, in the year 1525, he published his work, *Subsidium de Eucharistia*, or *Subsidy on the Eucharist*, in which he mentions that when the town clerk of Zurich disputing with him, pressed him closely with the force of the substantive verb is, and he was anxious to have it mean signifies—on the following night a spirit appeared to him, he could not recollect whether black or white, who pointed out to him the passage in *Exodus* xii, 11, "for it is the Phase, that is the passage, of the Lord," where the word is means signifies. And next day he silenced the town clerk, and gained the victory by this answer. It happens, however, that the town clerk could

easily have replied, that in this place the word is does not mean signifies. However, it is not my object to enter upon that topic at present.

5. Peter Boquin, (a Sacramentarian) in his review of Heshusius, says that the figurative word is is, and that it means is called; by reason of what divines describe as "the communication of idioms" or claims arising from union of different natures. Thus he says: there is a natural union between the soul and the body, by reason of which what belongs to one is called as belonging to the other:—there is an hypostatic union of the divine and human natures in Christ, by reason of which what belongs to one is called as belonging to the other: there is a Sacramental union of Christ with the bread, by which what belongs to one is called as belonging to the other. Thus he gives the meaning "This bread is called my body," because though my body is far distant, yet this bread is sacramentally united thereto.

6. Your own Luther has something very like this, though he was no Sacramentarian, where in his chap. 1, "On the Captivity of Babylon" he teaches, that it is equally true to say: "This bread is the body of Christ," as it is to say of Christ, "This man is God," but I readily acknowledge that Luther and Boquin contradicted each other upon the most important part of the whole case, for Luther taught that the body of Christ was really present and united with the bread, whereas Boquin taught that it was not really present, yet that it was united therewih. I would be disposed to stop here, yet the temptation to give a few other instances is too powerful for me to resist.

7. John Oecolampadius tells us that the figurative word is not either this nor is, but body. And that the plain import of the words is: "This bread is the figure of my body" for that body means figure of body. This he teaches in his book, *On the Genuine Exposition of the Words.*

8. Calvin agrees with Oecolampadius that the figurative word is body, but he will not admit that it means, only what the former says, a mere naked figure, but a figure which "exhibits the body to us;" "a true and real exhibition of it:" "bread is called the body of the Lord, because it is the symbol under which the Lord truly offers us his body to eat." (*Inst.* b. iv. c. 17. 21). He would appear also to deny that the word is means signifies, though he is far from being plain upon the topic. (*Ib.* 22).

9. Cornelius Jansen gives us the explanation of some later Calvinists, (chap. 59 of his *Comment,*) who said that the figurative word was body, and that it meant the mystic body of Christ, that is, the Church:

and that the meaning of the words is "when you eat this bread, you are my body," that is, members of my church.

10. Luther gives us an instance of the manner in which opinions arose in those days. In his short confession published in 1544, he informs us that John Compan and others seriously defended, as the true meaning of the words, "This is my body,"—a proposition, which in the year 1527, he had published as a burlesque upon the manner in which the Sacramentarians distorted their meaning by figurative explanations. "This bread is my body; that is, a body made and created by me."

And now, Rev. Sir, allow me to ask, If Roman Catholics will give up their faith, founded upon the plain simple meaning of the words of the Saviour; upon what reasonable principle can they prefer one of these explanations to the rest? Protestants cry out that Catholics err, and yet they ask the Catholic to reject the doctrine of transubstantiation, which he has learned from the Scriptures, and from the cloud of holy witnesses, from whom he has received the sacred volume itself: and if like you he should, abandoning this evidence, reject it, what have you to give him in its stead? You honestly confess that you "unfortunately differ among yourselves as to what you should substitute in its stead." We have seen that you were perfectly correct in your statement, that amongst your leaders "all had their peculiar views, in which may be traced considerable shades of difference as well as of obscurity." What then is the Catholic to do? Whom is he to take as his guide? You tell him that the words of the institution are highly figurative—we look to those whom you call human agents raised up by God at a particular time to effect a reformation in the Church, (par. 10),—blessed instruments in the hands of God, of restoring to its original beauty the now tarnished glories of the Church of the Redeemer, by purifying it from corruptions in doctrines, and from useless ceremonies which had been accumulating for ages, and bringing it back to the purity and simplicity of the Apostolic days. (par. 8) I have quoted but a tithe of their various and unauthoritative opinions. To say that you or any one else can, then, tell us what is the Protestant doctrine on the nature of the Eucharist, would indeed be asserting what is not the fact. Every individual amongst you, has his own opinion: you grant and you take that privilege, as the ground-work of Protestantism. You have no doctrine, I say it without disrespect, but I say it plainly. There is no Protestant doctrine upon the subject of the Eucharist: but there are innumerable Protestant opinions. Why not then allow Hinkel to follow his opinion? Why not then allow Catholics to follow the doctrines of their Church?

Why will you or any other Protestant gentleman undertake to tell us, that because we hold to the evidence which has subsisted, unvarying and unchanged during the centuries of Christianity, that we must have arrived at a state of credulity, that will render us incapable of deciding between truth and error? (par. 25).

Now, I have not concluded the evidences which the Scripture alone furnishes to sustain the Catholic doctrine on this point. I have not entered upon the historical evidence which would show, that from the days of the Saviour, the doctrine of Transubstantiation has been the doctrine of Christendom. I have but lightly touched the topics which show how utterly hopeless would be the effort to learn from Protestant testimony, what is the doctrine that the Saviour taught. Yet I must conclude.

It may be that I have dwelt too long upon this topic of your discourse; but I was insensibly drawn along. It may be, that my avocations will not permit me to resume the remarks which I must now, at least, interrupt. I have not felt unkindly towards you. I trust I have not expressed myself in an unbecoming way. And should I, at a future day, resume my remarks upon the other topics which I have selected from your discourse, I trust it will be with those feelings of respect and charity, with which for the present I bid you farewell.

Yours, B. C.

LETTER XI.

CHARLESTON, S. C., June 14, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—My former letters were on the subject of the Eucharist. I believe I may assume as proved, that Roman Catholics understand and are agreed upon that doctrine which they believe our Saviour taught; whilst the teaching of the principal leaders of Protestantism is undefined and unintelligible, vague, and in fact, little more than a denial of the truth of the Catholic doctrine; without the ability, on the part of those who agree in rejecting transubstantiation, of substituting any plain or tangible proposition in its stead; or any proposition, which proposition the majority or indeed any considerable body of Protestants would acknowledge to be conformable to the scriptural testimony concerning the nature of this sacrament. And therefore, that upon this subject, Protestants have no rule of doctrine. And indeed you remark, (par. 39) "The Lutheran church has for a century past, ceased to agitate this question—leaving its members to follow the dictates of con-

science agreeably to the light of Scripture." Thus, Sir, if a Hinkelite or a Greek, or an Eutychian or a Russian, or a Roman Catholic conscientiously believes, agreeably to the light of Scripture, as he does, that Christ revealed the doctrine of transubstantiation,—your own principle protects him; you have no right to censure him; and yet you do condemn him; for in paragraph 25, you tell us "it is scarcely necessary to expose the absurdity of this doctrine by serious argument," "if a man can once bring his mind to believe such a doctrine he must have arrived at a state of credulity which will render him incapable of deciding between truth and error," and farther you say, that there are "evidences with which the Scriptures abound to prove its absurdity and error."

My object has been fully attained. It was to show you that upon your Protestant principle, you could have no certainty for the world at large, nor even for an individual, to show the doctrines that Christ taught; but that you were under the necessity of admitting, that each individual with a Bible in his hand, was to form his own opinion. Men have followed this mode, and you avow that the variety of those opinions is such as to be irreconcilable. Thus Faith, which is "the belief of what God has revealed," and which is essentially true, and essentially single, and essentially unchangeable, vanishes by this process, and in lieu thereof, human opinion is substituted, which opinion is various, contradictory, irreconcilable, in many instances erroneous, and perpetually changing. And as all men have an equal right to entertain and maintain, each, his own peculiar opinion, you, having admitted this right of opinion, cannot arrogate to yourself any right to censure any one of its varieties. Yet, when the Hinkelite and the Catholic use this right, you abuse them as dolts, whose absurdity it is scarcely necessary to expose. You condemn them as holding absurdities and errors in condemnation of which, abundant evidences are found in the Scriptures!

Your religious society, the Lutheran Church, has during a century, abandoned the hope of preserving, or of establishing a uniformity of belief upon even this one subject, therfore she leaves every individual to follow his own opinion. There is consequently no doctrine upon the subject in the Lutheran Church, nor in any other society which adheres to the genuine principle of Protestantism. Without doctrine there can be no Faith. Behold then the position to which you are reduced!

But, Sir, is it not strange that you and other gentlemen, who, like you, have intellects and minds disciplined by science, should not also perceive, that if you adhere to the first principle of Protestantism, you cannot, without the most unwarrantable self-sufficiency and injustice, tell either Catholics or others, that your opinions are certainly correct

and that their belief is certainly wrong? Do you not, Sir, perceive, that if private opinion is an unalienable right, it belongs equally to all others as it does to you? To sum up the whole in a single question: Do you not, Sir, cease to be a Protestant, when you venture to think or to say that any man, or at least any professor of Christianity, is in error? I am therefore warranted in saying, that when any Protestant condemns any other Christian, as erroneous in his teaching or in his belief, he is palpably contradicting, by his practice, the very first principles of his own religion!

Yet, strange to say! The very essence of what you call, the Reformation, consists in the effort to establish this contradiction as the very basis of modern Christianity, viz. That all men are free to form from the word of God, their own belief of what has been revealed by Christ, and no man is warranted to arrogate to himself any superiority over his fellow-men, so as to assert that his opinion is certainly right; and that they are certainly in error, when they avail themselves of their right of examination. But you say Catholics, Greeks, Unitarians and numbers of others, who use this right, are certainly in error, and that you are certainly right in contradicting them, and that you positively do teach the truth as revealed by Christ Jesus, from which truth the great mass of the Christian world had been estranged during centuries; until Luther and a few others made some advances to its discovery, which advances you have pushed farther, though you are not certain that others, your associates, may not improve upon your discoveries. Vast numbers of them differ from you also upon a number of the doctrines; but this difference shall not prevent your sometimes saying that they are certainly in grievous error; and at other times that this error is a matter of no moment:—though because of other errors not greater, you were forced to leave the Catholic communion!

What then! Are all the absurdities, the errors, the contradictions which Christians profess and teach, and which have been professed and taught during eighteen centuries, as derived from the Bible: are all the misrepresentations and mistakes and false constructions which fools and fanatics and simpletons and speculatists and metaphysicians have forced upon this sacred volume, are all these the revealed word of God? Reverend Sir! Upon the fundamental principle of your Church, as laid down by you, concerning the Eucharist, in paragraph 39, they are!—Or there must be a different principle for learning from the Bible what God has taught concerning the Eucharist, and what he has taught on other subjects: because the principle is "leaving its members to follow the dictates of conscience agreeably to the light of Scripture." And in

all these cases, the several members of the Christian Society only followed the dictates of their conscience according to the light of Scripture. Upon the principle of Protestantism, Sir, neither you nor I, nor Luther, nor Leo X, nor the Council of Nice, nor the Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church was authorized to say to any man with the Bible in his hand, that he mistook its light, that he was a fool, or a fanatic, or a simpleton, or a man of abstractions. His title, his right, his conscience, were all as good as yours or mine. To me then, Sir, it was no matter of wonder to find, in reviewing the works of those whom you call Reformers, that upon the subject of the Eucharist they were involved in endless contradictions. And I could not but admire your candid avowal, (par. 36) "Whilst they agreed in rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, they unfortunately differed amongst themselves as to what they should substitute in its stead," and I found the natural result was fairly set forth by you in paragraph 39. "In fact the Lutheran Church has for a century past, ceased to agitate this question—leaving its members to follow the dictates of conscience, agreeably to the light of Scripture." Such too, Sir, has been the case with all other Protestant churches, as far as I can perceive. In fact they have no doctrine, but as I said in my last, they have an admirable variety of opinions upon the subject. I now respectfully ask you, Sir, what is the doctrine of Christ concerning the nature and essence of this sacrament? I have frequently put this question to my Protestant friends of various denominations. I flatter myself that I have many such. Amongst them are several men of fine talents, religiously disposed, attached to the Churches whose creeds they profess; men extensively read, and who have turned their erudition to account,—and never, Sir, did I get from one of them such an explanation as could lead me to suspect that my friend knew what to believe or what to say concerning the Eucharist. In short, he could not manifest that he had any precise and definite notions upon the matter. You have not, Sir, given to us the benefit of your own opinion upon this subject. Would it be asking too great a favor on the part of those whom you affect to despise for their incapacity of deciding between truth and error, that you should inform them precisely and distinctly what you believe to be truth upon the nature of the Eucharist!

I have thus recapitulated the principal heads of my former observations, for the purpose of showing the general conclusion to which they led, and if that conclusion be sufficiently established, as I think it is, its principle would suffice to dispose of all the doctrinal portion of your discourse. I shall, however, enter a little into detailed examination:—

and for this purpose, I shall first consider your paragraphs 42, and 43. They are as follows:

"42. We proceed to the third and last error, which has been adopted by those who profess to have derived the doctrine from the creed of the Lutheran Church, viz. 'That in partaking of the sacraments we become entitled to salvation.' We have, in discussing the two previous heads, already shown, at least in part, that this doctrine is unscriptural. The Scriptures every where assures us that the Gospel (says St. Paul,) is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. Being born again (says St. Peter,) not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God. And we ask, were not Simon Magus, Hymenæus, Philetus, Phygellus, and Hermogenes, all baptized, even by inspired ministers? Were not the gross transgressors in the seven churches of Asia, once baptized, and communicants? — and did not Judas receive from the hand of the Saviour himself the sacrament, and was he not a devil — and did he not die the miserable death of a suicide?

"43. But what say our articles, 'Baptism (as we have already shown) is a means of grace.' In the 13th article, on the use of the sacraments, we read these words:

'Concerning the use of the sacraments, our churches teach that they were instituted not only as marks of Christian profession amongst men, but rather as signs and evidences of the divine disposition towards us, tendered for the purpose of exciting and confirming the faith of those who use them. Hence the sacraments ought to be received with faith, in the promises which are exhibited and proposed by them. They, therefore, condemn those who maintain that the sacraments produce justification in their recipients as matters of course, (*ex opere operato,*) and who do not teach that faith is necessary, in the reception of the sacraments, to the remission of sins.' — Schmucher's *Translations.*

"The meaning of this article is so evident that it seems to require no further illustration."

Now, Sir, you will excuse me for saying that it would have been more suited to the enlightening of your hearers and readers, had you explained what is meant by the phrase, "That in partaking of the sacraments we become entitled to salvation," because, if the meaning was what you seem to convey, it is neither the doctrine of the Catholic, nor I believe of the Hinkelite. The Catholic Church teaches that a person may receive a sacrament validly, and yet in doing so, commit sacrilige. For a person may be validly baptized, if in the full possession of his faculties, and have none of those virtuous dispositions which fit the soul to receive the grace of God. This person would be really, truly and validly baptized, and yet would not thereby become entitled to salvation, but to damnation; because he had profaned the sacrament: he was guilty of sacrilege. In like manner: a person may, as St. Paul informs us, really partake of the sacrament of the Eucharist, and not thereby become entitled to salvation but to damnation, "for he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself, not discerning the body of the Lord." (*I Cor.* xi, 29). Thus, Reverend Sir, your 42d para-

graph is altogether irrelevant; for if the proposition has that meaning which Catholics do hold as true doctrine, your argument is inapplicable. They tell you that your argument is good, but that they do not hold the conclusion which it would destroy. They would themselves argue as you do.

There is another meaning also which the proposition has, and which Catholics reject as untrue: which your argument would also destroy with their full consent, viz. That if a person once worthily partakes of a sacrament, his salvation is thereby infallibly insured. This is not a Catholic doctrine; for we hold that a person may fall from the favor of God by a crime subsequently committed. Thus all the persons enumerated by you in paragraph 42, might have worthily received baptism and the Eucharist, and be subsequently criminals and reprobates, and in this sense the proposition, "That in partaking of the sacraments we become entitled to salvation," would not be true: for the meaning of the word "entitled" would in such a case imply an inamissible acquirement in which no Catholic believes. Thus in the sixth session of the Council of Trent, celebrated on the 13th of January, 1547, the 23d canon on Justification, is the following:

> If any one shall say that a man who has been once made just cannot sin any more, or that he cannot lose grace, and therefore that he who falls and sins was never made truly just. . . . Let him be anathema.

The Catholics find this doctrine also in the holy Scriptures, as for instance in *Ezechiel* iii, 20, "Moreover if the just man shall turn away from his justice, and shall commit iniquity, I will lay a stumbling-block before him; and he shall die, because thou hast not given him warning: he shall die in his sin and his justices which he hath done shall not be remembered: but I will require his blood at thy hand. 21. But if thou warn the just man, that the just may not sin, and he doth not sin: living he shall live," and so forth.

Hence we find the Catholic doctrine to be, that a man may be just, that is, reconciled to God and acceptable to him, and beneficially receive the sacraments in that state, and subsequently fall off from that justice or favor. And thus that partaking of the sacrament will not finally insure his salvation.

The proposition has a third meaning: "That in partaking of the sacraments we become entitled to salvation." That is, that we, by the mere participation of the sacrament, or if I may so express it, by its mere physical use, without any regard to the moral disposition, may become entitled to salvation. And this, Sir, is one of the charges which is insinuated against Catholics in Article XIII of the Confession of Augs-

burg. And this is what your 43d paragraph implies. Now, Sir, if such was the doctrine of Catholics, they could never imagine such a crime as the unworthy participation of a sacrament.

Yet they constantly proclaim that there is such a crime, and they describe it to consist in partaking of a sacrament with a bad disposition, or without the proper disposition! I regret, Sir, that truth obliges me here to charge the great bulk of writers of several Protestant sects with the most unbecoming conduct; for they, upon this head, have been consistent in misrepresenting our doctrines. Amongst the Lutherans, this is coeval with their secession from the Church, and it continues to this day. It is found in the text of the Confession of Augsburg. Mosheim gives us a famous specimen of it in his work, (Cent. xvi. sect. iii, part 1, chap. 1,, 36). And you have it in the paragraphs now under review.

The doctrine of the Catholic Church upon this subject is found in the seventh session of the Council of Trent, held on the 3d of March, 1547, in the 6th canon on the Sacraments.

"If any one shall say that the Sacraments of the new law do not contain the grace which they signify or do not confer the grace itself upon those who do not place an obstacle thereto. . . . Let him be anathema."

Such too is the language of Pope Eugenius IV, in his Decree to the Armenians, in the Council of Florence; published in the solemn public session in the Cathedral of that city on the 10th of the Kalends of December 1439. Speaking of the difference between the sacraments of the old law and those of the new, he writes:

They did not cause grace, but merely figured that it would be given, only by the passion of Christ; but these, ours, contain the grace and confer it upon those who worthily receive them!

I may quote a variety of other testimonies to the same effect, I shall give but one specimen in a passage from a provincial council. That of Narbonne in 1551, in the month of December.

In the first Canon, *Concerning the Catholic Faith*; having mentioned the new heresies of that period, in the second paragraph, in the third it proceeds to express the determination of opposing them, by following in that path which, in the first paragraph, it is stated was marked out for it by the holy fathers in various councils under the guidance of the Holy Ghost and uniformly adhered to by the holy Roman Church.

In the fourth paragraph it proceeds:

We confess, in the first place, with pure and whole hearts, seven Sacraments of the Church, by which the grace of the Holy Ghost is conferred upon those who are obedient and who put no obstacle thereto.

The doctrine of the Church then is that a person may receive the sacraments by the external participation, but not receive the grace which

God has destined them to convey to his soul, and this occurs when he places his bad disposition as an obstacle to that grace.

To use a homely, but perhaps, not unapt illustration, the sacrament is the channel through which the grace of God, by his own institution, flows upon the sinner who approaches to its opening; but though according to the regulation of God, the refreshing stream will flow through it by reason of his goodness, yet the person who approaches may by his unworthiness close up this channel, should he place his criminal acts as obstacles to the purifying and enriching water. Thus the sacrament is in reality the institution by which the merits of the Saviour are conveyed to the sinner, but there are certain dispositions also required on the part of the sinner, the absence of which will cause an obstacle to be placed to that benefit which the divine institution is calculated to confer. Hence Catholics believe that the benefit is derived, not from their dispositions, nor from their acts, but, by the divine agency, through its own institution, by reason of the Saviour's merits; and also, that the negligence or the criminality of man may impede the blessing which this institution is calculated by the divine goodness to confer.

In this view then, it is untrue to say that Catholics expect by merely partaking of the sacraments, whatever may be their dispositions, to become entitled to salvation. For they do believe that in adults those salutary conditions are so necessary, that unless the good disposition be found, the obstacle to grace is found, and where that obstacle exists, a sacrilege is committed, because a sacrament is unworthily received. Nor is this a free opinion, it is strict doctrine: as has been shown from the teaching of the Council of Florence and that of the Council of Trent.

The preparation for insuring those dispositions by turning to account the actual graces which God, in his mercy, previously bestows, is described at length in the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th doctrinal chapters of the sixth session of the Council of Trent. It is substantially Faith, without which no good can arise, sorrow and repentance for sin, abandonment of the occasion which led to its commission,—the observance of God's commandments, the love of his service, love for himself, and the firm determination to fulfil his law and to have recourse to the means of grace or sacraments which he has established.

Another serious misrepresentation of Catholic doctrine by the great body of the Protestant writers is the attributing to the technical phrase *ex opere operato*, a meaning which it has not.

I shall endeavor to give my readers as accurate a notion as I can of the true meaning of the phrase—which like most technical expressions is very liable to be misunderstood.

The Saviour gave power to his disciples, as we read in various places, (*Matt.* x, 1) (*Mark,* iii, 15) and so forth, to heal the sick. In *Mark,* xvi, 18, we read that this was on some occasions to be done by the laying on of their hands. Now we shall suppose that a sick person was thus healed by the performance of this ceremony. It is clear that whoever might have been the agent, the healing was the effect of God's power; but this power was applied by means of a ceremony instituted by God for that purpose. The healing was the consequence, then, which followed from the performance of the rite in the manner prescribed by God. This effect was not produced by the good disposition of the agent nor by his natural power,—not by the good disposition of the sick person, nor by his natural power,—but it was the result of the work or ceremony which God had appointed for that purpose, the cure being wrought by the performance of this work or ceremony, was of course, wholly attributable to the power of God. Thus we say it is *ex opere operato,* that is, from the power wrought (by God); not, *ex opere operantis,* not from the power of the agent.

Thus we say that the effect of the Sacraments is produced by the power of God working through the means which he established for that purpose, viz. the proper performance of the rite, and the existence of proper dispositions on the part of the person in whose regard the rite is performed—that is, *ex opere operato.* But that although this proper disposition is required, as a necessary condition, in the person who is to be benefited, yet that the benefit is not produced *ex opere operantis,* that is, by the mere power of the person who has this disposition—neither by virtue of the disposition, but by God himself through his own institution. Thus in the 7th doctrinal chapter of the sixth session of the Council of Trent, it is taught, that "the efficient cause of sanctification or jusification, is the merciful God who gratuitously washes and sanctifies us, signing us and sealing us with the holy spirit of promise, who is the pledge of our inheritance. The meritorious cause is his most beloved, only begotten son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who, when we were his enemies, by reason of the exceeding charity wherewith he loved us, merited our justification and made satisfaction for us to the Father by his most holy suffering upon the wood of the cross." The sacraments are then the instruments or means by which this grace is applied to the soul of the properly disposed person, producing their effect, *ex opere operato,* that is, by virtue of their divine institution.

Now for the remission of sins by the Sacraments, in adults, we not only require Faith, but also repentance, hope, charity to a certain extent, and other Christian virtues.

Thus, Rev. Sir, your paragraph 43, whilst it condemns the doctrine that Sacraments[29] produce their effect, *ex opere operato*, grossly misrepresents the doctrine itself. Yet it is true that we do not teach that justification is derived from Faith alone, but I greatly mistake, if I shall not bring Luther and the chief body of your own Doctors to my aid, when I come to discuss that question. I apprehend also, that I shall show that the Article xiii, which you have there quoted, is by no means so clear as you assume it to be.

I shall conclude this letter by inserting that passage of Mosheim, to which I alluded, and Maclaine's notes thereon, with a very few remarks, for which the reader is now prepared.[30]

"XXXVI. The administration of the Sacraments, especially those of penance and the Eucharist, forms the fifth subject of controversy in the Church of Rome. The Jesuits and many other Doctors are of opinion, that the salutary effects of the Sacraments are produced by their intrinsic virtue and immediate operation[31] upon the mind at the time they are administered, and that consequently it requires but little preparation to receive them to edification and comfort; nor do they think that God requires a mind adorned with inward purity, a heart animated with divine love, in order to the obtaining of the ends and purposes of these religious institutions. And, hence it is, that according to their doctrine, the priests are empowered to give immediate absolution to all such as confess their transgressions and crimes, and afterwards to admit them to the use of the Sacraments. But such sentiments are rejected with indignation by all those of the Romish communion who have the progress of vital and practical religion truly at heart. These look upon it as the duty of the clergy to use the greatest diligence and assiduity in examining the

[29] In their action on the Soul, the Sacraments have a direct and proper efficiency of their own. In this respect they differ from the ordinances of the Old Law. The efficacy of these latter consists in exciting sentiments of faith and devotion which obtain graces from God in return. The efficacy of the Sacraments does not proceed from the dispositions or virtues of the human minister. Neither are the dispositions of the recipient the efficient cause of the grace derived from the Sacraments. The Sacraments operate in man provided he have that amount of disposition for them which consists in the non-existence of obstacles. Hence Baptism and Confirmation work their effects on infants; and the man who has desired the last Sacraments profits by them though he be unconscious while receiving them. Baptism produces its marvelous effects in the infant, not by reason of any virtue in the minister—not *ex opere operantis*, but by the due fulfilment of the forms prescribed by Christ—*ex opere operato*.—Ed.

[30] Mosheim, Century xvi, sect. iii, Part v, chapter i. § 36.

Maclaine's Notes.

[31] This is the only expression that occurred to the translator, as proper to render the true sense of that phrase of the scholastic divines, who say. that the Sacraments produce their effect *opere operato*. The Jesuits and Dominicans maintain that the Sacraments have in themselves an instrumental and efficient power, by virtue of which they work in the soul (independently on its previous preparation or propensities) a disposition to receive the divine grace; and this is what is commonly called the *opus operatum* of the Sacraments. Thus, according to their doctrine, neither knowledge, wisdom, humility, faith, nor devotion, are necessary to the efficacy of the Sacraments, whose victorious energy nothing but a mortal sin can resist. See Dr. Courrayer's *Translation* of Paul Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, tom. i, livr. ii, p. 423, 424, Amsterdam.

characters, tempers, and actions of those who demand absolution and the use of the Sacraments before they grant their requests: since, in their sense of things, the real benefits of these institutions can extend to those only whose hearts are carefully purged from the corruptions of iniquity, and filled with that divine love that casteth out fear. Hence arose that famous dispute in the Church of Rome, concerning a frequent approach to the holy communion, which was carried on with such warmth in the last century, between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, with Arnauld [32] at the head of the latter, and has been renewed in our times by the Jesuit Pichon, who thereby incurred the indignation of the greatest part of the French Bishops. The frequent celebration of the Lord's Supper is one of the main duties which the Jesuits recommended with peculiar earnestness to those who are under their spiritual direction, representing it as the most certain and infallible method of appeasing the Diety, and obtaining from him the entire remission of their sins and transgressions. This manner of proceeding the Jansenists censure with their usual severity; and it is also condemned by many other learned and pious Doctors of the Romish communion, who reject that intrinsic virtue and efficient operation that is attributed to the Sacraments, and wisely maintain that the receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper can be profitable to those only whose minds are prepared, by faith, repentance, and the love of God, for that solemn service."

First, I observe upon the text of Mosheim. That he wholly misrepresents the subject of which he treats; because there was no dispute such as he represents, between Catholics. Next: the Jesuits hold the doctrine of the Councils of Florence and of Trent, which is quite different from that here attributed to them; so that the entire statement concerning the doctrine of intrinsic virtue and immediate operation, or *opus operatum*, is a tissue of untruth. Again, the statement of "those of the Romish Communion who" are said to "have the progress of vital and practical religion truly at heart," corresponds with the doctrinal chapters of the Council of Trent.

Fourthly, The dispute between the Jesuits and the Jansenists did not arise out of this question, nor rest upon this ground. Fifthly, The Jansenists were not members of the Roman Catholic Church: they held many doctrinal errors for which they were condemned. Sixthly, There is no difference between Catholics concerning the manner in which the sacraments produce their effect: for it is an article of faith, that they produce it, *opere operato.*

So that in this paragraph Mosheim has made at least six false statements: and when his powers of mind and means of information are considered, it is very difficult to believe that any one of them was, on his part, a mistake.

As to Maclaine's notes: He most outrageously misrepresents the Jesuits and the Dominicans. How far he is sustained in this miscon-

[32] Arnauld published, on this occasion, his famous book concerning the *Practice of Communicating Frequently.* The French title is, *Traite de la frequente Communion.*

duct by Courrayer or Paul Sarpi, I will not now inquire. The original treatises and documents are open under my eye; and neither the treachery of Courrayer nor the infidelity of father Paul can change the records which convict of great error the compiler of the notes. The work of father Paul is just at my hand, and possibly may warrant Maclaine in stating that its compiler made this false statement amongst many hundreds of other untruths. But, as I remarked, the originals are before me; and they are the best evidence of their own meaning;—and they contradict the note. I care not then to examine father Paul.

I have now, Rev. Sir, examined your statement of what you deem to be worthy of censure in our doctrine concerning the nature of a sacrament. In my next, I shall try to show, that if you believe as your sermon teaches, you and I are better agreed upon this doctrine than you appear to suspect, and you will perhaps find, that in condemning our doctrine of *opus operatum*, you condemn yourself.

I remain, Rev. Sir, yours, B. C.

CHARLESTON, June 21, 1838.

To the Editors:

Gentlemen,—I was not aware until my last letter had been sent for publication, that the Rev. Dr. Bachman had sailed for Europe.

I am anxious to close my strictures on his Sermon as speedily as my other occupations will permit.

As the greater number had been published during his dwelling in Charleston, and as I participate in the feeling his very numerous and respectable friends in the best wishes for his safety, his health and happiness, and cherish the hope of his return ere long, to continue amongst us, I can perceive no reason for my changing their address, nor for discontinuing their publication.

Should any one of his friends think proper to reply to me, the question not being a personal but a public one, it is competent for him to do so. Should no one else undertake it, my letters will be placed under the Doctor's eye at his return, when he may use his own discretion.

Yours, Gentlemen, very truly, B. C.

LETTER XII.

CHARLESTON, S. C., June 21, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—I have shown in my last letter that Roman Catholics, in believing that the Sacraments produce their effect, *ex opere operato*, attribute all the benefit derived from them to the goodness, the mercy and

the power of God, and not to the power or virtue of the person who administers, nor to that of the person who receives the sacrament: yet that the receiver must, if an adult, have dispositions such as Christ, who instituted those Sacraments, requires; otherwise he places such an obstacle to the graces of the Sacrament, as to deprive himself of its benefit; and by profaning a holy institution of the Redeemer, seriously offends him. These graces are derived from the merits of Christ, who established the Sacraments as the ordinary means of enabling us to partake thereof and thereby to profit by his redemption. It is clear, then, that in the view of those who hold that the Sacraments confer grace *ex opere operato*, the whole favor is attributable to the mercy of God through the merits of Christ. They do not then attribute to themselves, to their acts, to their merits, the fruit of the Sacraments, but they render acknowledgments to him who is their institutor and our benefactor.

Now there are others who say that the graces are obtained not in the manner which I have here described, not *opere operato*, but *ex opere operantis*, that is, by reason of the act of the receiver. These persons say that the chief, if not the only benefit of the Sacrament, consists in its being an exciting cause or occasion which moves us to dispositions, by reason of which dispositions we obtain the favor of God, or are made acceptable to him. Thus they say, the benefit being conferred by reason of the good disposition of the receiver, to which he is excited by occasion of the Sacrament: the receiver himself works or acts in producing this disposition, and in obtaining that grace which is consequently received.

Thus it is by his own act he is benefited: he acted, and therefore God bestowed grace, this favor was then *ex opere operantis*, from the work of the agent, which agent is also the person benefited. Thus, this is not Catholic doctrine; and Catholics do not teach that the grace of the Sacraments is attributable to their own acts, but to the divine institution.

Now, Rev. Sir, what is to be thought of the charge so perpetually brought against Catholics by the whole host of Reformers, alleging that Catholics destroy the merits of Christ, and claim salvation from their own merits, by their own works, because of their own agency, and are therefore enemies to the Gospel? Do you not perceive the incompatibility of their doctrine that grace is obtained through the Sacraments, *ex opere operato*, that is, by the merits and through the institutions of Christ, and the assertion that it is produced *ex opere operantis*; by the acts, and because of the acts and by reason of the exertion of the person who receives the Sacrament?

It would, Sir, be a curious, though a melancholy exhibition, to place the contradictions upon this subject, of the gentlemen whom you call Reformers, side by side. It would be a still more melancholy picture to lay before the public view, their palpable falsehoods respecting the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and the writings of approved Catholic divines on this topic?

Cardinal Bellarmine, in his work of Controversy, in his treatise *On the Sacraments in General,* caput. 1. "On the Effects of the Sacraments," book ii, c. 1, has the following illustration of our doctrine:

"We may find an example in nature. If we desire to burn wood, it is first put to dry—fire is struck from a flint; it is applied to the wood; the burning follows; no one would say that the immediate cause of the burning was the dryness of the wood, nor the striking fire from the flint, nor the application of the fire to the wood; but it is the fire itself which causes the conflagration? This is the primary cause, and the heat or heating therewith is the instrumental cause."

He had previously laid down the doctrine which he desired to exemplify.

"Many things concur for that justification which is produced when the Sacraments are received. On the part of God, his will to use this sensible institution; on the part of Christ, his passion; on the part of the minister, his power, his will, his probity; on the part of the receiver, his will, his faith, and his repentance; on the part of the Sacrament, the external act, which is the proper application of the form and matter.

. . . . . .

The will of God which uses the Sacrament (as its instrument) concurs actively, and is the principal cause. The passion of Christ concurs and is the meritorious cause, but not the effective; for his suffering does not now exist, but has passed away, though it remains in the mind of God. The power and the will of the minister necessarily concur, but are remote causes, because they are required for the performance of the act itself. The probity of the minister is indeed required, that he should not himself be guilty of sin in the administration of the Sacrament, but it is not necessary to the receiver for the purpose of the Sacrament, but only beneficial in the way of prayer or of example. The will, the faith, and the repentance, are necessarily required in the adult recipient, as dispositions on the part of the subject; but not as active causes, for it is not faith and repentance which produce the Sacramental grace; neither do they produce the effect of the Sacrament, but they remove those obstacles which would prevent the Sacraments from producing their effect.

Hence in children, where a disposition is not required, justification takes place without them."

Thus the effect flows from the institution, the power and the will of God, who freely chose this mode out of many others from which he was free to select.

The Catholic is always taught to look to the power and the will of God, producing the spiritual effects by the instrumental agency of a man whom he appointed to be his minister, and by reason of the merits of Christ Jesus, through whose redemption only, we are made partakers of every blessing. Nothing can then be made more unfair than the manner in which Calvin states the question, (*Inst.* b. iv, c. xiv, § 17) "The question is only whether God, as they say, works by his own proper and intrinsic power, or whether he resigns his place to external symbols." There is no such question, at least so far as Catholics are concerned; because they teach that God himself works by means of those symbols, because he thus freely instituted them for that purpose; and the symbols, without his power, would be valueless.

A little previously, (§ 14) Calvin said: "He who derives the cause of justice from the Sacraments, brings down by his superstition the miserable minds of men to that earth to which they are too much of their own nature inclined; so that he would rather adhere to the contemplation of a corporeal thing than rest in God." Many similar expressions are to be found in Luther.

Yet Luther sometimes writes like a Catholic. In his book *On the Captivity of Babylon*, writing on baptism, he says of Catholics, "Many thought that there was some hidden spiritual virtue in the word and in the water which wrought the grace of Christ in the soul of the recipients. Others, contradicting them, stated that there was no virtue in the Sacraments, but that the grace is bestowed by God only, because by covenant he is present at the administration of the Sacraments which he instituted; but all agree in this, that the Sacraments are efficacious signs of grace."

Here we have Calvin asserting that the contemplation of the external symbol draws off the mind from God, and Luther tells us that whilst all (Catholics) acknowledge them to be efficacious signs of grace, the great portion of them (he ought to have written *all*) look to God only as the author of that grace.

Luther, in his book *On the Captivity of Babylon*, says that Papists claim to have merit in receiving a Sacrament, because they thereby fulfil a precept and exhibit their faith. Yet, in the same book, in the chapter on Baptism, in which he made that very assertion, he

says that "they were driven to attribute so great value to the Sacraments of the New Law, as to assert that they were profitable even to those who were in mortal sin; and that to receive them, neither faith nor grace was required by the Papists!" This is not only contradicting himself, but grossly misrepresenting us.

Calvin, (in his *Instit.* b. iv, c. xiv, § 26) states that not only is our doctrine of *opus operatum* false, but that it is incompatible with the nature of a Sacrament. That it leads to the conclusion that we are merely passive and do nothing, and consequently have no merit. Yet, (in his *Antidot.* Sess. 7, Can. 8) he refutes this very doctrine of *opus operatum*, upon the principle that it makes the efficacy of Sacraments to depend upon human merit! In the same work, (Can. 5) he states, "If it be granted, as they ask, that in the Sacraments grace is obtained, *opere operato*, the part of merit is separated from faith, so that the use of the Sacrament would alone suffice for salvation." In the same, (on Can. 5) he writes of us, "They feign that there is some magical virtue in the Sacrament, which becomes efficacious without Faith."

Not only are those statements contradictory, but like almost all the assertions of the originators of the Protestant religion, in respect to us—they are notorious misrepresentations. Sometimes, however, the notoriety and plainness of a writing put it out of their power to misrepresent, and in such cases they had recourse to the disreputable practice, of which Kemnitz furnishes us with the following sample. In his *Examin.* (par. ii, cap. *opere operato*) he says that some Catholics, such as Gropper and Alphonsus, explained the doctrines in a correct and orthodox way, but that they differed from the Council of Trent and from the bulk of Catholic writers.

"Gropper and Alphonsus pretended that an injustice had been done to the school doctors, when it is stated that as the meaning of *ex opere operato* they taught, that the Sacraments conferred grace on the recipient who had no faith; but they say that these writers only meant to teach by this phrase that the truth (validity) of the Sacraments was not to be derived from the dignity or merit of the minister who was acting, but from the institution, the power and the operation of God, who is their author. . . .

"But if the adherents to the Pope mean only this, when they contend for *opere operato*; because this opinion is true, there would have been no controversy. But all the schoolmen did not formerly think so—nor do the adherents of the Pope have this opinion even now, themselves, when they contend for *opus operatum*, but they conceal and

nourish and obtrude upon the church a very different monster under those exotic words."

Thus, at all times, when there is question between Catholics and Protestants regarding what Catholics really believe, it has been and still is a rule which our adversaries, with a modesty peculiar to themselves, endeavor to enforce, that we must not say what we believe, nor explain the meaning of our own writers, but we must quietly allow those of whom we complain as guilty of habitual misrepresentation, to explain our writers and to make opinions for ourselves, that we may have the benefit of being ridiculed for absurdities which we disclaim, and being detested for blasphemies which we do not commit.

The world is to be told that *opus operatum* is a monster. We undertake to show that it has neither teeth nor claws, and is quite gentle, but we will not be allowed to produce it; our opponents have procured a hyena, which they provoke and exhibit under the barbarous appellation of our harmless pet. We say that the hyena is not ours, and the good promulgators of the Gospel truth exlaim,—"The Romanists are ashamed of their property, they disavow their associates, they impose upon you! We warn you to beware of them—confide in us. See what a terrible brute this *opus operatum* is! God preserve you from it, my friends. Prince Metternich has sent it hither to devour the lambs, yea, even the sheep entrusted to our care!" Shall I ask, "By whom have they been committed to your charge?"

You tell us, Sir, that the Sacraments are not only marks of a Christian profession amongst men, but something more: "they are rather signs and evidences of the divine disposition towards us, tendered for the purpose of exciting and confirming the faith of those who use them." In full accordance with this, the early associates of Luther compare them to the preaching of the world, with this sole difference, that the speaker addresses the ear, the minister of the sacrament addresses the eye, the object of both is the same, viz. "to excite and confirm the faith of those who use" the Sacrament or who hear the Sermon. Thus, the being present at a good sermon, was equally, perhaps more beneficial, than receiving the Sacrament. Thus Luther wrote in 1520, (in his book *On the Captivity of Babylon*, chapter on Baptism):

"Baptism justifies no person; nor doth it profit any person; but faith in the word of promise, to which Baptism is added, for this is what justifies."

Again, he writes in the same chapter:

"The same God who now saves us in Baptism and by bread, also saved Abel by sacrifice, Noe by the ark, Abraham by circumcision, and all others by their proper signs."

After mentioning a variety of signs in the old law, which he calls Sacraments, and places on a footing of equal dignity with those of the new law, he proceeds to show that the Sacraments do not produce any beneficial effect. Amongst the signs of the old law he mentions the fleece of Gedeon, (*Judges*, vi,) the sacrifice of Manue, (*Ibid.* xvii) and the sign given to Achaz, (*Isaias*, vii). After the enumeration, he concludes:

"Our signs or sacraments and those of the fathers have annexed to them the word of promise, which excites faith, and which can be fulfilled by no other work; therefore they are signs or sacraments of justification, because they are sacraments of justifying Faith, and not of work: whence their entire efficacy is faith itself not work: because he who believes fulfils them even though he should work nothing. . . . Nor can it be true that there is in the Sacraments any efficacious power of justification or that they are efficacious signs of grace: for all these assertions are made to the loss (injury) (*jacturam*) of faith."

In the next year he wrote, (Art. 1.)

"We say that neither the Sacraments of the old law, nor those of the new; but faith alone justifies."

In the year 1523, we find in his book against Cochlæus,

"Nor can any share of justification be attributed to Baptism; for otherwise, if in any way it be justified, it would not be lawful to deny that Baptism without faith justified; but when it is denied to that (Baptism), it is left properly to faith only."

Thus, Sir, it is quite plain, that from the year 1520 to 1524, Luther attributed to the Sacraments no more effect than would be produced by a Sermon, viz. the exciting and confirming of faith, and consequently that the administration of a Sacrament to a person whose faith could not thereby be excited or confirmed, would be as egregious a piece of folly as it would be to preach to a person who was deaf or to exhibit a picture to one who was blind; and indeed Melancthon, in the year 1530, remarking on the 13th article of the Confession of Augsburg in the Apology, compares the Sacrament to a picture of the word—and in his book against the Anabaptists, he writes, "As the will of God is shown in the word or promise, so is it shown in the Sacrament as in a painting."

It is true, Rev. Sir, that you have [said] in your paragraph 26, that Luther was slow in laying aside the errors in which he had been educated; that he commenced writing and publishing as soon as he discovered the abuses of the Romish Church; that his mind was for a long time trammelled by the education of a monastic life. I at last intend to deal as honestly with Luther as he dealt with himself. You state that "He renounced towards the close of his life several doctrines which he had advocated at an earlier period. In an address, written in the

evening of his days, he says, 'I entreat you to read my writings with cool consideration, and even with much pity. I wish you to know that when I began the affair of indulgences, I was a monk, and a most mad papist. I went seriously to work, as one who had a horrible dread of the day of judgment, and who, from his inmost soul, was anxious for salvation. You will find, therefore, in my earlier writings, many things of which I do not now approve.' It will, consequently, not be difficult to find in writings of Luther, previous to 1530, some things in favor of errors, which he afterwards renounced, and which the Church to which he was attached subsequently brought nearer to Scripture truth. And this was in conformity to his dying commands. 'Many things,' said he, 'are yet to be made better. We have only made the beginning, and have retained some customs for fear of giving offence to weak minds. They that come after us we hope will be enabled, by the spirit of God to do more.' ''

Now upon this principle we are to suppose that as he advanced in his Reformation, he came nearer to truth. We have seen his doctrine respecting the effects of the Sacraments previous to the year 1530. Let us see what it was after that year.

In his First Homily on Baptism, put forth in 1535, about the beginning of the second part, we read:

''Baptism was instituted for the purpose of serving us, of being profitable to us, that it may bestow upon us not any thing carnal or bodily, but eternal grace, eternal cleanliness and holiness, eternal life.''

This looks mighty like *opus operatum*, and a contradiction to some of his former writings. His Second Homily on Baptism was put forth five years after, viz. in 1540.

''Baptism cannot but work (*operari*) that for which it was instituted, *videlicet*, regeneration, and the renewal of the Holy Ghost. . . . . Baptism hath such virtue and energy, that a man who was conceived and born in sin may be regenerated before God, and that he who was before condemned to death, may now become the son of God. Who can be able by his senses, by his thoughts, by his human understanding, to attain and to perceive this glory and virtue of the most holy Baptism? . . . . . John desired by these words to signify that Baptism was so efficacious and of such virtue that it could wash away sins, drown and suffocate death, and heal and cleanse all vices and filth.''

I promised that I would adduce Luther himself as vindicating the doctrine of *opus operatum*, and I think I have here fulfilled my promise. I did not, however, engage to keep this mighty man in a state of consistency; for indeed one of the most remarkable traits of his character is self-contradiction. You are too well acquainted, I presume, with his famous sermon preached in the Church at Wittenberg, after he had come out from Patmos, to doubt his recklessness on this score. ''If

you pretend to continue doing things by these common deliberations, I will unsay without hesitation all that I have written or taught. I will make my recantation, and leave you. Remember, I have said it, and after all, what harm will the Popish Mass do you?" This was indeed written before 1530. But the passages which I have quoted for the efficacy of the Sacraments were written in 1535 and 1540.

The article ix of the Confession of Augsburg states "that little children ought to be baptized; that baptism is necessary for their salvation; and that by this Sacrament, they are made the children of God." Let us for a moment suppose, what the context will not allow, that the former passages from the Homilies on Baptism, mean only, that Baptism excites or creates Faith, and that Faith produces all those fine effects, and therefore that they are produced not by baptism merely, but by Faith, which is its consequence. The context, I repeat, would not warrant this effort at creating a consistency in his teaching. Yet suppose it did. We now have a subject incapable of Faith, viz. a little child. Yet this little child, we are told, ought to be baptized! For what purpose? Because, says the article, "Baptism is necessary for its salvation." If the child is not saved without Baptism, it must be because of sin; it is necessary to destroy sin, that the child may be saved. It is necessary for its salvation that it should be baptized. Baptism, then, destroys sin, which was the only obstacle to its salvation. But how does baptism produce this destruction? By exciting in the little child a justifying faith! Certainly not; because the child is incapable of having its faith excited—as incapable as a deaf man is of hearing the word, as incapable as a blind man is of seeing a picture. Yet the Baptism destroys sin by making the child partaker of the merits of Christ, which merits blot out the hand-writing of sin and death, and this is a consequence of the will and power of God, of the merits and institution of Christ, of the ministerial act of him who administers the Sacrament. Thus the Sacrament necessarily produces its effect *ex opere operato*, on the principle that is expressed in the sixth article of the Confession of Augsburg. "Baptism is necessary for the salvation of little children." "By this Sacrament they are made children of God." Now, the Confession of Augsburg gave this principle its fullest force in declaring its condemnation of the Anabaptists, for "asserting that children may be saved without baptism, and out of the Church of Jesus Christ." (*Art.* ix, p. 12).

Amongst many of the most celebrated Lutheran writers at a later period Kemnitz may be placed. After quoting a number of Scriptural

passages against the Anabaptists to show the efficacy of the sacraments, he writes, (*Exam.* p. 98, part 2),

"Here are most plain testimonies which attribute efficacy to the sacraments, and which explain what it is: neither are they to be perverted by tropes from that simple and genuine meaning which the true and proper force of the words gives: and thus did the ancients understand these testimonies, simply as they sound to the ear."

How excellent a rule! But how little observed by those who lay it down to confute the Anabaptists, and deny its force when it is used against themselves by the Catholic!—The same writer goes on in p. 101:

"The sacraments are instrumental causes, so that by those means or organs, the Father wills to exhibit, to give and to apply his grace; the Son wills to communicate his merit to the believers; the Holy Ghost to exercise his efficacy to salvation unto every believer."

The language is precisely such as a Catholic would use to show how, by means of the sacrament, God produces the sanctifying effects *ex opere operato.*

I shall now briefly advert to a few of the passages of the Holy Scripture in which the foundations of this doctrine may be seen:—viz. That in a properly disposed subject, God communicates his grace in virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ, through the instrumentality of the sacraments, by virtue of his own institution, producing at once by his own power the effect for which the sacrament was intended, that is, *ex opere operato,* and not by merely exciting in the recipient a faith or confidence by the exercise of which faith the individual is justified, that is, *ex opere operantis.*

In *Matthew* iii, 2, John says, "I indeed baptize you in water unto penance." That is, I perform a ceremony which will excite you to do penance,—*opus operantis.* "He shall baptize you in the Holy Ghost and fire." His baptism will pour into you the author of Grace and the fire of Charity—*opus operatum.* (*Mark* i, 8), "I have baptized you with water: but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost." The other Evangelists have similar testimony.

(*Mark* xvi, 16), "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." The adult who is capable of belief will not be saved by his faith or belief, but by the sacrament which he subsequently receives. (*John* iii, 5), "Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Here we have the external sign of water and in the internal accompanying Grace, the Holy Ghost, and the effect, entering the kingdom of God.

(*Acts* ii, 38), "Do penance and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of your sins: and you shall

receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." Here is the removal of the obstacles, "Do penance," or as you translate it, "Repent," the receiving of the sacrament, "Be baptized," the object "for the remission of your sins:" the effect, "you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost."

(*Acts* xxii, 16), "Rise up, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins." Yet we read that previous to this, Saul prayed, (ix, 11) and was called to be a vessel of election (15). But Ananias was sent to baptize him, to wash away his sins, and that he might be filled with the Holy Ghost, (ix, 17). Yet he had faith for he believed, he prayed and was three days fasting, (ix, 9). Still his sins were to be washed away by baptism.

(*Acts*, viii, 17), "Then they laid their hands upon them; and they received the Holy Ghost. 18. And when Simon saw that by the imposition of the hands of the Apostles, the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money. 19. Saying: Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I shall lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost." Here is a power by the imposition of hands, an external rite, to give the Holy Ghost, the author of Grace, in the sacrament of Confirmation, to the properly disposed persons who had been baptized.

(*II Tim.* i, 6), "I admonish thee, that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by the imposition of my hands." By the external rite of ordination the grace of God was given to him.

I could multiply quotations, but it would be to no purpose. The few passages referred to, suffice to exhibit the Scriptural ground on which our teaching rests,—and could it tend to any useful purpose, I could adduce the testimony of early councils, and of the eminent writers of the Eastern and Western portions of the Church, from Justin Martyr, who stated to the Emperor Antonius, in his apology "that we obtain in water the forgiveness of our previous sins," and from Tertullian, who recites the spiritual effects of several of the sacraments as produced by the performance of the external rite,—down to the very day when the contradictory doctrine was broached by Luther in his work, *On the Babylonish Captivity*, in 1520.

I am aware of the supercilious air with which several Protestant writers affect mighty wisdom in rising above the vulgar prejudices, as they say, of an ignorant age, when men imagined religion was a sort of magic, and that the insensible elements were to obey the command ridiculously given to them by men who addressed them as if they had sense and understanding and power of action. But, Sir, there is a semblance of wisdom which is destructive!—What would those men say to the sacred record? (*Josue*, x, 12), "Then Josue spoke to the Lord, in the

day that he delivered the Ammorhites in the sight of the children of Israel, and he said before them: Move not, O Sun, toward Gabaon, nor thou, O Moon, toward the valley of Ajalon. 13. And the Sun and the Moon stood still," and so forth.

Shall I tear this passage from the sacred volume? If I do, why shall not one and another, and another tear away other passages upon the same principle? What then becomes of the Book? Sir, we must give up the Bible, or we must believe that it is not folly to show the power of God in using the materials of the natural world for his own supernatural purposes, and that this may be done even by an appeal or an address to an insensible element. The Saviour himself declares it. (*Matt.* xvii, 19), "If you have faith, as a grain of mustard seed, you shall say to this mountain: Remove from hence to yonder place; and it shall remove." The Lord himself commanded the winds and the waves, (*Matt.* viii, 26), and they obeyed him. Not only did the Saviour address the dead, (*Luke*, vii, 14; *John*, xi, 43), but in this he was imitated by St. Peter, (*Acts*, ix, 40), and with a like result.

The sacraments produce their effects not according to the caprice of man, but by the institution of God, and this is an unvarying ordinance. They produce their effects by the power of God, but by man's ministerial agency, solely because it was so regulated by the Saviour. They produce their effects, by virtue of the merits of Christ, but by ceremonial observance, because Christ established this as the mode. Their value does not depend upon the worth or virtue of the minister, because it is not of his merits, but of those of the Saviour, that the recipient partakes. Their validity, however, does depend upon the ministerial character of him who administers; because the effects can be produced only by observing the ordinance of Christ, and no one can validly confer the benefit but he to whom Christ has committed the power.

The effect is not produced by the good disposition of the recipient, though it will not be produced in one who is not properly disposed. Thus, Rev. Sir, it is produced by the agency of the Holy Ghost, or *ex opere operato*, and not by the agency of the recipient, or *ex opere operantis*. If it be not so produced by baptism in a little child, how is it produced? Your Confession of Augsburg, Luther, and your principal writers teach contradictions upon the subject. The Catholic Church has always taught her present doctrine, and will continue always so to teach!

I remain, Rev. Sir,
Yours, B. C.

LETTER XIII.

CHARLESTON, S. C., June 28, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—I have now shown that, according to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, the unworthy receivers of a sacrament, not only do not partake of salvation, but do commit a sacrilege; and that they who partake of those sacred institutions of the Saviour with proper dispositions, do, therein, by the power and mercy of God and by the ministry of the Church, certainly obtain the graces and blessings which the Saviour attached thereto. I have further shown, that according to Catholic doctrine, the grace thus acquired may be lost by the criminality or by the negligence of the person who received the favor,—and hence that your 42d paragraph was altogether based upon a mistake. I have too much respect for you, to suppose that it was a wilful misrepresentation. I have farther shown you, that if the Sacraments be, as you admit they are, "means of grace," their effects must be produced by their own immediate instrumentality as "means" instituted for that purpose by the Saviour, and this is what Catholic divines understand by *opus operatum.* And I have shown you that subsequently to the year 1530, Luther and several other eminent teachers of your society, wrote and spoke as strongly in support of this doctrine as Catholics do. I now farther observe upon your 43d paragraph, that you would therein appear not to condemn the doctrine yourself, because you do not simply assert that "your churches" "condemn those who maintain that the Sacraments produce justification in their recipients as matters of course (*ex opere operato*)," but you give as a portion of the same sentence the following passage—"and who do not teach that faith is necessary in the reception of the Sacraments, to the remission of sins." Now, Sir, this quotation which you adopt from Schmucher, leaves uncensured, the doctrine "that the Sacraments produce justification in their recipients as matters of course, if those recipients have faith at the time of receiving them."—And the Catholic Church holds, as doctrine that passage of St. Paul, (*Heb.* xi, 6), "Without faith it is impossible to please God. For he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that seek him." They also hold, as doctrine, that no one can be justified to the remission of sins, without pleasing God. Thus your 43d paragraph, if in regular theological meaning, it was intended to assert that the Catholic doctrine, which you identify with that of Hinkel, was condemned even by your Churches, is also based upon a palpable mistake,—because both clauses of your sentence must

be taken as a whole, for they are united by the conjunctive participle *and*,—wherefore the condemnation attaches only to those who hold both clauses conjunctively, which neither Catholics nor Hinkelites do. Neither do I understand clearly what your own teaching is, nor can I determine that of your society, nor of your eminent writers upon this subject, because I find them teaching sometimes one way, sometimes another way. In fact, Sir, they are as vague, as indefinite, and as unstable [in] teaching the nature of the Sacraments as they are [in] teaching the nature of the Eucharist.

You have undertaken, Sir, (in par. 13) "to show from that holy volume to which Luther, Melancthon and the learned and pious Reformers ever resorted for light and knowledge, that their (the Hinkelites') doctrines are unscriptural, and that the sentiments they promulgate are not contained in the articles of the church or in the writings of the Reformers." "We wish to convince them and all others, that there is an evident act of injustice in advocating sentiments as coming from the Reformers which are directly opposed throughout the whole tenor of their writings."

Now, Sir, the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and the doctrine that the Sacraments produce immediately, of their own nature, under the proper circumstances, the spiritual effects for which they were instituted by Christ, viz., conveying his grace to our souls,—have been examined by me in such a way, as I think shows: first, that neither of them is unscriptural; and also to show: secondly, that the sentiments which you appear to condemn, are contained in the authoritative writings of several of your public ecclesiastical assemblies; and are in the third place sustained in the writings of many of those gentlemen whom you call Reformers. I apprehend, Sir, that you have, unintentionally I presume, done more injustice to the Catholics and to the Hinkelites than these latter have done to you, by your stating that they taught, "That in partaking of the Sacraments we become entitled to salvation,"—and "that faith is not necessary, in the reception of the Sacraments, to the remission of sins."

I now proceed to the examination of your paragraphs 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20,—and I prefer inserting them here, in full, that they may be more directly under the eye of the reader.

14. "1. Then let us inquire whether the Holy Scriptures any where inculcate the belief that baptism is regeneration.

"We will first endeavor to explain those passages of Scripture that are usually urged in favor of this doctrine.—In a conversation with Nicodemus, (*John*, 3d chapter) our Saviour instructs him as to the nature of the new birth, or regeneration. In the 3rd verse he says 'except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom

of god.' The meaning in the original is, except a man be born from above. Every man must have two births, one from the earth which enables him to see the light, and experience the enjoyments of this world, and one from above, which fits him for the kingdom of glory hereafter. Nicodemus could not comprehend how a man could be born when he was old. Our Lord then reiterates his first declaration with an addition,—'Except a man be born of water and the spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God.' When men became converted to the Christian religion they were admitted by water baptism as members of the Church of the Redeemer. But the water which was used was only an emblem of the Holy Spirit.—This baptism admitted them into the visible kingdom of God—into the family of believers. Something more was necessary, and our Saviour taught Nicodemus, that in order to be prepared for the invisible kingdom of God he must be born of the Spirit—his heart must be converted to God by the divine influences from above. If baptism alone was regeneration why does the Saviour lay such stress on the necessity of a new birth, as effected by the Holy Spirit? In the 16th chapter of *Mark*, after our Lord had given his commission to his Apostles, to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, he tells them, 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned.' 'He that believeth'—that accepts this Gospel as a revelation from God—'and is baptized'—that is, makes an open profession of it in the way which God has instituted, by baptism—'shall be saved;'—'but he that believeth not'—that is, he that yields no faith or obedience to this Gospel, (and here no reference is made to baptism)—'shall be damned'—because he rejects the Gospel, the only provision that could be effectual in saving his soul. The following passage contained in Paul's *Epistle to Titus*, 3rd chapter, 5th verse, has also been brought forward as evidence in favor of their doctrine. 'According to his mercy he saved us by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.' If these words have reference to the ordinance of baptism, they can only mean that baptism which Christ has established in his Church, is symbolical of that change of the heart which is necessary to salvation.—Thus far, therefore, we find nothing in the holy Scriptures that can warrant us in believing so dangerous a doctrine.''

15. ''But let us inquire in what manner were men under the Gospel dispensation converted to God. When the Apostles received their commission, they were commanded to preach the Gospel to every creature, and baptism was to be an evidence of their faith, and not faith the result of baptism. They preached first repentance and faith, and then enjoined the duty of baptism. We read that Lydia was baptized, but not until the Lord had opened her heart. The Jailer was baptized in consequence of his faith. Paul was not baptized until after he had been converted in a miraculous manner. And when the Eunuch said to Philip, see here is water, what doth hinder me to be baptized, Philip replied, if thou believest with all thy heart thou mayest.''

16. ''If the doctrine was true that baptism is regeneration, then all those vast hordes of Indian captives that were driven to the baptismal font by Cortes, Pizarro, and their infamous hosts of plunderers, who held over them the sword in one hand and the cross in the other, must have been suddenly converted from heathenism to the true faith, and been fitted for the kingdom of God, and the world has been unjust in censuring them for crimes, which, however great may have been the tortures they inflicted on their fellow-men, were yet the instruments of saving their souls.''

17. ''Thus far we have only taken into consideration the persons of adults,

who had been converted and baptized. But the individuals who have adopted these unscriptural sentiments, are, in common with us, advocates of infant baptism. Among the Jews the proselytes from heathenism were baptized as well as their children, and in the New Testament we read that whole families were baptized; witness those of the Jailer at Philippi—of Lydia and Stephanus; and we are no where told that the children were excluded. A vast majority of the Christian world has acknowledged a belief in the necessity of infant baptism, and our opponents are equally strenuous with ourselves on this subject. If baptism is regeneration, why does not every child baptized in infancy, henceforth walk with God, and lead a devoted, pious life. Now is this the fact? Have we not on the contrary the most unquestionable evidence, from the conduct of thousands of young persons, that their hearts are yet unchanged—that they are still in the gall of bitterness, and in the bonds of iniquity."

18. "We have now, we think, conclusively shown, that this doctrine is every where opposed by the letter and meaning of the Scripture; it may, however, be inquired, is it not countenanced by the creed of our Church, from whence it is pretended to be derived? We answer, let the language of our confession speak for itself. The following is the whole of our article on baptism."

19. " 'Concerning baptism, our Churches teach that it is a necessary ordinance, that it is a means of grace, and ought to be administered also to children, who are thereby dedicated to God, and received into his favor.' "

20. "Here then it is plainly declared that baptism is only the means of grace, and in conformity to these views, our Churches both in Europe and America, teach no other doctrine, and feel themselves authorized, from the Scriptures, and the articles of faith, to declare that baptism is not regeneration."

I must begin by remarking that in paragraph 22, you state that the doctrine which you here combat is a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church.

The doctrine is stated to be "Baptism is regeneration." Now, Sir, regeneration means the being born again. But as this may be explained in a variety of ways, it is better that we should be explicit and precise in the meaning of our subject. In paragraph 16, you appear to say that we call Baptism regeneration, in the sense that by the mere performance of the rite upon the adult, he is suddenly fitted for heaven, whatever his disposition may be, even though he had not faith. This is in keeping with your assertion in paragraph 42, stating that we teach "that in partaking of the Sacraments we become entitled to salvation." Sir, the Catholic Church teaches no such doctrine. Therefore if I am to understand your proposition thus explained, you have made another egregious mistake. I will not say that you have intentionally misrepresented us, for I think it very likely that you have been honestly led astray by your own Theologians, who scarcely ever give an honest representation of what we teach. I would as soon expect to find a correct exhibition of the concerns of a Convent from Maria Monk, or the Rev. Dr. Slocum, or the Rev. Dr. Brownlee, of New York, as I would to

obtain a correct statement of Catholic doctrine, from one of your Theologians. I have, Sir, read probably as deeply as you have, the works of the great defenders of what you call Reform, and I am pretty well acquainted with the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and I know of no more mean and wicked and unprincipled forgery: this, Sir, is very strong language, which I deliberately use: I know of no more mean and wicked and unprincipled forgery, than the great body of Protestant Theologians have committed, in misrepresenting Catholic doctrine. Hence, Sir, I am by no means astonished at the palpable ignorance of the genuine doctrine of our Church, which manifestly pervades the great body of the Protestant clergy, who study those works, and who rely upon their authority.

In your paragraph 14, you say, "The meaning of the original Scripture text is, except a man be born from above." Now, Sir, you will excuse me for dissenting from you. The word in Greek, which I suppose you call the original, is *ανωθεν*. This word has several meanings, amongst which is "from above" and "again," or "a second time."—My reasons for dissenting from you are; first, the authority of the Vulgate, one of the very oldest Latin translations, made, I may say, at the moment almost co-eval with the original, and this gives me *denuo*, "*again*" or "*a second time*,"—secondly, the Syriac translates it in the same manner, *again*; thirdly, the Arabic translates it *a second time*. Upon the plain principle that the early translators and the great body of Christians in the first ages, were better qualified than either you or I can now pretend to be, to express the exact meaning of this word, I should rest satisfied. But, Sir, the very answer of Nicodemus in the 4th verse, shows the meaning. "How can a man be born when he is old? can he enter the second time *δεύτερον* into his mother's womb, and be born again?"

Again, Sir, you say, "But the water which was used was only an emblem of the Holy Spirit; this baptism admitted them into the visible kingdom of God, into the family of believers." If he was admitted into the family of believers in a proper manner, he must be a believer,—if a believer, he must have faith; and according to you, if he had faith, he was justified. Thus he must have been justified either before or at baptism.

The Catholic says, that without faith in the adult, the Sacrament will not produce its effects of sanctification or justification, because the want of faith is an obstacle to that grace.

You appear by your explanation of the above passage of St. John and of that in the 16th chapter of *St. Mark* to consider Baptism not

indeed to be regeneration, but not to be more than a mere unessential profession of belief, for you tell us that no reference is made to want of Baptism where the man is damned; but he suffers this penalty, because he rejects the Gospel, the only provision that could be effectual in saving his soul. Thus, according to you, the reception of the Gospel is the only provision for salvation. If by this you mean, that the only way in which a person can partake of the merits of the Saviour is by obeying the precepts of the Gospel; you teach Catholic doctrine. It may not be amiss to give an authoritative exhibition of what preparation the Catholic Church requires in an adult, who prepares for Baptism. After having in chapter v, of the sixth Session of the Council of Trent, celebrated on the 13th of January, 1547, described the excitement of the sinner by God's holy inspiration, and his correspondence with this grace by his determination to turn to God and his prayer for aid,— the council proceeds to state in—

CHAPTER VI. *The manner of preparation.* But they are disposed for justification itself, whilst excited by divine grace, and being aided in receiving faith by hearing (*Rom.* x) they are freely moved towards God, believing those things to be true which are divinely revealed and promised; and in the first place, that the impious man is justified by God, through his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus: (*Rom.* iii, 24), and whilst understanding that they are sinners, by turning themselves from the fear of divine justice, by which they are usefully shaken to the contemplation of God's mercy, they are raised to hope trusting that God will be merciful to them for the sake of Christ, they begin to love him as the fountain of all justification. (*Psalm* xli, 1). And therefore they are moved against their sins with a sort of hatred and detestation, that is with that penance which should be done before Baptism, whilst finally they propose to receive Baptism, to begin a new life and to keep the commandments of God. Concerning this disposition, it is written, (*Heb.* xi, 6), that he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and is a rewarder of them that seek him: and (*Matt.* ix, 2; *Mark,* ii), Son have confidence, thy sins are forgiven thee, and (*Eccles.* i, 27), The fear of the Lord driveth out sin, and (*Acts* ii, 38), Do penance and be baptized, every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of your sins, and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost: and (*Matt.* xxviii, 19; *Mark* xvi, 16), Going, therefore, teach all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of theh Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you. And (*I Kings* vii, 3, ii, I), Prepare your hearts unto the Lord.

When you calmly examine this doctrinal declaration, is it possible you could deliberately assert, that Catholics teach, that the mere rite of Baptism is regeneration? No Sir, no honest and intelligent man could do so. You have done it, not I believe by reason of any want of honesty, nor because of any lack of intelligence, but because you have never studied our doctrines in their proper place, but taken upon trust, the assertions of your first founders and of your divines, whom you

call Reformers, and whom I declare to be, in this instance, void of all honesty.

The sacrament of Baptism is the means or instrument by which God takes away sin and sanctifies the soul of the properly disposed adult. Thus, though it be not regeneration, it is the Sacrament of regeneration,—and I believe you will find in the passages of Scripture above cited and in many others, sufficient warrant for this belief.

Now, Sir, there was no sufficient motive for mistranslating the word *αν''ωθεν* to find a proof against us, of the necessity of the influence from above, to prepare an adult for the Sacrament of regeneration, because any man who would deny such necessity would, by the fact, cease to be a Catholic. The third canon of the sixth session of the Council of Trent is in the following words:

> If any one shall say, that a man is able to believe, to hope, to love or to be penitent, as he ought, so that the grace of justification may be bestowed upon him, without the previous inspiration of the Holy Ghost and his aid. Let him be Anathema.

Thus Sir, the Catholic Church condemns as a heresy that which your teachers impute to her as a doctrine; and she anathematizes those who hold that which you charge her with teaching. Is there any reason here, Sir, for the application of the 10th verse of that same chapter of the *Gospel of St. John*? "Art thou a master in Israel and knowest not these things?"

I have nothing then to say to your 15th paragraph, but that it leaves the Catholic untouched, and that a mistake concerning doctrine, which it contains, will not be easily reconciled with either your 19th or your 20th paragraphs.

Your 16th paragraph, Sir, is so pretty a piece of rhetoric that it would be a pity to spoil it, did not the unsparing sternness of truth and justice require its decomposition. In the first place, good Sir, you ought to have better ascertained the fact that Cortes, Pizarro and their infamous host of plunderers really did hold swords in one hand and crosses in the other, before you made the assertion. I once knew the Mayor of a city, who sent a dispatch, assuring the government, that he was in such dread of an invading army, that whilst he was writing the communication, he had a sword in one hand and a pistol in the other! I am aware, Sir, that Hume and Robertson, and other philosophical historians furnished models for pretty sentences of this description. But I can assure you there is often a good deal of hyperbole on their pages, and where the Catholic religion is in question, they are not to be trusted one whit more than are your theologians. I put down the sword and

cross then as figurative. You see, I am not always an enemy to the figurative sense. I am no apologist for the barbarous extirpators of the Indians: but recollect, Sir, that there are some sentimental members, even to-day, in the Evangelical Churches of our Union, and perhaps Sir, even in the Lutheran Evangelical Church of the United States, who weep over the wrongs endured by our red brethren in Florida and in the Cherokee district, and who denounce in no measured terms, the barbarities of Georgia and the cruelty of the infamous hosts of plunderers who are aided and abetted by the Government of the United States. Sir, I have lamented the fate of the Carrib, I traversed the odoriferous lands where once he dwelt in peace before the face of the white man was seen within his borders. I have read the description of the injustice and cruelty under which he was bowed down and I wept. I have read and I have listened to the effusions of a similar description by our own public men and by those who are eminent as statesmen and as scholars in remote nations, when they were advocating the cause of the Indian and of the Negro! I have observed both, and I have learned the value of the effusion.

The descriptions will go down to the children of future generations: and before the lapse of two centuries, it will be proclaimed and generally believed, that we of this age, and of this section of our Union were heartless and unjust. Even now Sir, this is proclaimed to half the world, and by the greater portion of that half it is believed. You and I know, that this is an unfounded calumny,—yet we are not able to prevent its transmission to other days, nor its belief by generations yet to rise.

Thus, also, Sir, your 16th paragraph is the production of mistake. It is imagination, a painting.

The Catholic Church confers not baptism upon an adult against his will, not without his consent, nor would such a baptism be a sacrament. Hence from the beginning, she prepared those who sought Baptism by the exercises of the Catechumen, in order to create those dispositions which the Council of Trent describes. It was often discovered in the early ages of the Church, that persons feigned a desire which they had not, and in order to prove and to prepare them, several councils enacted that they should be kept during months in a state of preparation, until their motive could be detected and their dispositions be ascertained. And it is indispensably required in every case, that the question shall be asked "Wilt thou be baptized?" Children answer by their sponsors; but adults must answer also for themselves,—and St. Thomas of Aquin, writing upon the subject nearly three centuries pre-

vious to the formation of a Lutheran Church, gives the following reasons: (3 par. qu. lxviii, Art. 7), First, The persons who come for baptism, are by the ritual required to ask it from the Church. Next, by baptism we die to the old life of sin, and begin a new life as described in *Romans* vi, 3, 4. He proceeds to say:

"And therefore as in a person having the use of free will, its determination is required, that he should die to his old life, by which determination he repents of its acts: so a determination is required by which he would intend a newness of life, and the beginning thereof is the receiving of the Sacrament itself."

In the Catechism of the Council of Trent, (part ii, chap. xl), three things are declared to be necessary for adults in order to be baptized. 1. The will, or consent. 2. Faith, for which the words of the Saviour are quoted (*Mark*, xvi, 16) and 3. Repentance or penance with a determination not to sin again.

In the chapter xxxviii, the catechism states distinctly the reason why the consent or will of an adult is necessary for baptism, and refers not only to the passage which I have quoted from St. Thomas, but also to a passage of St. Augustin testifying the same. And now with this testimony of Catholic doctrine, you can easily perceive what an accumulation of blunders lies covered by the pretty figure which your imagination painted to decorate your 16th paragraph.

Your 17th paragraph assumes the truth of an opinion which we condemn. Upon the assumption that grace is inamissible, that is, that a person once converted to God can never commit sin again, you argue that baptism gives no grace, because they who have been baptized do subsequently commit sin. Now Sir, the argument is of no weight as against us, because we hold that grace once received may be lost, that a person may be justified by the merits of Christ, and fall off from that state of justification. We find that in the 11th article of the Confession of Augsburg, the Lutherans of that day, teach "that they condemn he same Anabaptists who deny that the Holy Ghost may be lost after man is once justified."

Thus, Sir, the principle of your 17th paragraph is cut away from you, by the leaders and founders of your own Church, in that very document in which you say "the doctrines of the Reformation, were clearly defined." (par. 8). This, Sir, is not the place for me to enter upon a history of this tenet and of the disputes and contradictions amongst the Protestants upon the subject; even among those who professed Calvinism, it was the great cause of serious differences at the Synod of Dort;—and although Calvin deduced it as a necessary consequence from the Lutheran principle of the certainty which a man

has of his justification, still the Lutherans denied the correctness of the inference, and it continued in the most memorable disputes, of Lutherans with other Protestants, to be as firmly denied to have been revealed by God, as it was asserted by the great body of the Calvinists to be an original essential article of that revelation. I was not prepared to find this Calvinistic tenet embraced by the President of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America, for the purpose of attempting to destroy in reality, the value of infant baptism, when in the 9th article of the Confession of Augsburg the Lutherans declare "that baptism is necessary to salvation, and that they condemn the Anabaptists who assert that children may be saved without baptism, and out of the Church of Jesus Christ." Thus, Sir, if your 17th paragraph condemns the Hinkelite, it must also condemn the whole Lutheran Society in 1530, and for at least a century and a half subsequently thereto: for they held that by Baptism a child is received unto God's favor, and that grace may be lost.

Your 18th paragraph is of no account. Your 19th states as the doctrine of your churches, 1st, that Baptism is a necessary ordinance, yet, paragraph 14, you told us, that "the water was only an emblem of the Holy Spirit," "that no reference was made by the Saviour to baptism"—where he declared that the unbeliever shall be damned "that baptism is [only] symbolical of that change of the heart, which [change of the heart] is necessary to salvation," of course the symbol is not necessary.

You proceed to say that your churches teach that it is "a means of grace," of course the means procure the end, then baptism procures grace. This, Sir, is in perfect conformity with the doctrine of its necessity, but which necessity it would appear from your paragraphs 14 and 15, you do not admit, for besides what we have seen in the 14th, you say in the 15th, "baptism was to be an evidence of faith," which faith, by your paragraph 14, justified. "He that believeth—that accepts this Gospel as a revelation from God"—farther on you say, the receiving this Gospel is "the only provision that could be effectual in saving his soul." It is true, that you said that baptism was making "an open profession of belief in the way which God has instituted."

But it is equally true that you say, that the sentence of damnation is the consequence of yielding no faith or obedience to this Gospel, and "without any reference to baptism." This looks very like a contradiction of the teaching of your own church, that baptism is a means of grace, that by baptism children are not only dedicated to God, but are thereby received into his favor.

Now, Sir, the child is incapable of faith,—the child is incapable of belief, the child is incapable of accepting the Gospel, or a revelation from God: the child is incapable of making open profession of that belief or accepting of the Gospel. If baptism then is only this profession, this accepting—the child is altogether incapable thereof: wherefore, baptism, for a child, so far from being "a necessary ordinance," would be an useless and a delusive superstition. The Anabaptist would be right in rejecting it. Yet the Lutherans in their Confession of Augsburg declare "that baptism is necessary for salvation; and that they condemn the Anabaptists who assert that children may be saved without baptism."—You tell us, that it is a necessary ordinance, that it is a means of grace, that it ought to be administered to children, that by it they are dedicated to God: that by it they are received into his favor.

Now, Sir, the solution of the contradiction is this: Concerning what Baptism is, you give us in your 19th paragraph the Lutheran teaching as it was for the first one hundred and fifty years,—and in paragraph 14, you have adopted the Calvinistic teaching which contradicted the Lutheran,—and in paragraph 20 you blend them both; because, in the first part you tell us, that it is a means of grace, that is, that thereby the child that was out of God's favor, being therein dedicated to God, is received into his favor,—if received into his favor, it must be justified through Christ, if justified through Christ, it is born again of water and of the Holy Ghost, it is saved as St. Paul says, (*Tit.* iii, 5), "Not by the works of justice which we have done," "but according to his mercy, by the laver of regeneration, and the renovation of the Holy Ghost." And in the second part you also tell us that "Baptism is not regeneration." I shall not dwell any longer upon the contradictions, not only between your own assertions, but of your own teachers. I might have dilated upon this topic still farther, by contrasting the assertions of your 14th paragraph with those of your 43d. It would have been a more pleasing task for me to have been otherwise engaged;—but you left me no choice.—You unnecessarily assailed that Church to which I belong, with the charges of teaching doctrines "unscriptural," and "of dangerous tendency," "calculated to produce demoralizing effects." You compared us to some members holding the tenets of the original Lutheran Church, whom you were pleased to designate "a declining and unenlightened sect," dwelling "in the abodes of obscurity," followers of "a weak and illiterate man, whose ground of dissent, as far as can be gathered from the crude, visionary, and inflammatory publications, which have from time to time appeared either under his name, or that of his sect, was that the Evangelical

Church had departed from the true doctrines of the Reformation, which he and his church attempted to restore." With him and his followers, I have as little connexion as I have with you or yours. But I apprehend that they who have had the patience to read what I have set forth respecting doctrine, on the subject of the Eucharist, on the nature of the sacraments, and of Baptism, have found some cause to believe, 1st. That the Catholic doctrine on these points is in perfect conformity with the Scriptures. 2d. That although there are a great variety of opinions on those subjects in the several divisions of Protestantism, there is no doctrine, that is, no certain knowledge of what Christ has taught, nor any sufficient and satisfactory mode of ascertaining it upon Protestant principles,—and 3d. That there is in the works of the first Protestant writers and in their doctrinal articles, as much matter to sustain the Hinkelites in their teaching, as to sustain you in the opinions which you promulgate.

I have now done with your doctrinal exhibition, but there still remain about a dozen paragraphs, some of which contain imputations of a nature very offensive to the Roman Catholic Church, put forward for the ostensible purpose of vindicating your own. I shall therefore try, in a few more letters, to examine the ground upon which they are made. I remain, Rev. Sir,

Yours, and so forth, B. C.

LETTER XIV.

CHARLESTON, S. C., July 5, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—In your 46th paragraph you proceed with explanations whose object is set forth in your 45th; viz. to show how generally you agree with all other Protestant Churches. You commence by saying that you "do not believe in the doctrine of unconditional election." This belief is by some deemed most important and essential. So much so that for rejecting it and for believing as you do, the Synod of Dort, in 1618, condemned the Remonstrants, depriving them of their place "in the ministry, of their chairs of professorship in divinity, of all other functions as well ecclesiastic as academical until having satisfied the Church, they be fully reconciled and received into her communion." This Synod requested the State, not to permit "any other doctrine but that which was just defined (the doctrine of unconditional election) to be taught; and to obstruct heresies and errors that were creeping in." Thus, Rev. Sir, either this doctrine is important and essential, or we

have the Synod of Dort excommunicating and deposing a large number of Protestants for holding opinions that do not trench upon any important or essential doctrine. I suspect this is one of the principal causes of all the turmoil between the new school and the old school of the Presbyterians in the United States this day. It would be folly to seek for that which is impossible, viz. an agreement in doctrine between Protestant Churches, because their very separation from each other springs from contradiction. One asserting that God actually revealed what another declares to be a direct contradiction to his revelation! They agree but in one point, viz. To contradict the Catholic Church; and yet, in their specifications of error, they acquit by the majority of their suffrages that very Church to which they are opposed.

I believe, Sir, that the majority of Protestants, judging by their forms of profession, would condemn you of error upon this head: I believe that judging by their individual opinions, the majority would be in your favor. But you may as well seek to construct a permanent fortress upon the quicksand of the desert as to exhibit a doctrinal agreement between the ramifications of what you call the reformation!

You next inform us that you practice the rite of confirmation as a mode of admitting members into the Church, accompanied by the profession of faith, but you do not regard confirmation as a sacrament. In this denial of its being a sacrament you agree with perhaps all Protestants. But, in paragraph 43, you state that a sacrament is not only a mark of Christian profession amongst men, but rather a sign or evidence of the divine disposition towards us tendered for the purpose of exciting and confirming the faith of those who use them. Upon this definition I should be inclined to say that you ought to admit its being a sacrament. For, clearly it is a mark of Christian profession among men, and next it is a divine institution practised by the Apostles; it is an evidence of the divine disposition towards us, it is tendered for the purpose of exciting and confirming the faith of the recipient.

I do not, by any means admit the accuracy of your definition; but supposing its correctness,—you must admit the rite to be a sacrament. No! You say, "it is a mode of admitting members into the church, accompanied by a profession of faith." Why, good Sir, you informed us in paragraph 14, "When men became converted to the Christian religion, they were admitted by water baptism as members of the Church of the Redeemer." In the same paragraph, you say, that the profession of faith was necessary with the use of water, you called baptism itself "making an open profession of it (the Gospel as a revelation from God) in the way which God has instituted, by baptism." Thus by the

rite of baptism, accompanied by a profession of faith, and the rite itself is not only a sufficient profession, but the profession in the way that God has instituted, persons are admitted as members of the Church. Again, in paragraph 19, you inform us that by baptism, children are dedicated to God and received into his favor," necessarily therefore into his church, and yet in 46, they are to be admitted into the church by confirmation, after having been received into it by baptism. I will not undertake to say that you cannot unravel this, but it is perplexity to me!

You say, that your "church government is of a simple form corresponding in this respect, with the republican institutions of the land." This may be the case in America, and I am convinced you think it is: however Sir, such is not the case in Europe. There is very little of republicanism in Sweden, in Norway, in Denmark, in Prussia, in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, in Mecklenburg-Strelitz, in Oldenburg, in Brunswick, in Saxe-Weimar, in Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, in Saxe-Meiningen, in Saxe-Altenburg, in Schwartz-Rudoltstadt, in Schwartz-Sunderded, in Reus of the elder line, in Reus of the younger line, in Hesse-Darmstadt, in Wurtemburg or in Hanover. I do not insinuate that American citizens, who profess the Evangelical Lutheran religion are one whit less attached to liberty, because their fellow-religionists in Europe are the most tyrannical among the reigning despots and the most abject of those enslaved:—but I thought that as you made your proposition general, it would be as well to show that your religious society was, like all others of any considerable extent, as varying in its political features as are the governments of those countries in which it was found. We too Sir, have despots and republicans in our communion; and you are in this respect at least assimilated to us: though I suspect your object was to insinuate that republicanism and Protestantism necessarily were allied, and that you desired to recommend yourself to the fraternal affection of your fellow Protestants by showing how unlike to the Catholic despots were the republican Evangelical Lutherans.

Recollect, Sir, that you cannot charge me with having placed you in company with the names on the illustrious list that I have given. You gave us a specimen of your sort of dislike to royalty and aristocracy in paragraph 56; where you inform us that the sentiments of your church "have in Europe been adopted by Prussia, (the most tyrannical despot in the world is first upon your list), Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Lapland, Finland and parts of France, Hungary and Russia: (you close with the worst autocrat, as you began with the most faithless and perfidious despot); amounting, according to the computation of a

good author, to 27,000,000 of inhabitants of Europe alone and embracing in it *seventeen reigning Sovereigns.*" You will perceive then, Sir, that I have only enumerated the *seventeen reigning Sovereigns,* whom you probably will show forth as lovers of your simple, republican form of government! Sir, it is rather a curious mode of proving your preference of republicanism, to boast that you have *seventeen reigning Sovereigns* in your communion.

Now, Sir, if your republicanism and ours be estimated by the number of reigning Sovereigns in our several communions, we shall be pretty nearly upon a par; for we shall make out precisely seventeen in Europe; provided we be allowed to number the Pope and the King of Greece, and the King of Saxony upon the catalogue. So that in this point of view you are not one whit less royal or princely than we are.

If, however, we are to estimate the love of royalty by the ratio of the sovereigns to the people, we shall come to a very different result. You have in Europe seventeen sovereigns to 27,000,000 of subjects, whilst we have there only seventeen sovereigns to 121,743,367 of subjects,—which is the number of Catholics in Europe according to the American Almanac,—and which I consider to be under the truth. Upon these data, the Lutherans have one sovereign for 1,588,236 subjects; whilst the Catholics have but one sovereign for 7,161,375 subjects. Thus, Rev. Sir, the Lutherans have at least 4½ times as much royalty as the Catholics: and if the love of republican simplicity indisposes for the love of royalty, your 46th and 56th paragraphs are not the most fortunately allied.

Again, Sir, the American Almanac gives us the sum total of all the Protestants in Europe as 52,340,432. If we deduct from this your 27,000,000, we shall have a remainder of 25,340,432, under twelve Protestant sovereigns and in republics, but as I have not deducted the Lutherans or the Catholics who are republicans, I shall not now take any notice of the number here; and in truth it would not materially change the result, for the whole number does not amount to two millions and a half, and of which I shall take a brief view before I close this letter. The same Almanac gives us the number of British Protestants as 18,676,687, were we to deduct this from the 25,340,432, we should have a remainder of only 6,663,745, Protestant subjects of Calvinistic denominations, to eleven sovereigns, of Evangelical and Reformed Protestant denominations, that is—605,795 subjects to each sovereign; which would give us the Calvinistic attachment to royalty to be more than two and a half times as great as that of the Lutherans, and about sixty-four times as great as the Catholics; nor need this startle

us, for we perceive the sovereign of Anhalt Bemberg with 43,325 subjects, the sovereign of Anhalt Coethen with 36,000; the former is an Evangelical, the latter is of the Reformed; and his Highness of Anhalt Dessau, who is Evangelical, is sovereign over 57,629 subjects, or vassals, if you prefer so calling them. The prince of Lippe Schauenburg is also of the Reformed, and his sceptre sways 26,000. Hesse Homburg is Reformed, and governs 24,000. The elder Reus, who is a Lutheran, has 30,041, whilst the sovereign of the younger line, Henry the sixty-second, a Lutheran too, rejoices in dominion over 68,854. By this time, Sir, I think we can perceive the inherent love of liberty, the simplicity of republicanism and the hatred of monarchy and of despotism which dwells within the bosoms of the seventeen Lutheran reigning sovereigns, and of the twelve reigning sovereigns of the other Protestant Churches in Europe. There are, taken as a body, twenty-nine reigning Protestant sovereigns in Europe, with 52,340,432 Protestant subjects: seventeen Catholic reigning sovereigns in Europe with 121,743,357 Catholic subjects: one sovereign professing the Greek religion, 43,300,688 of Greek subjects: one sovereign professing the Mohammedan religion, the subjects of the same religion are 8,050,000. From this view, Sir, it is not the most natural conclusion that Lutherans love republicanism and hate monarchy,—and the Calvinists appear also to think in Europe, as they do elsewhere, that the power of ruling is by no means to be eschewed.

But how stands the question of republicanism? Alas, Sir, there is very little of it to be found in Europe. Let us take Switzerland! Her Catholics are set down at 800,000; her Protestants at 1,300,000,—the majority of whom are Evangelical and Calvinistic, a minority Lutheran. San Marino is very small, but is purely democratic, under the Papal protection, and surrounded by the Papal territory. Its population is but 7,000. In the Ionian Islands which are called republican, under British protection, there are 35,200 Catholics, and 148,018 Greeks. The sum total of Catholics in European republics is then 842,200. Dividing, by estimate, Switzerland between Lutherans and other Protestants, after deducting the 800,000 Catholics, I should say there were 470,000 Lutherans and 830,000 other Protestants. In the Hanseatic towns the estimate is 273,000 Lutherans, 13,000 other Protestants, and 11,000 Catholics. If to those we add a division, once free, still loving liberty, bowed unfortunately beneath an iron yoke, but yet retaining a sort of permission to keep their reform of administration in Cracow, there are 116,750 Catholics, 1,000 Reformed or Calvinists, and about 500 Lutherans. This gives us in our grand total 934,750 Catholics, 844,000 Calvinists and Evangelicals and 743,750 Lutherans. Now if I

strike unfortunate Cracow from the estimate, I shall still have 818 to your 743! There is, Sir, a magic in figures and a power in statistics, which, properly applied, would quickly destroy the false gloss which a bad volubility careless of truth, has in our country given to fictitious charges against Catholics. I believe, that the members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States are as much attached to the simplicity of republicanism as are the Catholics: but they are not more so. Nor is the Catholic Church government less fitted for a republic than the Lutheran. Your clergy claim to hold their charges as long as they behave themselves,—no Catholic priest or Bishop has any more firm tenure.

The title and term of office of a judge of the United States or of a judge of the State of South Carolina is exactly analagous to that of a Catholic Bishop;—you as pastor of the Lutheran Evangelical church in this city, and most of the pastors of the other Protestant churches, claim to hold by a like tenure, and yet you say nothing against this for its incompatibility with republicanism; because, as you would properly answer, they are compatible. Sir! so is ours.

In this country, the administration of the affairs of your church is as you describe, but surely you will not assert that such is its administration in Prussia, in Sweden, in Denmark, and in those other States of your seventeen reigning sovereigns! and therefore I am far from saying that your members here are despots and vassals, because their brethren are so elsewhere. In this country the Church and the State are separated,—it is not so in those other places. Now, Sir, even in the United States, your administration of sacraments, your merely religious concerns are in the sole care of your clergy. But when you speak of the administration of the affairs of the church, if by this you mean its management of property, you are aware that in every denomination this is managed differently in different countries. In Europe, the State manages it for you, and here you manage it for yourselves as you may see convenient—and so also, Sir, it is with Roman Catholics. Their management of church-property is a subject to be adjusted to the circumstances in which they are placed. It varies in different places and times, and here, the laity whether with or without right, in most instances, have as much to do with its administration as they have amongst you. In some instances, under proper regulations it has been usefully conceded to them, in other instances they have made churches desolate and disgraced religion by their usurpations, their peculation, their misapplication of the funds. But, Sir, this is not peculiar to Catholics.

Your 47th paragraph alleges that "your church has never desired the aid of the State for the support of its ministers." If you confine the observation to the United States, it is perfectly true, and it is the same of the Catholic Church. It would be folly to desire what could not be obtained. If you mean the observation to apply to Europe, the case is very different. There, your church is united with the State, and your ministers are supported by the State. This is not the place to inquire whether this support is given against the clergy's desire and in opposition to the spirit of [your] church. Your ministers are thus supported even where [their] church is not united with the State; as in France, where last year a very liberal grant was made to pay 388 Lutheran ministers, 345 Calvinists, and 92 Jewish. Catholic Austria pays for the support of a ministry for about 4,000,000 of Lutherans, for nearly 1,000,000 of Calvinists, and nearly 3,000,000 of Greeks, besides having half a million of Jews, besides less than one thousand Mohammedians, and 27,000,000 of Catholics. You observe that this one Catholic monarch has in his dominions exactly as many Catholics, as, according to your own statement, there are of your religion in all Europe, and you are twice as many as is any other denomination of Protestants. I could cite several other instances of the union of the Lutheran Church with the State in the realms of *seventeen reigning sovereigns* of that denomination, besides its ministers deriving their support from the State in several other territories. Here again, Sir, the Lutheran Church is in exactly the same predicament as are the Catholic and the Calvinistic Churches.

But Luther himself, in 1538, acknowledged the necessity of a visitation of the churches, and moreover feeling, that there must be the appearance of a mission, (*Visit. Sax. cap. de Doct. Cap. de libert. Christ*) said, that though the visitation was an Apostolic function and could not be performed by the Prince in person, yet it was the duty of the civil magistrate in charity to appoint one capable of making it: and he accepted the commission of visitor from the prince, and thus he not only united the church and State, but he subsequently, in one of the most extraordinary documents to which he ever gave his signature, declared the necessity for the church of having, at that time, State protection. Any person who is conversant with the history of that period, knows that Philip the Landgrave of Hesse was the soul and life of the Protestant league of Smalcald, by which it was sought to keep the Catholic powers in check. Amongst other curious notions, this Philip determined to have the written opinion of Luther, Melancthon and Bucer, for the lawfulness of simultaneous polygamy in his own case. He only wished

to have two wives at the same time, and made some threats of unpleasant consequences, should the decision not be according to his wishes. The Landgrave's application is dated at Melsigen, on the Sunday after the feast of St. Catherine, in 1539. The answer in twenty-four articles, declaring it to be lawful, by way of dispensation, to have two wives at the same time, is subscribed by Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, Martin Bucer, Anthony Corvin, Adam, John Leningue, Justus Wintferte and Denis Melander, and is given from Wittenberg, on the Wednesday after the feast of St. Nicholas, 1539.

The third article is thus translated:

"III. Your highness is not ignorant in how great need our poor miserable little and abandoned church stands of virtuous princes and rulers to protect her; and we doubt not but God will always supply her with some such, although from time to time he threatens to deprive her of them, and proves her by sundry temptations."

Having thus far triumphed over the patriarchs of the Reformation, the Landgrave became their dictator. In 1542, he was desirous to draw the Swiss into the Smalcaldic league, but they had an utter aversion to the elevation of the host at Mass, to the ringing of the bell, and to the striking of their breasts by the people, and the Landgrave insisted upon the abolition of those rites by Luther, though the new Apostle had for twenty-five years contended for retaining them. In fact, Sir, all through, the civil magistrate has had the Lutheran clergy of Europe in his pay and under his control. Such is the case to-day. The principal wars in Europe between the Catholic and Protestant powers during nearly two centuries, had for their object not only the domination of the one or of the other religion, but the acquisition of the church-property, which, when seized upon by the seventeen sovereigns, they generally kept for themselves, giving but a small portion to those ministers whom they employed to preach the Gospel. In America, however, it is otherwise regulated.

I am far from charging upon the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the United States those acts of the Lutheran sovereigns of the petty German principalities and of the Northern despots of Europe.

I agree with you as to the folly of imagining that your church seeks to create an union of Church and State in this country. But of that and other topics, more in my next. I remain, Rev. Sir,

Yours, and so forth,

B. C.

LETTER XV.

CHARLESTON, S. C., July 19, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—In your 47th paragraph, you state that "the cry of danger to our free institutions in a supposed attempt at a union of Church and State, has sometimes been raised in this country by the enemies of religion." Now Sir, if by this you mean to convey the notion, that the cry was raised only by the enemies of religion, it is rather a severe assault upon those who would be considered the elect and the devoted amongst Protestants; for they have cried most lustily against the danger to those institutions from an union with Popery! Yes Sir, with Popery! And thus the State was to be controlled by Popery, and Popery was to be controlled by Prince Metternich, and thus were our liberties to be destroyed! It is rather cruel for you to call the holy ones, the Saints, the Brownlees, the Hoyts, the Breckenridges, the Beechers, the McCallas, the Bemans, and though last not least, the Maria Monks, the Theresa Reeds and the Mrs. Culbertsons, the Jane Shores and the Rosamonds of the American Protestant Churches, by the appellations of enemies to religion! They have been the loudest in their cry of the danger to which our free institutions and our pure morals were exposed! But Sir, I do not agree with you, that this Union of Church and State was not sought by the Elys and the anti-Sunday-mail-school as well as by the Sabbath-school people, though I do not agree with you that the opponents of this scheme were the enemies to religion. I do hold with you, it is exceedingly improbable that the schemers should succeed in our present circumstances.

In the same 47th paragraph you state, "the discipline to which your ministers are subjected, is that which they themselves consent to adopt for the sake of order." If by this you intimate that the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church is forced upon hereministers, you state that which is not the fact, because previous to his ordination, every one of them has had abundant opportunity of knowing the discipline and its consequences, and the tribunal by which alone it may be lawfully modified, and he was on the day of his ordination, and before the rite was performed, again solemnly and distinctly admonished of the obligations he would incur and warned before he came forward. If then, he subjected himself thereto, it was willingly done. We also do believe, Sir, that it is useful for order, and that "it is opposed to vice in every form." The rules that are formed for the government of the members do not deprive our people of their rights or liberties,

as you appear to insinuate they do, but "they are such as the collected wisdom and piety of the church conceives necessary for its purity and prosperity."

And Sir, if "it has ever been the practice, both amongst ministers and people to communicate (amongst you) their thoughts freely to each other, without the danger of being suspected as heretics," you are not singular in this respect. The Roman Catholic Church has a very precise and distinct definition of what heresy is. She calls it a deliberate and obstinate objection of a doctrine revealed by God, so that whatever opinion does not come under this description is not heretical. She has moreover a tribunal to determine when there is evidence that God has revealed a doctrine; and no man upon his own opinion can condemn his brother as a heretic, unless he is sustained by the decision of this tribunal. Hence Sir, so far as regards the danger of being suspected as a heretic because of a free interchange of thought whether between the clergy or the laity, or both, it is perfectly visionary, so long as they do not contradict the ascertained teaching of God: and I hope you would not extend your principle of Christian liberty, so far as to destroy this exception.

The judge who presides in a court frequently has a high respect for the opinion of some uncommissioned friend,—will consult him in his doubts, will request his aid in difficulties, will rely greatly upon his information, and will derive great benefit therefrom. Yet he cannot associate him by his side as vested with authority, nor will the executive officer obey the mandate unless it be the act of the judge, though he should be fully aware that it emanated from this friend. In the Roman Catholic Church, we recognise only that authority which Christ has established, but not only do our prelates not reject the advice, nor undervalue the opinions or the information of their brethren of the clergy and the laity; but very frequently they seek for it, they respect it and they profit by it. Nor even should they differ from them in opinion, will they always suspect them as heretics, because there is ample scope for difference of opinion without trenching upon doctrine, a contradiction to which alone is heresy.

The same freedom exists respecting discipline. We are bound not to disobey the law, nor to treat the legislature with disrespect, yet we are at liberty respectfully to give our opinion regarding the expediency or inexpediency of the law, the utility or the inaptitude of the discipline. We have therefore all that liberty which is consistent with good sense, good order, and the general good. We have just as much as any citizen has in any well organized State. It is true that we be-

lieve the Constitution of the Church cannot be changed; because it emanates from God and not from man: the doctrine of the Church is, for the same reason, unchangable; but the legislation of the Church is so far liable to change, as that it may by the proper tribunals be accommodated to the circumstances of time and place not only to preserve order but to promote the purity and the prosperity of the body of the faithful. Thus Sir, the people in the Catholic Church, are not, by its discipline, deprived of either right or liberty.

And now, Sir, if we look abroad into the domains of your seventeen reigning sovereigns, we shall discover, that although in this country your Church possesses that freedom which you describe, yet in most of their realms the discipline is more effectually regulated by those potentates than either by your clergy or your laity. This is no concern of mine, save that in these latter paragraphs you appear to me to be engaged in reconciling yourself to your fellow Protestants, and seeking their good will by covert and by open attacks upon the Roman Catholic Church. My object then is to repel those attacks, and is merely that. Hence I do not follow up by carrying the war into your own quarters, many an opportunity for doing which offers itself to me.

As to your money collections, I say nothing, for with this I have no concern, especially as upon this head, you make no insinuation against us. And I regard you, personally, as having too much of the high honor of a gentleman, to be directly or indirectly concerned in any of the religious swindling by which others contrive to get enriched.

You say that the ministers of your church are proverbially poor. I apprehend that our Catholic clergy in the United States, will, as a body, be well able to meet you upon the ground of poverty; and if the insufficient means of its clergy be a criterion of the excellence of religion, you will instantly concede that the Catholic is the best Church in the South.

The great principle which pervades this latter portion of your sermon I take to be that which is developed in your 49th paragraph.

49. "We would not be so uncharitable as to believe that our Protestant brethren would intentionally misrepresent our doctrines. A Church which has ever exercised charity and brotherly kindness to its brethren of other denominations has a right to claim that her doctrines and her principles should be weighed with all that candor which we ought to bring to the investigation of religious truth. Yet from some cause,—probably the want of correct information as to our creed,—we are sometimes charged with entertaining superstitious notions; and in a comparatively recent work, (Buck's *Theological Dictionary,*) which is a standard book, in the hands of all denominations, it is stated that 'The Lutherans, of all Protestants, are said to differ least from the Romish Church.' "

Upon this you ask in your 50th paragraph, "Now we would ask in all fairness and candor, whether we are deserving of this charge?" So that you consider [it] to be a charge of a serious nature; one which you do not deserve; [that] "The Lutherans, of all Protestants, are said to differ least from the Romish Church." For the purpose of repelling this charge, you enter into the specifications. "And wherein are we more like the Romish Church than any other Protestants! Is it in our doctrines?" Upon this score I have no remark to add to what I have already given. I leave you to claim the honor, if honor it be, of having led off the others from that belief of doctrine, which from the beginning was preserved in the Catholic Church. I leave to you the undisturbed enjoyment of having led the way in denying the doctrine of transubstantiation without ascertaining what you should substitute in its stead. I leave to you to boast of having destroyed the unity of Faith and introduced so many peculiar views in which there may be traced considerable shades of difference, as well as of obscurity. But if you hold to the Confession of Augsburg you will hold to its 21st article, which states, "Such is the abstract of our Faith, where nothing will be seen contrary to Scripture, nor to the Catholic Church, nor even to the Church of Rome, as far as can be known from her writers." The apology added, "The matter which is the subject of this dispute, regards some few abuses, which, without any certain authority, have been introduced into the churches; and though there should be some difference, it ought to be tolerated, since it is not necessary that church rites should every where be the same." Even four years later, in 1534, Luther himself (in his *Tr. de Missa,* t. vii, p. 236, and so forth,) writing of the Roman Catholic Church, states, "that she is the true church, the pillar and ground of truth, and the most holy place." "In this church God miraculously preserves Baptism, the text of the Gospel in all languages, the remission of sins, and absolution as well in Confession, as in public; the sacrament of the altar about Easter, and three or four times in the year, though the people have been deprived of one kind, the vocation and ordination of pastors; the image of the crucifix, together with the remembrance of the death and passion of Jesus Christ; the Psalter, the Lord's prayer, the Smybol, the Decalogue and many pious canticles in Latin and German." . . . "Where the true relics of Saints are to be found, there doubtless the saints have dwelt; for the institutions and sacraments of Jesus Christ are there, excepting one kind that has been forcibly taken away. For which reason it is certain Jesus Christ has been there present and his Holy Spirit there does preserve his true edge and the true faith in his elect."

I could multiply extracts to show that the original Lutherans in their boasted Confession of Faith, and Luther himself, the father of the Reformation, as it is called by its followers, proclaimed that in their doctrines they were mighty like "the Romish Church." Some one may exclaim: Then why did they separate from it, and call it Babylon and the seat of Antichrist? I do not know! I only know the truth of the facts which I state; I do not undertake to reconcile contradiction. Some of your philosophical historians, as they are called, your Gibbons, your Humes, your Robertsons, may assert that either there was no separation, or that those declarations were not made, because to suppose the truth of both is to admit the insonsistency of the leaders of the religious change, which, they will say, would be absurd.

However, mine being only a plain sort of understanding, I believe in the fact of the separation of these religionists, I believe in the fact that the leaders wrote the passages, because they appeared in their day, were avowed by them; have been since preserved in a variety of ways, subsist at present, and only establish the inconsistency of those who are called Reformers; a fact notoriously established by a variety of other evidence, and in admitting which, no one need have any difficulty. You, Sir, do not claim for any of them the prerogative of exemption from error or from self-contradiction.

You glory, in your 48th paragraph that it was your church "that made the first successful opposition to the corruption and intolerance of that of Rome." As to the "corruption"—I shall at present only ask, what would be said of the comparative influence upon morals of the contradictory maxims, "Good works are necessary for salvation," and, "Good works are not necessary for salvation." Now the first is the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, the second was that of the first Lutherans. I must avow that I do not know what you teach to-day upon that subject. The necessity of such works for salvation, had been frequently denied in earlier writings, but at the Conference of Worms, in 1557, Melancthon informs us of the process. In a preliminary meeting of the Lutheran Doctors, (Lib. i, Ep. 70), he says, it was proposed to condemn four sorts of errors, of which the third was "That proposition which affirms that good works are necessary for salvation," and the mode in which the doctrine was treated, at length, was by cutting off the "for salvation." So that a man who held that good works were necessary, might be a good Lutheran, but if he held them to be necessary "for salvation," he ceased to hold the teaching of the Lutheran Church.

Erasmus, (Ep. p. 88), observing the deterioration of their morals,

asks, "What an Evangelical generation is this?" Again, (Lib. xix. Ep. 3, xxxi, 47, p. 2053, and so forth). "Nothing was ever more licentious, and also, more seditious; nothing in short, less evangelical than these pretended evangelicals; they abrogate vigils and the divine offices of the night and day. They said these were Pharisaical superstitions; but if so, they ought to have substituted something better in their stead, and not become Epicureans, that they may avoid Judaism." "All is carried to an extremity in this new Reformation. They root up where they ought to have pruned, they set fire to a house to cleanse away its filth." "Morals are neglected; luxury, debauchery, adulteries increase more than ever heretofore; there is no order; there is no discipline amongst them." "The people indocile after having shaken off the yoke of their superiors, will believe no one; and in the midst of such disorder and licentiousness, Luther will soon have to regret the absence of what he called the tyranny of Bishops." You may consult Lib. xix, 2, and xxx, 62, to find how exactly his Protestant friends agreed in the correctness of this description. In Lib. xxxi, Ep. 59,—he, after a special review of their leading men, declares, "I find more piety in one good Catholic Bishop than in all these new Evangelicals."

As I wish to bring these letters to a termination as speedily as I can, I shall not enter farther into testimony upon this head, unless it be specially desired, and in such case there is no lack of witnesses.

You stated, Sir, in paragraph 55, that you "do not lend a willing ear to every idle tale promulgated against the morals of our priests and people." You cannot be unaware of the vile and demoralizing tales promulgated chiefly under the auspices of the Rev. Doctor Brownlee, Pastor of, I think, the Middle Dutch Church in New York, by the woman whom he and Mr. Hoyt had under their protection! You, I presume, do not confide in the virtue of the lady nor in the truth of her fable. Yet, Sir, perhaps a century hence, some future Brownlee, or some Breckenridge that shall be hereafter, will proclaim the corruption of the "Romish Church" of this day in Canada, and support his allegation, by the unretracted commendation of her book by the men who occupy the most respectable pulpits of our largest city!

It is, Sir, unfortunately true, that at all times and in all nations, the enemy has sown tares amongst the good seed of the Lord, and bad men have been found in the Sanctuary, as Judas was in the College of the Apostles, and the companion of the Saviour. This was more especially the case, when the alliance existed more closely between the Church and the State, and particularly when a super-abundance of worldly wealth and of worldly patronage was in the gift of the Church

when her Bishops were detracted from their avocations and excused from the performance of their duty by the interference of a court. But in the very worst days, the evils arising from this source did not equal those which were at once poured in upon a large portion of Christendom, by the men, who under the pretext of reforming morality, destroyed the stability and the purity of Faith, and sent the human mind adrift upon the billows of uncertainty, to be not only agitated by their fluctuation, but also carried about by every wind of doctrine, the tattered and destitute sport of every impulse of fanaticism, or gale of popular caprice.

Thus, Sir, the Church, whilst she preserved her faith, reformed her discipline,—whilst they who assailed her for pretended errors, acknowledged that they did no service to morals, that the principles of discipline were totally given up, and they cast away the ancient teaching, derived from the Apostles, without being able to agree upon what they would substitute in its stead. If it be a cause of gratulation to you, that your church led the way in these proceedings, I Sir, for one, do not admire your taste nor desire to partake of your exultation.

The question of our and your intolerance, demands more space than I am warned is now at my disposal, and I shall therefore defer its examination to my next.

I remain Rev. Sir,

Yours, B. C.

LETTER XVI.

CHARLESTON, S. C., July 27, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—You state in your 48th paragraph, that it was the Evangelical Lutheran Church "that made the first successful opposition to the corruptions and intolerance of that of Rome," and subsequently you say that it was Luther and his fellow-laborers who devoted the labors of their gigantic minds, and the fervent piety of their devoted hearts, to the end of their lives, to this work." "But they lived long enough to witness the dawn of brighter days—to behold deep rooted in the hearts of men those principles which, in process of time, would give religious toleration to the human race." In your 52d paragraph, you ask, "Do we differ least from them (Roman Catholics) in the intolerant and persecuting spirit of that Church?" And where, we ask, has the Lutheran Church ever betrayed a spirit of intolerance?

You proceed, Sir, in the remaining portion of that paragraph, and

in the entire of your 53d, in the following language, to sustain the position you have thus assumed:

"When the dangerous fanatics of Munster created disturbances in Thuringia, Moravia and Switzerland, Luther, although he opposed their sentiments, labored to stay the arm of persecution. 'It is not right,' said he, 'to persecute, to murder, to burn and destroy, such poor people, on account of their religious tenets. We should let every one believe what he thinks right!' And to the Council of Nuremburg he wrote, 'I am always opposed to the shedding of blood for the sake of religion, and I shall never give my vote to persecute those whom we suppose to be false teachers.'"

53. "After passing through the most memorable struggle that ever signalized any age, save that at the first introduction of the Christian faith by the Son of God, and after having endured with fortitude the persecutions of bigotry and power, our Church at last became triumphant, and her doctrines were established as the national religion of Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden. Mark the temper she exhibited in the day of triumph. She commenced no retaliation against her persecutors. She encouraged no bitter spirit of revenge. Her former opponents of the Romish Church were allowed to dwell unmolested in the land, there, to this day, their temples and monasteries remain, as the monuments of the toleration of our Church."

I am really at a loss to know what you mean by the "principles which would give religious toleration to the human race," for I presume you have read history, and the works of your fathers of the Reformation, and unless we have very different notions of those principles, I cannot conceive upon what your assertions are based.

I shall not here enter upon a defence of the Roman Catholic Church, but I shall glance at some difficulties which prevent my admitting the truth of your description. You are aware, Sir, that in 1517, the Turkish forces were threatening the ruin of Germany and the subversion of Christianity. One of Luther's propositions on this occasion was, "That it is man's duty not only to will all that God requires of us to will, but moreover to will absolutely all that God himself wills;"—and from this principle he concluded "that since God willed that the Turk should invade Germany, to resist him would be to resist the will of God." This is indeed a principle of one-sided toleration—toleration for the unresisted enemy of Christianity, to plunder and to enslave the Christian.

I will assume that you do not approve of a principle which establishes, that it would be intolerance for a Christian who is convinced of the divine truth of his religion to oppose the forcible introduction of the Mohammedan error, and to protect himself, his family and his country, in the peaceable enjoyment of that religion which he was assured was that of our blessed Saviour, and in the preservation of that property which his ancestors had left him, and which his own industry had increased, and a portion of which had been devoted by them and by him to sustain their religion and its services and ministers. Thus, Sir, I

hope we are agreed upon this principle; that for men to protect their ancient and peaceably held rights and possessions, even by force of arms, against self-sufficient arrogant aggressors, who think proper to charge them with religious error, is not intolerance; neither is such aggression and robbery an evidence of toleration. Yet, you see Luther's proposition would contradict what I presume is your opinion, and what certainly is mine upon this subject.

The words intolerance and toleration have no definite meaning. The magistrate is bound to be intolerant of murder, of rapine, of riot, of injustice: and it would be a poor praise to give a teacher of science, to proclaim that he was so liberal as to tolerate his disciples in asserting that what he knew to be false was evident truth. It would be a very curious sort of liberality for the Apostle St. Peter to say, "I am a witness of the resurrection of Christ, but I shall embrace in Christian brotherhood, the men who proclaim that I testified a falsehood, and that the Redeemer never arose." The declaration of the Apostle was, (*Acts* iv, 20), "For we cannot but speak the things that we have seen and heard." And you put a similar expression into the mouth of Luther in paragraph 55. "And who would charge the Lutheran Church, of all others, with advocating the system of papacy? The persecutions, the trials and sufferings of her Reformers (when and where?) and the labors of their mighty minds will be handed down by history, to the end of time: nor will her struggles in the cause of truth be for ever forgotten, so long as the heroic language of Luther shall be remembered, who, when summoned before the Diet of Worms, and commanded to retract his opinions, fearlessly refused in the spirit of a willing martyr,"—(a martyr does ont suffer for opinions in which men may err, but for revealed facts, concerning which there can be no uncertainty or doubt,) "declared in the face of the assembled multitude, that were thirsting for his blood, 'Here I stand, I connot do otherwise: God help me.'" Thus you adopt the very principle which establishes, that man is bound to sustain religious truth, even with the loss of life, and you call Luther a hero, with a martyr's spirit, for holding to the same principle. Thus neither he nor you can style it intolerance. Now suppose I grant you, what I do not believe, that Luther and his associates were convinced of the truth of their system. I trust you will allow me, that the Catholics were convinced of the truth of their's. They had received it from their progenitors, they freely professed and practised, they were in possession. The Churches were their's, the property was their's, they were warranted in holding and in defending them against the agressions of a newly risen and scarcely organized minority, whom they looked upon to

be equally innovators for error and aggressors upon their rights. It is natural in such a state of things for the weaker party to cry out against the use of those means, by which they must be overcome. The weaker party in such contests is always the advocate of what you call toleration! Let us see now how far the Lutherans were tolerant.

In his defence of the Articles condemned by the Pope's Bull in 1520, Luther proclaims, "If the Pope be not brought to an account, Christendom is ruined; let him who can flee to the mountains, go thither; or, let this Roman homicide be slain." "Forbear to make war upon the Turk, until the name of the Pope be taken from beneath the heavens." "I have said it." This was but a poor toleration for the head of the Catholic Church! About twenty years afterwards, when Luther found that the Roman homicide had not yet been slain, he published in 1540 the following exhibition of his tolerant spirit. "The Pope is a wolf, possessed by an evil spirit; from every village and every hamlet men should assemble against him; neither the sentence of a judge nor the authority of a council must be waited for; nor is it any matter if kings and Cæsars should make war on his behalf. He that rises in arms under a thief does it at his own risk. Neither kings nor Cæsars are exculpated by saying that they are only defending the Church against aggression: for they ought to know what is the true Church." (*Prop.* 59, and so forth, t. i, f. 497). I am quite aware that this cannot be reconciled with his declaration, that he "would never give his vote to persecute those whom we suppose to be false teachers." But it is only one of his multitude of contradictions! Sometimes, it is true, he moderated his expressions, as we read in tom. ii, f. 123, that when he burned the book of the Decretals, he said, in a very eloquent address, that it would have been better if it was the Pope himself who was burning in place of the book, "that is," he adds, "the papal chair." He also declared more than once, that the two Anti-christs would fall together. The Turk was tottering to ruin, and Hungary was to be the grave of his power. He was equally unfortunate in the prophecy which he had made from St. Paul and from Daniel, of the period when the Papacy should be no more. In glowing eloquence, as if really filled with supernal inspiration, he led to the expectation of this result within less than two years from the day on which he wrote. Alas, for the glory of his miraculous foreknowledge! Three centuries have passed away since the termination of those two years, and the Papacy has continued to exist, notwithstanding the host of Protestant prophets who have fixed upon ten thousand intervening periods in those passing lustra, in each one of which the man of sin was to have been destroyed,

popery was to perish, the mariners compass was to be encircled with a halo of new glory, the printing press was to shed heavenly radiance upon the orb which we perambulate, and the millenium was to commence! But away with the rhapsody! The mighty Father and Prophet was at this period to allow no arms to be used, no violence was to be committed. "Martin Luther, by the grace of God, Ecclesiastes of Wittenberg." (*Ep. ad falso nom. ordin. Epis.* t. ii), was not then to approach towards the seven hilled city of the beast, "followed by 5,000 horse and 20,000 foot," (*advers. execrab. Bul. Antichrist.*) all was to be done by the prayers of Luther, of which I shall give a description in his own words. (*Ep. ad. Geor. Sax.* t. ii). "My prayer will not be like the thunder of Salmoneus, it will be no empty rumbling in the air. Luther's voice is not to be so easily stopped, and your Highness will find it to your cost. My prayer is an impregnable bulwark, more powerful that the Devil himself. Had it not been so, long since, no one would even have spoken of Luther; and men will not stand astonished at this miracle." Melancthon, amongst others, looked upon him at this period to be a prophet, and wrote to Erasmus, who undervalued the supposed gift, "We ought to prove prophecies but not to despise them."

And, Sir, it was after the discovery that his rumblings did indeed resemble those of Salmoneus, that he descended from his chariot and endeavored to collect his dogs of war for the death-chase of the Roman wolf.

It is quite true that Luther wrote those passages which you quote in your 52d paragraph—but it is equally true that he wrote another letter, as Sleidan informs us, urging the princes at the head of their troops, "to extirpate without pity those miserable wretches who would not follow his advice, and to spare only those who would voluntarily lay down their arms." And it is also true, as Sleidan elsewhere informs us, that he wrote a treatise expressly to prove "that no mercy ought to be showed to rebels (the dangerous fanatics as he called the Anabaptists) and that forgiveness was not to be extended to those whom the multitude had drawn even by force into any seditious action." Need I describe the desolation which followed? Mosheim gives it in a few words, after having touched as lightly as possible upon those parts which he would not wish to have fully developed, (Cent. xvi, sect. iii, part ii, ?21), "It is well known that the better part of the motley tribe, terrified by the unhappy and deserved fate of their unworthy associates, whom they saw extirpated and massacred with the most unrelenting severity, saved themselves from the ruin of their sect, and at length embraced the communion of those who are called Mennonites."

"The zeal, vigilance and resolution of Luther, happily prevented the divisions which the odious disciples of Munzer attempted to excite in the Church he had founded, and preserved the giddy and credulous multitude (where is the right of private judgment?) from their seductions. And it may be safely affirmed, that had it not been for the vigor and fortitude of this active and undaunted Reformer, the Lutheran Church would in its infancy have fallen a miserable prey to the enthusiastic fury of these detestable fanatics."

In another place, (Cent. xvi, sec. i, ?22), Mosheim lets in more light upon the subject; where he endeavors to defend his and your hero from the charge of having first urged these unfortunate fanatics to insurrection, by inspiring them with strange notions of Christian liberty; and then urging their extirpation because they would not confine their notions of that Christian liberty within the boundaries which he thought fit to prescribe: when upon his own principles, the true principles of Protestantism, each individual amongst them had an equal right, as Luther had, to interpret the word of God for himself and to prescribe the rule for his own conduct.

"The sentiments, however, of this seditious and dissolute multitude were greatly divided, and their demands were very different. One part of them pleaded for an exemption from all laws, a licentious immunity from every sort of government; another, less outrageous and extravagant, confined their demands to the diminution of the taxes they were forced to pay, and of the burthens under which they groaned; another insisted upon a new form of religious doctrine, government and worship, upon the establishment of a pure and unspotted Church, and to add weight to this demand, pretended that it was suggested by the Holy Ghost, with which they were divinely and miraculously inspired; while a very considerable part of this furious rabble were without any distinct view or any fixed purpose at all, but, infected with the contagious spirit of sedition, and exasperated by the severity of their magistrates and rulers, went on headlong without reflection or foresight, into every act of violence and cruelty which rebellion and enthusiasm could suggest. So that, if it cannot be denied that many of these rioters had perversely misunderstood the doctrine of Luther concerning Christian liberty, and took occasion from thence of committing the disorders that rendered them so justly odious, yet, on the other hand, it would be a most absurd instance of partiality and injustice to charge that doctrine with the blame of those extravagant outrages that arose only from the manifest abuse of it. Luther himself has indeed sufficiently defended both his principles and his cause against any such imputations by the books he wrote against this turbulent sect, and the advice he addressed to the princes of the empire to take arms against them. And, accordingly, in the year 1525, this odious faction was defeated and destroyed, in a pitched battle fought at Mulhausen; and Munzer, their ringleader, taken and put to death."

You will find another evidence of Luther's toleration in his treatment of Zuinglius, in 1525. Writing of his fellow Reformer, he says, "How is it possible to be silent, whilst these men disturb our Churches

and impugn our authority? If they are unwilling to suffer their own to be weakened, the same reason should prevent their weakening ours. . . . There is no medium, either I or they must be ministers of Satan."

As soon as the Lutherans had grown strong, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, who was at the head of the Protestant confederation, raised troops under pretext which he himself subsequently declared was without foundation, and which Melancthon and others of the party also state to have been evidently groundless, viz. That George, Duke of Saxony, and other Catholic princes, intended to exterminate the Lutherans. The principal object was, however, attained, with Luther's full approbation, the payment of large sums of money by the ecclesiastical princes to the Protestants, by way of indemnifying them for their expenses in raising troops. Luther added, on this occasion, that besides his prayers, he would give notice to the princes to exterminate such as George, this greatest of all Saxon fools.

When, in 1530, the confederacy of Smalcald was formed, Luther formally abandoned his position that the Church was not to use arms. Sleidan informs us of a publication by him, in which, after declaring that he had hitherto thought men should not resist the lawful powers, he stated, that when he adopted this maxim, he was not sufficiently acquainted with the legal principles, and that it was unquestionably that the political laws and the Gospel were in full accord, he therefore referred the decision to lawyers—and believed that in bad times, such as the present, not only would the civil law, but conscience also, require of men who held the true faith, to band themselves together and take up arms against all opponents, whether Kings or Emperors. Menancthon bewailed this change of Luther's sentiments—though gradually he fell into accord with the maxim, as may be seen in his letter to Camerarius.

Mosheim then informs us, (Cent. xvi, sec. i, 36), "that the Lutherans formed a solemn alliance and confederacy, with the intention of defending vigorously their religion and liberties against the dangers and encroachments with which they were threatened by the edict of Augsburg, without attempting, however, any thing properly speaking, against the votaries of Rome." Here, then, is a very small minority of the princes and people of Germany, entering into an armed league, because they desired to change their religion. As yet, no one assails them, but they seek unconstitutionally foreign alliances.

"Into this confederacy they invited the Kings of England, France and Denmark, with several other Republics and States, and left no means unemployed that might corroborate and cement this important alliance."

Thus, the first league of Protestants is entered into to invite foreign armed potentates to their aid.

Yes, "but they were not to attempt any thing, properly speaking, offensive to the votaries of Rome." Let us see what they did, not what they said. Luther gave his full sanction and encouragement to this league—save that as Maclaine remarks in his note (h) "Luther, who at first seemed adverse to this confederacy, from an apprehension of the calamaties and troubles it may produce, perceiving at length its necessity, consented to it, but uncharitably, as well as imprudently, refused comprehending in it the followers of Zuinglius among the Swiss, together with the German States or cities which had adopted the sentiments and confession of Bucer." This, Sir, is another specimen of his toleration! The good Reformers of Zurich, as Hospinian informs us, whilst they acknowledged him to be an excellent servant of God, observed upon him his intolerant spirit, and said, that their mildness in his regard, only served to make him "more inhuman and more insolent." His toleration to his fellow Reformers is also manifested in his letters forbidding the bookseller to send him any thing from those of Zurich, "for they were damned men who dragged others into Hell, and the Churches could no longer communicate with them nor consent to their blasphemies." In 1544, in his little Confession of Faith, he calls them "madmen, blasphemers, miserable wretches, damned souls, for whom it was not lawful to pray."

Looking, then, to the principles of Luther and his associates, as made manifest by their acts, they were not certainly those which in process of time would give religious toleration to the human race.

I shall now proceed to examine your questions. "Do we differ least from them (Catholics) in the intolerant and persecuting spirit of that Church? And where, we ask, has the Lutheran Church ever betrayed a spirit of intolerance?"

The author of the Appendix I to Mosheim's *History of Lutheranism in the* 16*th Century*, did not make so bold a challenge; he endeavored to palliate what he could not deny. Whilst he endeavors to save the character of the leaders, he flings the obloquy of the misdeeds upon their followers.

"The sovereigns, the ecclesiastics, the men of weight, piety and learning, who arose to assert the right of human nature, the cause of genuine Christianity, and the exercise of religious liberty, came forth into the field of controversy with a multitude of dependents, admirers and friends, whose motives and conduct cannot be entirely justified. Besides, when the eyes of whole nations were opened upon the iniquitious absurdities of popery, and upon the tyranny and insolence of the Roman pontiffs, it was scarcely possible to set bounds to the indignation of an

incensed and tumultuous multitude, who are naturally prone to extremes, generally pass from blind submission to lawless ferocity, and too rarely distinguish between the use and the abuse of their undoubted rights."

Would the author of this pretty paragraph say that the following address was that naturally calculated to restrain this incensed and tumultuous multitude? "The Pope is a wolf, possessed by an evil spirit; from every village and every hamlet you must assemble against him." "Let this Roman homicide be slain!" These are the expressions of Luther.

I have before adverted to the arming and rapine, of sovereigns, men of weight, and so forth, under what Melancthon and other leading Protestants acknowledged to have been false pretexts. In 1532, a treaty was made between the Emperor and the Princes of the Protestant league, at Nuremberg, in which the latter obtained the free and unmolested exercise of their religious doctrine and discipline, until after the decision of a general council, to whose decrees they affected a disposition to submit. But when this council was to be assembled, the Lutheran or Protestant party assembled in 1537 at Smalcald, protested against the council, even before it met, and drew up the new Confession of Faith, known as the Articles of Smalcald. In 1541, the Emperor sought in the Conference of Worms, subsequently continued at Ratisbon, to conciliate the differences, by the discussion of learned and moderate men. It ended only in agreeing, apparently, to submit to the decision of a Council. At the Diet of Spire, in 1542, the Pope notified that the Council would assemble at Trent, should the Diet consent to allow its sessions in that city, as other cities which he proposed, had been objected to. The majority of the Diet assented, but the Lutherans objected. In 1545, at the Diet of Worms, the Emperor still endeavored to prevail upon the Lutherans to have their disputes terminated by the Council, and to have peace restored to Christendom. They had no intention whatever of submitting, and had now, as they supposed, made their party sufficiently strong to act in the field. And up to this period not a single act of hostility had been committed against them, though the Catholics had suffered severe losses, and in many places endured much from violence.

Mosheim insinuates that the Protestants, in their measures of aggression, only acted in self-defence. The words of his translator are—"Upon which the Emperor, who had hitherto disapproved of the violent measures that were incessantly suggested by the court of Rome." There is not one particle of evidence for the assertion, that Rome ever had made any such suggestion, but there is not only abundant proof, but full acknowledgement, that there was no violence used up to this moment

against the Lutherans. "Departed from his usual prudence and moderation, and listening to the sanguine counsels of Paul, formed in conjunction with that subtle pontiff, the design of terminating the debates about religion by the force of arms." There is not one particle of ground for this assertion, but the fact is evident that the only plan they were united in carrying into effect was the assembling of that Council for which the Lutherans cried out until it was about to assemble, but against which they protested when they perceived it would meet.

"The Landgrave of Hesse, and the elector of Saxony, who were the chief protectors of the Protestant cause, were no sooner informed of this, than they took proper measures to prevent their being surprised and overwhelmed by a superior force, and accordingly raised an army for their defence." There was no menace made, there was no Catholic army raised. How could they be surprised?—Against whom were they to defend themselves? This was fully fifteen years after Luther had sanctioned the league, and published his pamphlet, justifying their taking arms. Yet Mosheim tells us, "while this terrible storm was rising, Luther, whose aversion to all methods of violence and force, in matters of religion, was well known, and who recommended prayer and patience as the only arms worthy of those who had the cause of genuine Christianity at heart, was removed by Providence from this scene of tumult and the approaching calamities that threatened his country."

So far, then, we perceive that to the close of the year 1545, the Lutherans suffered no persecution, though in 1530, with the approbation of Luther, they had entered into a formidable league, to unite in which they had invited several foreign states and princes. They had appealed to a Council, and when the Council was called, it was not, they said, such as they appealed to, and they protested against it.

They saw it upon the eve of meeting, and then raised an army under the pretext of defending themselves against an alleged alliance for their destruction: just such a plea as they had used a dozen years previously, for the purpose of booty. Luther dies, but the Lutheran confederation survives.

I follow Mosheim still, in order to give you the benefit of your own historian. In his chap. iv of the same, sec. i of the xvi century, he opens by assuming the truth of what he had before gratuitously asserted, a league between the Pope and the Emperor for the destruction of the Protestants. The Protestants have an army raised, and yet, strange to say! the Catholics have not as yet armed a soldier. The Council of Trent is in session, and its opponents are left unmolested. Nay, at the Diet of Ratisbon this year, Mosheim himself states, there was a confer-

ence between some eminent doctors of both parties, with a view to the accommodation of their religious differences: but it appeared sufficiently, both from the nature of this dispute, the manner in which it was carried on and its issue and result, that the matters in debate would be sooner or later decided in the field of battle." The Protestant army was already prepared for action—we may easily perceive why this conclusion was drawn.

The Protestant princes rejected the proceedings of the Council at the Diet. Mosheim says no more save that they were upon that account proscribed by the Emperor. It would have been more correct to state that they were required to disband their army, which had been illegally raised and organized—and upon their refusal, "the Emperor raised an army to reduce them to obedience."

The army of the confederated Lutherans was numerous and well organized; it was raised, not to oppose any tyranny or persecution which existed, or of which there was any reasonable prospect. They had, during a number of years, enjoyed full religious liberty. The army was raised, we are told, for protection and defence. Yet Mosheim himself informs us that they were the aggressors. "The elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse led their forces into Bavaria against the Emperor," contrary to their duty and their oath, "and cannonaded his camp, at Ingolstadt, with great spirit." Mosheim says that if both armies had been then brought to a pitched battle, the Lutherans would have been victorious. He gives many reasons why they were not so, and amongst others, "the failure of France in furnishing the subsidy that had been promised by its monarch." Upon this statement I rely to show that the Lutherans had suffered no persecution or oppression from the Catholics of Germany, when they appeared in arms, leagued with foreign allies, to dispossess by violence the Catholics of their rights, civil, political and religious, and to introduce a new form of religion, I care not whether it was true or false, against the will of those who peaceably followed what they had learned from their fathers, and what they were convinced had been revealed by their Redeemer; and thus they placed themselves in the position of persecuting aggressors. This is the first part of my answer to your questions, "Do we differ least from them in the intolerant and persecuting spirit of that Church? And where, we ask, has the Lutheran Church ever betrayed a spirit of intolerance?"

I might, if I would, here close my statement and charge upon the Lutherans all the cruel consequences of this effort to subdue by arms those whom they could not gain by persecution.

I remain, Rev. Sir, yours, B. C.

LETTER XVII.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Aug. 2, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—In my last I quoted Dr. Mosheim to sustain my allegations, that the Lutherans were not more tolerant than the Catholics; that Luther exhorted the suppression of the Anabaptists by arms; that the first to take up arms and to sustain themselves by the sword in Germany, at the period which you call that of the Reformation, were the Lutherans; that they suffered no persecution; but that they illegally and unconstitutionally formed alliances with the foreign enemies of their liege lords, and that they, by force, stripped the Catholics of their church-property. I shall now bring a few passages from Dr. Robertson's *History of Charles V*, to sustain the same propositions.—And should it be necessary, I can produce from other authors, of high standing, many additional proofs.

You are aware, Sir, that in this case, Robertson as well as Mosheim, is a very unwilling witness.

"Meanwhile the German princes were highly offended at the insult offered to their dignity by Boccold's presumptuous usurpation of royal honors; and the profligate manners of his followers, which were a reproach to the Christian name, filled men of all professions with horror. Luther, who had testified against this fanatical spirit on its first appearance, now deeply lamented its progress, and exposed the delusion with great strength of argument, as well as acrimony of style, called loudly upon all the States of Germany to put a stop to a phrenzy no less pernicious to society than fatal to religion." . . . "The king, loaded with chains, was carried from city to city as a spectacle to gratify the curiosity of the people, and was exposed to all their insults. His spirit, however, was not broken or humbled by this sad reverse of his condition; and he adhered with unshaken firmness to the distinguishing tenets of his sect. After this, he was brought back to Munster, the scene of his royalty and crimes, and put to death, with the most exquisite as well as lingering tortures."—(*Hist. Charles V*, book v, 1534.)

The following passage from the same book, and almost the succeeding paragraph, shows the means which the Lutheran party possessed at this period, not only to protect themselves against persecution should it be attempted,—but also exhibits to us that it had a power which was not neglected, of protecting every unprincipled tyrant who adopted the party, and whose crimes the historian excuses, because of his Protestantism.

"The alliance between the French king and the confederates at Smalcald began about this time to produce great effects. Ulric duke of Wurtemburg, having been expelled his dominions in the year 1519, on account of his violent and oppressive administration, the house of Austria had got possession of his duchy. That prince, having now by a long exile, atoned for the errors of his conduct, which were the

effect rather of inexperience than of a tyrannical disposition, was become the object of general compassion."

What a change would be rung upon all the chimes of declamation against the spirit of Popery, should it grant such indulgence to tyrants? Yet it is but toleration and liberality and kindness of heart and charity, to excuse this indiscreet youth Ulric!

"The Landgrave of Hesse in particular, his near relation, warmly espoused his interest, and used many efforts to recover for him his ancient inheritance. But the King of the Romans obstinately refused to relinquish a valuable acquisition, which his family had made with so much ease. The landgrave unable to compel him, applied to the King of France, his new ally."

The Duchy had been legally forfeited for oppression and tyranny, by the supreme law which Catholics had made, to curb oppressions and to punish tyrants. Every member of the Roman or German Empire was sworn to observe these laws. Yet, despite of that oath, here is the leader of the Lutheran confederacy, applying to a foreign country for aid, to violate equally his oath, the constitution of his country, and the principles of justice and benevolence.

"Francis, eager to embrace any opportunity of distressing the house of Austria, and desirous of wresting from it a territory which gave it a footing and influence in a part of Germany, at a distance from its other dominions, encouraged the Landgrave to take arms, and secretly supplied him with a large sum of money. This he employed to raise troops: and marching with great expedition towards Wurtemberg, attacked, defeated and dispersed a considerable body of Austrians, entrusted with the defence of the country."

Thus by means of foreign aid, given to a body of the conspirators at home, the laws of the land are violated, and the troops of the lawful lord are assailed and defeated. But the historian does not stop here. He records a really miraculous event. The people, who sixteen years previously, had groaned under the tyranny and oppression of a profligate, whom they united to expel, are now so deeply enamored of him as to rush with emulation to welcome him to the repetition of that tyranny!

"All the Duke's subjects hastened with emulation, to receive their native Prince, and reinvested him with that authority which is still enjoyed by his descendants. At the same time the exercise of the Protestant religion was established in his dominions."

Thus they loved him so well, that they not only were emulous who should be the first to welcome the reformed tyrant; but they became heart and soul most conscientious Lutherans, to gratify him more highly. It is however rather unfortunate that other equally credible historians state that Ulric was forced upon them at the point of the sword, and against their will, and that Ulric compelled them to adopt the changes in religion, dictated by the leaders of that host which forced him upon

the ducal chair. But why, it may be asked, were they not aided by the Catholics? Doctor Robertson himself answers it in the next paragraph.

"Ferdinand, how sensible soever of this unexpected blow, not daring to attack a Prince, whom all the Protestant powers in Germany were ready to support, judged it expedient to conclude a treaty with him, by which, in the most ample form, he recognized his title to the duchy. The success of the landgrave's operations in behalf of the Duke of Wurtemburg, having convinced Ferdinand, that a rupture with a league so formidable as that of Smalcald, was to be avoided with the utmost care, he entered likewise into a negotiation with the Elector of Saxony the head of that union, and by some concessions in favor of the Protestant religion, and others of advantage to the Emperor himself, he prevailed on him together with his confederates to acknowledge him King of the Romans."

Thus from their attitude, their force, their confederacy and their alliance with foreign enemies, the Lutherans not only suffered no persecution, but held a formidable position in the year 1535, and they renewed their league for ten more years. In his Book vi, treating of the concerns of this same year, 1536, Doctor Robertson gives farther evidence that the Lutherans had suffered no violence, nor even much molestation. I would say not any molestation in Germany. And also, that however they might have been aided by a Catholic Prince, still they would not return the favor by any service to him, should he express his attachment to his own religion. Thus because Francis had permitted the execution of six Protestants in Paris, not for the profession or practice of their own religion, but for grossly insulting the religion of the State and the royal family, men whom Robertson himself declares to have been influenced by "indiscreet zeal"—and whose public acts he styles "indecent,"—they refused to aid him who had aided them by virtue of a common treaty.

"The princes of the league of Smalcald, filled with resentment and indignation at the cruelty with which their brethren were treated, could not conceive Francis to be sincere, when he offered to protect in Germany, those very tenets which he persecuted with such rigor in his own dominions, so that all Bellay's art and eloquence in vindicating his master, or apologizing for his conduct, made little impression upon them. They considered likewise, that the Emperor, who hitherto had never employed violence against the doctrines of the Reformation, nor even given them much molestation in their progress, was now bound by the agreement of Ratisbon, not to disturb such as had embraced the new opinions; and the Protestants wisely regarded this as a more certain and immediate security, than the precarious and distant hopes with which Francis endeavored to allure them. . . . . the Protestant princes refused to assist the French king in any hostile attempt against the Emperor."

In the same book treating of the year 1541, we are informed that when on the 28th of July, the Diet of Ratisbon, by a recess as displeasing to Rome as it was inconsistent with Catholic principles, gave some

semblance of requiring the Protestants to submit to the decision of a general council, for which they had themselves been loud in their demands, these latter were sufficiently powerful to compel the Emperor to yield to their dictation: so that "he granted them a private declaration, in the most ample terms, exempting them from whatever they thought oppressive or injurious in the recess, and ascertaining to them the full possession of all the privileges which they had ever enjoyed." Thus we have no persecution or suffering to the year 1542.

The city of Goslar having entered into the league of Smalcald, illegally and violently plundered Catholic Churches. Henry, Duke of Brunswick, was directed by a decree of the Imperial Chamber, to cause the city to make restitution. Thus the plunderers were legally brought within the reach of justice, not of persecution; they being themselves the persecutors and the aggressors. The Protestants however, would not permit the sentence to be executed. They, not only as Robertson informs us, book vii, in 1543, took every occasion of pouring contempt upon the Holy See; but the Emperor and King of the Romans found it necessary not only to connive at their conduct, but to court their favor by repeated acts of indulgence. At the Diet of Spire, in this year, they not only protested in the most disrespectful terms, against assembling the council at Trent, but they had their protest inserted on the records of the diet, and procured a suspension of a decree against the city of Goslar, with an injunction to the Duke of Brunswick, to desist from its execution; and under pretext of his having disquieted the people of Goslar, "the elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, that they might not suffer any member of the Smalcaldic body to be oppressed, assembled their forces, declared war, in form, against Henry, and in the space of a few weeks, stripping him entirely of his dominions, drove him as a wretched exile to take refuge in the court of Bavaria. By this act of vengeance, no less severe than sudden, they filled all Germany with dread of their power, and the confederates of Smalcald appeared by this first effort of their arms, to be as prompt as capable to protect those who had joined their association."

Now this is an extraordinary contradiction to your assertion in paragraph 53. "After passing through the most memorable struggle that ever signalized any age, save that at the first introduction of the Christian faith by the Son of God, and after having endured with fortitude the persecutions of bigotry and power, our church at last became triumphant." . . . . "Mark the temper she exhibited in the day of triumph. She commenced no retaliation against her persecutors. She

encouraged no bitter spirit of revenge. Her former opponents were allowed to dwell unmolested in the land."

We shall, however, again listen to Doctor Robertson. "Emboldened by so many concessions in their favor, as well as by the progress which their opinions daily made, the princes of the league of Smalcald took a solemn protest against the imperial chamber, and declined its jurisdiction for the future." This was exactly doing in the State, what they had done in the Church, but with this notorious difference. The constitution of the Church had been established by Jesus Christ and is unchangeable: the constitution of the German Empire was established by men and was liable to change,—but they violated its provisions and their own oaths by this irregular mode of proceeding. "Not long after this, they ventured a step farther, and protesting against the recess of a diet held at Nuremberg, which provided for the defence of Hungary, refused to permit their contingent for the purpose, unless the imperial chamber were reformed, and full security were granted them in every point with regard to religion."

Yet this is a poor persecuted sect!—At least Dr. Bachman tells us of their "having endured with fortitude the persecutions of bigotry and power." He tells us in paragraph 56, "The persecutions, the trials and sufferings of her (the Lutheran Church's) Reformers, and the labors of their mighty minds, will be handed down by history to the end of time: nor will her struggles in the cause of truth be forgotten," and so forth. The struggle made by Luther at the Diet of Worms to which you here refer, was a declaration which he made before those whom you poetically described as thirsting for his blood. Robertson says, (Book ii, an. 1521), "The reception which he met at Worms, was such as he might have reckoned a full reward of all his labors, if vanity and the love of applause had been the principles by which he was influenced; greater crowds assembled to behold him, than had appeared at the Emperor's public entry; his apartments were daily filled with princes and personages of the highest rank, (for this Robertson quotes Luther, *Oper.* 11, 414, and *Seckend* 156), and he was treated with all the respect paid to those who possess the power of directing the understanding and sentiments of other men; an homage more sincere, as well as more flattering, than any which pre-eminence in birth or condition could command." Placed under the protection of the Emperor, he remained and departed in safety; though his opinions were subsequently condemned.—Let us however proceed with the evidence. Treating of the year 1544, Robertson says, "such were the lengths to which the Protestants had proceeded, and such their confidence in their own power, when the Emperor re-

turned from the lower countries, to hold a diet, which he had summoned to meet at Spire. The respect due to the Emperor, as well as the importance of the affairs which were to be laid before it, rendered this assembly extremely full. All the electors, a great number of princes ecclesiastical and secular, with the deputies of most of the cities, were present. Charles soon perceived that this was not a time to offend the jealous spirit of the Protestants, by asserting in any high tone the authority and doctrines of the Church, or by abridging in the smallest article the liberty which they now enjoyed; but that on the contrary . . . . he must soothe them by new concessions and a more ample extension of their privileges. He began accordingly with courting the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, the heads of the Protestant party; and by giving up some things in their favor, and granting liberal promises with regard to others, he secured himself from any danger of opposition on their part." Yet the Protestants, the German Lutherans, "endured with fortitude the persecutions of bigotry and power!" At this diet every decree, regulation, or edict unpalatable to them was recessed or abrogated, the Imperial chamber was modified so as to allow them to be members of this court. In return for which, the Lutherans united with the Catholics, who formed the great majority of the Diet, in the declaration of war against France. Hitherto, it was usual to say that a general council, properly convoked, would be a proper body, qualified authoritatively to settle all differences of religion. The Protestants, now that the council was summoned to meet in Trent, declared it to have been irregularly called, to be a partial assembly, to have no authority: declared they would not accept its decisions. At the Diet of Worms in 1545, two topics were introduced. The Turkish invasion, to oppose which all were called upon to unite; and the religious differences, in respect to which it was expected that all would submit to the authority of the council now soon to assemble. The Catholics acquiesced. The Lutherans refused, and declined considering the question of defence against the Turk, until the religious question was disposed of, without any regard to the expected council: and now the members of the league began their preparations for the field. Henry Duke of Brunswick, a Catholic, under pretence of raising troops for the King of France, made an effort to regain those estates from which he had been driven by the Lutherans, but they armed and vigilant, destroyed his force, took him prisoner, and kept him in close confinement.

To this moment then, the Lutherans had suffered no persecution for religion's sake. And this brings us to the period of Luther's death. The writers who are anxious for the defence of the Lutherans give us a

variety of conjectures and surmises concerning leagues, alliances and plans for their destruction, and all this without a particle of evidence, but from a conviction that their subsequent conduct is altogether indefensible, and that some effort should be made to furnish a pretext, if not ground for their bathing their country in blood. That the Catholics were unmoved by the insolence with which their religion had been treated, their revenue plundered, their dignitaries vilified and themselves and their friends despised and injured, is not to be imagined: neither can it be denied that the Emperor and the Catholic princes found that their efforts to conciliate tended only to provoke new demands, and they began to feel impatient. Robertson tells us, (Book viii, an. 1546), "In the present juncture the sources of discord were many and as various as had been known on any occasion. The Roman Catholics animated with zeal in defence of their religion proportional to the fierceness with which it had been attacked were eager to second any attempt to humble those innovators who had overturned it in many provinces, and endangered it in more. John and Albert of Brandenburg, as well as several other princes, incensed at the haughtiness and rigour with which the Duke of Brunswick had been treated by the confederates of Smalcald were impatient to rescue him, and to be revenged on them." The confederates had been insolent, overbearing, successful, inflated, sustained by promises and alliances abroad and accustomed to dictate to the Emperor and to the majority at home, they, so far from having been persecuted, had been treated with the utmost forbearance; but having gone to the farthest limits, the Emperor and the Catholics saw that it was time to protect themselves and what remained of their property and rights. The Diet of Ratisbon assembled in 1546. Most of the Catholic members attended, the Protestants with scarcely an exception remained at home, under pretext of economy, and only their deputies were present. These deputies objected to the Council of Trent, they affected to be ready to submit to a free council, assembled within the limits of the German empire by authority, not of the Pope, but of the Emperor. The trick was now manifest, and as the Emperor was raising troops, the Protestant deputies demanded for what purpose and against whom they were levied. The Emperor replied that they were intended not to molest on account of religion, any person who should observe the constitution of the empire, but to preserve that constitution from wanton aggression. The Protestant deputies retired. They met at Ulm, their troops were in readiness, the members of the league applied to Venice, to Switzerland, to France and to England for aid, and took the field with an imposing force, 70,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry, a

train of 120 canon, 800 ammunition wagons, 8,000 beasts of burden and 6,000 pioneers, forming altogether an army of about 100,000 effective men, which with proper arms, equipments and supplies, formed a formidable force belonging to the persecuted Lutheran Church! Yet there were Lutheran States that had a feeling quite assured of religious freedom, and were not disposed to domineer over their Catholic fellow subjects or brethren. They were, the Electors of Cologue and of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine, who were neuter, John, Marquis of Brandenburg Bareith, Albert of Brandenburg Anspach, and Maurice of Saxony,—who united with the Emperor. Maurice subsequently became the Emperor's opponent and general of the league. This grand chief of the Catholics, the Emperor, had but a force of 8,000 men, when the ban of the empire was proclaimed and the Lutheran army sent an herald to offer defiance to this pretended Emperor as they now proclaimed him whom they styled Charles of Ghent, but even previous to this formality their troops were active.

Thus, I apprehend, it must be evident to every person who dispassionately considers these facts, that of all other religious bodies that ever existed, the Lutherans in Germany have least cause to complain of persecution from Catholics. We now leave them in the field, the instigators of a civil war, after having been the aggressors upon the religion, the rights and the property of the Catholics; and were it necessary to trace the history farther on, the same exhibition could be continued to the present day.

I shall conclude this letter by producing Robertson's observations respecting toleration. After giving his notice of the treaty of Passau, signed on the 2nd of August, 1552, generally called "the first peace of religion." After nearly six years of carnage and devastation, the following articles were the outline of their agreement: That the Protestants who adhered to the Confession of Augsburg should be allowed the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion; that the Protestants shall not molest the Catholics either in the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or in the performance of religious ceremonies; the Protestants and Catholics shall sit indiscriminately in the Imperial Chamber. Three years later, on the 25th of September, 1555, the articles of the second religious peace were signed at Augsburg, by which each State was to determine the form of doctrine and worship for its subjects, and all who did not conform thereto, were to leave the territory. No Catholic priest was to claim any spiritual jurisdiction in those States that received the Confession of Augsburg. The revenues and church property of Cath-

olics seized before the treaty of Passau were to be retained by the Lutherans.

In your paragraph 52 you ask, "Where has the Lutheran Church ever betrayed a spirit of intolerance?" I answer: in the treaties of Passau and of Augsburg, where she would not admit to their benefit any Protestant who did not receive the Confession of Augsburg. In her condemnation, as heretics, of other Protestants who acted upon her own recognised principle of private judgment. Robertson (Book xi), after saying that the Catholics resting upon the infallibility of their judge, were intolerant, adds, "The Protestants no less confident that their doctrine was well founded, required with equal ardor the princes of their party to check such as presumed to impugn or to oppose it. Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the reformed church in their respective countries, inflicted, as far as they had power and opportunity, the same punishments which were denounced against their own disciples by the Church of Rome upon such as called in question any article of their creeds."

Thus Sir, Doctor Robertson and a mass of historical facts answer your question "Do we differ least from (the Catholics) in the intolerant and persecuting spirit of that church!"

In my next, Sir, we shall go to Prussia, Denmark and Sweden.

I remain, Rev. Sir, yours, B. C.

LETTER XVIII.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Aug. 9, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—When we undertake to examine any remarkable occurrence, it does not suffice to consider merely the transaction itself, without its connexion with others, whose relations thereto may have an important bearing upon its character.

Thus when you tell us in your paragraph 53: "Our (Lutheran) church at last became triumphant, and her doctrines were established as the national religion of Prussia, Denmark and Sweden," it becomes important to ascertain whether it was by mere force of the evidence of its conformity with the Gospel, it won its way, or whether it was by force of principles, unsanctioned by that Gospel. I shall briefly proceed with that examination, and shall commence with Prussia.

Strange as it may seem to some of my readers, I must enter upon that examination before the walls of Acre: in the camp of the crusaders. You may there behold a few poor tents, without any of the gorgeous

drapery which decorated many others: they are constructed with the sails that aided their owners to traverse the ocean to this land of chivalry. Enter them. You behold the wounded, the fevered, the exhausted patients, far from the land of their childhood, laid on couches formed with some care, and sedulously attended by men, who are, as occasion demands, soldiers in the field, or attendants upon the sick. This was in the year 1190. These were the tents of the men of Bremen and of Lubec. Previous to the siege of St. John of Acre, a few of them in Jerusalem, devoted themselves to prefer the comfort of the sick to their own, they extended this spirit through their brethren, and consecrating their lives to Christian charity and to Christian valor, they were distinguished as one of the bravest bands in the field, and the most tender, affectionate and indefatigable servants in the hospital. Upon the request of the principal officers in the camp, Frederick, the duke of Suabia, transmitted to his brother Henry VI, the Emperor of Germany, the recommendation that those men should be formed into a religious order, and have a good rule prescribed for their observance. Upon the Emperor's application, Pope Celestin III approved the Institute, placing it under the rule of St. Augustin, for the purposes of religion; under that of the Hospitallers of St. John, for their constitution and service of the sick, and the poor; and prescribing the rules of the Knights Templars for their military and ecclesiastical direction. The brethren were to wear a white mantle, with a large black cross over the left breast and arm. Forty German nobles were invested with the habit on the first day of installation before the walls of Acre, and they were known as the Hospitallers of our Lady of the Germans. Henry Walpot was their first Grand Master, their property was to be held in common for the benefit of the whole body, and for that of the sick and of the poor, to be disposed of under the direction of the chapter, or legislative body of the order; the executive power was lodged in the grand master, who was sworn to observe, maintain, and execute the statutes—and it was his special duty to preserve for the order its property.

The order, leaving a portion of its force in Syria, placed its principal establishments in Germany. Prussia was not then civilized. It was occupied by barbarous idolaters, who made frequent incursions on their Christian neighbors. Soon after, Christian, a Cistercian monk who had been consecrated bishop was sent to Prussia, which then was the name of a comparatively small district, lying about the gulf of Dantzic, and stretching South, on the East of the Vistula. The barbarians made a devastating irruption on the territories of Conrad, Duke of Poland, as he is sometimes called, but whose dominion was chiefly comprised in the

ancient Mazovia and Cujavia. Neither age nor sex was spared: the best buildings were destroyed; the women and the children were borne away into captivity; Ploczko upon the Vistula, was the last retreat of those who escaped. Two hundred and fifty churches were burned; the priests were in many places massacred at the altars, the monasteries were made the scenes of every crime. An order of knights was created, bound by vow to defend the Christians against the barbarians; they were called the Knights of Jesus Christ, and from the chief place of their residence, the Knights of Obrin. But the Prussians reduced them so far, as to keep them shut up in their fortress, unable even to make a sally.

The Hospitallers of our Lady of Germany had at this period become powerful under the administration of Herman de Salza, their grand master, and were known as the Teutonic Knights. Conrad not only made application to them directly, but he procured the intercession of Pope Gregory IX, of the Emperor Frederic II, and of several German princes, to second his entreaties that they would engage to protect the Christian people, by subduing the Prussians, and taking possession of their territory. They were to be aided in their enterprise by receiving from Conrad immediate possession of the territories of Culm and Lubonia, and large supplies of troops from the German princes. They undertook the enterprise, and having repelled several efforts of the barbarians; in 1230, under the direction of the grand master, they crossed the Vistula, and carried on offensive operations. They in less than seven years, had fully established themselves as the owners of the lands that belonged to the vanquished pagans; but their dominion was not to be undisturbed: in 1240, an insurrection cost three years of exertions, and the effusion of much blood; a more formidable effort in 1260, cost fifteen years of disastrous warfare. The repose was short, when under the grand master Hannon-auf-Sanger-Hausen, there was a struggle of nearly seven years: one more trial of strength took place in 1286, but it was terminated within the year: the final blow was struck in 1295, but the country was now so filled with forts and castles, and the knights had so powerfully established their superiority, so that many of the barbarians had bowed their necks to the Christian yoke, that the contest was at an end. In this manner the Teutonic knights whilst they were made the bulwark of civilization and religion, on the North-eastern frontier of Germany, had acquired a large territory for their order. Their name of *Teutonic Knights,* is equivalent to their original appellation *Die Teusche Herren,* or "the German Order."

It is not my object to enter farther into their history than to state,

that by mutual consent, the Knights of Livonia or "Swordbearers," so called from having on the left breast of their white mantels, two swords *gules*, in the figure of a St. Andrew's cross, were incorporated with the Teutonic order, by the authority of Pope Gregory IX, in 1238. Upon the death of Wolken Shenk, the grand master of the Livonian order, and who had himself, with the consent of his chapter, made the proposition to Herman-de-Salza. Thus the jurisdiction of the order was extended over a considerably larger territory.

Like all other sovereigns of that period, the order was under the necessity of engaging in several wars with various success. In 1453, Thorn, Elbing, Koningsberg, and Dantzic, with some other towns, revolted, and the King of Poland advancing with a powerful army into Prussia, received from those cities their troops, their homage, and their oath of fealty. Harassed by a war of thirteen years, the order concluded a disgraceful peace in 1466, ceding to Poland the province of Pomerania, together with the cities and forts dependent upon it, Marienburg, Elbing, and all the country and the towns of Culm and Obern.

The knights were by no means satisfied, with this treaty, and four successive grand masters endeavored to obtain a retrocession of the territory. In 1498, Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Marquis of Misnia and Landgrave of Thuringia, having been elected grand master, took energetic measures for the restitution, and appealed to the Pope, to the Emperor and to the princes of the Empire, for their mediation. They acquiesced, a day was fixed for a grand assemblage of the ambassadors and deputies at Posnan; the arbitrators decided in favor of the knights, but the King refused to make the restituion. The grand master, Frederick, dying in 1510, and Sigismund I being now King of Poland, the chapter expected that by placing a relative of his at the head of the order, the restitution would be more easily accomplished. His nephew, Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg, was a canon of the chapter of Cologue, and was elected grand master. Following the example of his immediate predecessor, Albert refused to do homage to Sigismund for Pomerania and its adjuncts. This occasioned a war, in which Sigismund had considerable advantages, but upon the petition of his nephew, concluded a truce for four years. During this period, preparations were made in several of the commanderies, by appointing to those governments, men of whose principles there was great suspicion: Germany was in a religious ferment. by reason of the Lutheran disputes and the licentiousness of the boors. A treaty was privately made between the grand master and the King of Poland, in which Albert ceded a large portion of the territory belonging to the order to Sigismund, and stipulated to do homage for the re-

mainder, as a fief of Poland, upon the condition that it should be confirmed to him and to the heirs of his body, (he was bound to celibacy) by the Polish power, and that he should be made Duke of Prussia. Thus violating his obligations to God and to man he betrayed and robbed the order which he was sworn to sustain in all its rights, and in defence of whose property he was bound to expose himself to death.

In 1525, Albert went to Cracow, and there on the 5th of April, he divested himself of his mastership, renounced the Teutonic Order, and did homage for the Dukedom of Prussia, and swore fealty to Sigismund of Poland, who undertook his protection. As by the laws of the Catholic Church, he had rendered himself liable to severe penalties and to restitution to the order, he renounced the church itself. He had already prepared a sufficient number of the commanderies with men ready to aid him; imitating his example, they renounced the order and assumed the title of lay-lords, and thus the Duke and a large party of the Prussian nobility, were prepared for professing the principles of Lutheranism by the practice of perfidy, treason, perjury and plunder! The other commanders and the knights who refused to unite in their misconduct, were ordered to leave the dominions of his new highness, who naturally was attached beyond measure to the glories of the new gospel. In 1526 he married the princess Dorothy of Denmark, and he confirmed to the commanders who joined in his treason, their Lordships to them and to their children in perpetuity. The preachers of the new religion were called in, such of the clergy as continued faithful, were stripped of their income, and driven from their churches, or monasteries, the goods of these latter were confiscated, the Catholics of note were forced to leave their homes and their country; the peasants and the artizans and laborers were accounted as nothing, and as you tell us, "Your church became triumphant, and her doctrines were established as the national religion of Prussia." But if you have studied history, it is very strange that you should add—"Mark the temper which she has exhibited in the day of triumph: she commenced no retaliation against her persecutors." In Prussia, at least, Sir, it would have been exceedingly difficult to have done so, because no one had persecuted her! "She encouraged no bitter spirit of revenge." There was nothing to be revenged. She was introduced by perfidy and power united, and every one who did not submit to her was banished. "Her opponents of the Romish Church"—we thank you, Sir, for your politeness in bestowing nicknames—"were allowed to dwell unmolested in the land." Go, Sir, read the annals of the Teutonic Order; read Prussian history: and your own feelings of honor will dictate your retractation. "There, to this day, their temples

and their monasteries remain as the monuments of the toleration of our church." Yes, Sir, the temples remain in the old duchy of Prussia, that of which we treat, and now, three centuries have elapsed since they have been occupied exclusively for Lutheran worship. Is this your monument of toleration? Why, Sir, it is just such toleration as England practised when she drove the Catholic clergy from the chancels of her churches, put men of a new religion in their places, bestowed upon them a portion of the revenues, bribed some of her powerful expectants and courtiers with the remainder, made laws to punish as guilty of high treason any one of the banished clergy who should return; and still keeps the possession which was thus commenced. And this is a monument of toleration in your opinion! Blessings on your notion of toleration! "There to this day their monasteries remain." Where is the there? In that spot which was Prussia three centuries ago? No, Sir! No monastery has within three centuries been occupied by the religious therein! Again, Sir, I request of you to read the history of the period of which you write. It will preserve you from sad mistakes. You may perhaps occasionally find the religious edifice, as it is found in England, the mansion of some nobleman, or the refuge for the peasant who finds shelter in a ruin; or perhaps it is such a monastery as Massachusetts loves to decorate that place with, where freedom struck her best and bravest blow—the blackened remnant of a smouldering edifice, whence in the bitter hour of night, a rabble of demon bigots drove helpless infants and trembling virgins, affrighted and unprotected and unclad, whilst they danced around the flames that gave light to share the booty which they had torn from the cave of the dead and from the altar of their,—their, did I write?—Yes, even their God. This, Sir is a monument of the toleration of a Protestant State! Yes, Sir, the Governor of that State and its legislature, whilst they affected indignation at the outrage against the majesty of the laws, gave every token of their inward gratification at the ruin that was made, and scouted the petition for redress from their tables! This, Sir, is a specimen of our toleration here!—But though the cruelty and the bigotry of Prussia were equal to those of Massachusetts, she had less hypocrisy, for she had no sickly affectation of being indignant at the perpetration of those crimes which she approved.

I am, however, astonished to find, that if you read history, you should praise Prussian toleration: and I am equally amazed, if you have not read it, that you should write and preach upon a subject which demands accurate historical knowledge. Ranting may be tolerated in others, but people expect information from you. "And where, we ask,

has the Lutheran Church ever betrayed a spirit of intolerance?" I answer you. In Prussia at her introduction, and for nearly two centuries after, and, I may add, even down to this day.

But to follow up a sketch of the affairs in Prussia with any accuracy, we must still keep our eye on the surrounding territories, most of which have become integrant parts of the modern kingdom.

Upon the death of Sigismund, King of Poland, in 1548,—his son, Sigismund II, or Augustus, was his successor, and immediately upon his coming to the crown at the age of 28 years, he privately married Barbara Radziwill who had been his mistress. The Poles were indignant when he demanded for her the honors due to a queen, and a diet was held to deliberate, whether they should not require her being set aside. Though Lutheranism was not openly professed in Poland, still there were several who espoused the opinions of the new sectarian leaders. Among those were found the principal supporters of Barbara's claims, and in return for their devotion to her, though the King did not openly support them, he permitted their children to be sent to Protestant colleges in other States for their education. Though Poland was not without its troubles caused by the efforts to destroy the old religion, yet the Lutherans suffered no persecution. Sigismund had Lithuania incorporated with the kingdom, and seized upon Livonia, usurping the possessions of the Teutonic Order which were immense, and pillaging the Archiepiscopal See of Riga of its income. He died in 1572, and in him concluded the male line of the Jaggellon dynasty. Poland may be considered as continuing Catholic, and Lutheranism unpersecuted and tolerated there.

The house of Hohenzollern became electoral in 1415, by the raising of Frederick VI, Burgrave of Nuremberg, to the dignity of Elector of Brandenburgh, which territory lay to the west of Prussia, on the right bank of the Oder. Joachim II succeeded his father, the first of that name, as Elector of Brandenburgh, in 1532, at the age of 27 years,—and in 1539 he embraced Lutheranism, and procured the Bishop of Brandenburgh and the chief persons of his court to unite with him in the transition, which was by no means unproductive in a pecuniary point of view. He acquired thereby large revenues and domains which formed the mensals of the bishoprics of Brandenburgh, Hawelburg, and of Lebus. He declined joining the league of Smalcald, being quite satisfied with these acquisitions and leaving to others the honor of fighting for religion. He obtained by purchase from the Emperor Ferdinand II, the duchy of Crossen in Silesia, and in 1569, his relative, Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, invested him with the right to succeed the state and title of Albert Frederick, son of the apostate grand master, and sec-

ond duke of Prussia, should he die without issue. The duke was insane; his government was administered by Joachin Frederick, the eighth elector of Brandenburgh, and grand-son to Joachim II. John Sigismund, the son of this Joachin Frederick, married Anne, daughter of Albert, the mad duke of Prussia, and upon this, entered into possession not only of Prussia, but in right of his mother-in-law, Mary of Juliers, the wife of Albert, became master of Juliers, near Aix-la-Chapelle, and of Cleves near Holland, which had strong Calvinistic attachments, and he became a Calvinist. Thus, the duchy of Prussia, which was Lutheran, came into possession of the house of Hohenzollern, now Calvinistic—formerly Lutheran, and which had already a considerable domain. This history of the mode in which Lutheranism was established in Prussia, leads us to two conclusions. First, that its introduction was accompanied by the plunder of Catholic church-property, to the aggrandizement of the patrons of the new religion. Secondly, that Lutheranism had no struggle to make, had endured no persecution.

The Lutheran was then the established religion of the electorate of Brandenburgh, and the duchy of Prussia; the Catholics had been plundered, banished and were scarcely known: the Calvinists enjoyed a full toleration. But the ravages of the thirty years war made a large portion of this dominion a waste, not so much because the simpleton George William the 10th elector, was engaged therein, but because the hostile armies met and fought upon his territory. However, the great elector Frederick William, repaired much of the ruin, colonizing with Protestants chiefly from France and Switzerland, and at the peace of Westphalia, in 1648, secured extensive domains. He did not persecute Catholics, for he had none worth persecution in his realms.

When his son Frederick succeeded, he exhibited his ambition, and sought to obtain from the Emperor the title of King of Prussia, but in 1695, he could not induce Leopold even to recognise the validity of that of duke, nor in fact that Prussia was a lay dominion. Being however, five years afterwards in need of aid in his war with France, Leopold created as King of Prussia, him whom he had refused to acknowledge as its duke, and thus in 1601, the house of Hohenzollern became royal.

I might here balance our accounts, and for that purpose I ask you: In the first place, have the Lutherans of Prussia been, at any time, in any way, persecuted or oppressed by the Catholics? If they have, pray inform us: Where? When? By Whom? In what manner? And if you are unable to point this out, what is the meaning of your assertion in paragraph 53, "She commenced no retaliation against her persecutors. She encouraged no bitter spirit of revenge."

Frederick William I, son to him, who from elector of Brandenburgh, became King of Prussia, succeeded to his father in 1713. He was a singular original, who with great qualities had great peculiarities. He perhaps was guilty of some persecution of the Lutheran clergy, though himself a Protestant, and having strict notions of religion. He did as much, perhaps more, with his cane than with his pen,—and when he met any clergymen at military reviews, of which he was specially fond himself, he was of opinion that a little persecution would teach them their proper occupation. Instead, therefore, of sending his aids to order them from the field: his majesty vouchsafed to go in person and bestow the parental admonition of his cane, upon their shoulders, with an injunction to go home and study the Bible, or compose sermons. Though it is certain that some godly men suffered this persecution; I have no documents at hand that would enable me to state the number of the afflicted. But it is a consolation to know that this was no persecution inflicted by the "Romish" Church.

The year 1740 saw Frederick the Great, as he is called, ascend the Prussian throne. An infidel of the school of what was mis-called philosophy, he was by law the chief manager of the Lutheran Church in his dominions. His notions of religion were unsettled, but he was a close observer of its effects. He made conquest of Silesia, in which there were Catholics, he added New Prussia to his dominions in the dismemberment of Poland, in 1772, and thereby incorporated some millions of Catholics with his people. He recognised their religious rights—and if he had any preference, perhaps it was for the evidences of the Catholic religion. A saying of his upon the subject of the respective ceremonials is recorded, which perhaps is not new to you. Having been present at the Cathedral of Breslaw, at a high-mass, celebrated by Cardinal Zinzendorf, he said to the Cardinal after mass—"The Calvinists treat the Almighty God as their servant; the Lutherans treat him as their equal; but the Catholics serve him as their God." Frederick, though not a persecutor, still had no objection to plunder the Church occasionally. In the partition of Poland he contrived to get for himself a large portion of the revenues of the Bishop of Warmia. The prelate loved his majesty, and having come to Potsdam, in 1770, to pay his respects, the King remarked to him—"It is impossible you could love me." The bishop replied that he could not forget his sovereign. "For my part," said his majesty, "I am sincerely your friend, and I calculate a good deal upon your affection. If St. Peter should one day refuse me admittance to Paradise, I hope you will have the goodness to cover me with your cloak, and smuggle me in without being noticed." "That would

be exceedingly difficult," said the bishop, "for your majesty has clipped it in such a manner, that at present I could not cover any thing contraband."

After the death of Frederick in 1786, the events of the French revolution left the monarchs of Europe little time for doing the work of bigotry. The spirit of the age was that of the fanaticism of infidelity and of the mysticism of the new school of Masonic adepts, and of the illuminated. Frederick William II left the religious state of his kingdom in 1797, nearly as he found it upon his accession eleven years before. But his successor, the third of that name, is now equally bigoted, as he is tyrannical, and has proved himself equally perfidious to engagements as he is despotic in his dominion.

He has given his attention to the manufacturing of a new religion, which is neither Lutheran nor Calvinistic, but a compound sublimation of both, under the title of Evangelical, he has framed a liturgy, which must be adopted, he has enacted a code of discipline which they must follow; he is the head of the Church in his dominions and he must be obeyed. The parents are not allowed to educate their children in the religion of their choice. The will of the monarch is the law, the law determines the religion in which the child must be educated, and the law must be obeyed! His Protestant subjects are discontented, but his army is stronger than his people, his fortresses are armed and his dungeons are prepared.

He allied himself with Napoleon against Russia when the star of that extraordinary man appeared in its culmination. He was the first to assail and to worry the unfortunate emperor when the flower of his army was buried in the snow. He dared to mingle with the triumphant allies in their hey-day of victory, and to boast of the manner in which he harassed and slew those who relied upon the pledge of his friendship. He claimed his share of the plunder, and when he was told that the portion which was to be assigned to him was Catholic, and must be protected, he made in the presence of the confederated monarchs of Europe, the solemn guarantee of their religious freedom to the Rhenish provinces, unshackeled, and unrestricted. He made a treaty with the Pope, by which he obtained important and valuable concessions, for the favor which he promised and the protection which he was to afford.

To the allies themselves and to the people whom they consigned to his government, he promised a written constitution upon liberal principles, and a form of legislation in which the people should be heard by their own representatives. Twenty years have elapsed, and the despotism of Prussia is unqualified, the notion of a constitution is

scouted, and the prop of the Hanoverian in his insolent tyranny, is the perfidious despot of the house of Hohenzollern, in whose veins flows the blood of the traitorous grand master of the Teutonic knights.

Not content with domination at home, he would extend it abroad; he treated with cold cruelty, the sister whose talents and whose virtues would redeem his name, when he reproved the dowager Grand Duchess of Anhalt-Coethen and her illustrious husband, for following the decisions of their judgments and using the liberty which you proclaim to be their right, in returning to the bosom of that church from which their ancestors had strayed. The prisons of Minden and of Magdeburg, the complaints of the Archbishop of Cologne, of the Archbishop of Posen and Gnesen and of their suffragans, the insulted Catholic nobles who were spurned from the footstool of his throne, the remonstrances of the Holy See for violated faith, for dishonorable chicanery, for dishonest suppression and open violence; the efforts to stifle the complaints of the injured, and to cut off the Catholics of his dominions from all fellowship with their brethren in the faith, throughout the world: all these, and more than these, proclaim the character of your Prussian idol.

His uniform perfidy, his notorious bigotry and his indefensible tyranny, have raised him to an unenviable position. I leave it to others, if they can, to remove the carcass of his royalty from the gibbet upon which it is suspended in the face of the world.

I remain, Rev. Sir, yours, and so forth, B. C.

LETTER XIX.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Aug. 9, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—Having disposed of Prussia, I go to Denmark, where you inform us that the doctrines of the Lutheran Church were established as "the national religion," where you tell us "Mark the temper she exhibited in the day of triumph, she commenced no retaliation against her persecutors. She encouraged no spirit of revenge. Her former opponents of the Romish Church were allowed to dwell unmolested in the land." Sir, you have read of the Nero of the North. You must know something of Christiern II, King of Denmark, surnamed the Cruel, who ascended the Danish throne upon the death of his father, John, in 1513, and who contrived to get himself elected king of Sweden, in 1520. You know, Sir, that it was he who treacherously invited the Swedish Senate to a feast, which was

for them the feast of death. Amongst the victims were the aged father of Gustavus Vasa, and several of the most respectable dignitaries of the Church. When this same Gustavus, aided by the brave men of Dalecarlia, struck against the tyrant in Sweden; the one urged by a fiery spirit of vengeance, sustained by a mettlesome ambition; the others, for their ancient rights, and that freedom which the Northmen loved: you know, Sir, how the execrable Christiern, caused the mother and the sister of this same Gustavus to be tied in sacks and cast into the sea. A monster of blood, the incarnate spirit of relentless tyranny:—few were found willing to resist, until the yoke of his oppressions forced all to reject him. This, Sir, was the apostle of Lutheranism in Denmark. I should suppose that you have more than once read what your own historian, Mosheim, wrote upon the subject, and the notes of his translator, Maclaine; but as these letters are intended more for others than for you, and they probably have not perused the history, I shall here insert it.

"The light of the reformation was also received in Denmark, and that so early as the year 1521, in consequnece of the ardent desire discovered by Christian, or Christiern II, of having his subjects instructed in the principles and doctrines of Luther. This monarch, whose savage and infernal cruelty (whether it was the effect of natural temper, or of bad counsels) rendered his name odious and his memory execrable, was nevertheless desirous of delivering his dominions from the superstition of Rome. For this purpose, in the year 1520, he sent for Martin Reinard, one of the disciples of Carolostadt, out of Saxony, and appointed him professor of divinity at Hafnia; and after his death which happened in the year following, he invited Carolostadt himself to fill that important place, which he accepted indeed, but nevertheless, after a short residence in Demark returned in to Germany. These disappointments did not abate the reforming spirit of the Danish monarch, whc used his utmost endeavors, though in vain to engage Luther to visit his dominions, and took several steps that tended to the diminution, and indeed to the suppression of the jurisdiction exercised over his subjects by the Roman pontiff."

"It is, however, proper to observe, that in all these proceedings, Christiern II was animated by no other motive than that of ambition. It was the prospect of extending his authority, and not a zeal for the advancement of true religion, that gave life and vigor to his reforming projects."

"His very actions, independently of what may be concluded from his own character, evidently show that he protected the religion of Luther with no other view than to rise by it to supremacy, both in church and state: and that it might afford him a pretext for depriving the bishops of that overgrown authority, and those ample possessions which they had gradually usurped, and of appropriating them to himself. A revolution produced by his avarice, tyranny, and cruelty, prevented the execution of this bold enterprise. The states of the kingdom exasperated, some by the schemes he had laid for destroying the liberty of Denmark, others by his attempts to abolish the superstition of their ancestors, and all by his savage and barbarous treatment of those who dared to oppose his avarice or ambition, formed a conspiracy against him in the year 1523, by which he was deposed

and banished from his dominions, and his uncle Frederick, duke of Holstein and Sleswic, placed on the throne of Denmark.—(Cent. xvi, chap. ii, sec. 1, §31).

Mosheim, you observe, so far from linking "Popery and despotism" together, shows that the revolution was produced by an attempt to destroy their liberties and the Catholic religion, which he calls "the superstition of their ancestors." The Danish States issued a declaration of the motives by which they were urged to this revolution, it is to be found in Vol. V of Ludgewig's compilation called *Reliquiae M. S. Sorum,* and proves that they were not at that time consenting parties to the introduction of Lutherans. *Lutheranae hoeresis pullulatores, contra jus pietatemque in regnum nostrum Catholicum introduxit, doctorem Carlostadium fortissimum Lutheri athletam enutrivit.* "He contrary to right and to piety, introduced into our Catholic realm, the propagators of the Lutheran heresy, he fostered Doctor Carolostadt the strongest wrestler of Luther." Thus the men who stood for the rights and freedom of their country, were Roman Catholics, who held also to the institutions of their religion; and the Nero of the North, who sought to destroy every right of his people, and to trample into extinction the last spark of liberty, was the one who introduced the Protestant religion into Denmark to attain this object. Under him your Church suffered no persecution.

Speaking of his uncle and successor, Dr. Mosheim proceeds:

"This prince conducted matters with much more equity, prudence, and moderation, than his predecessor had done. He permitted the Protestant Doctors to preach publicly the opinions of Luther, but did not venture so far as to change the established government and discipline of the Church. He contributed, however, greatly to the progress of the reformation, by his successful attempts in favor of religious liberty, at the assembly of the States that was held at Odensee in the year 1527. For it was here that he procured the publication of that famous edict, which declared every subject of Denmark free, either to adhere to the tenets of the Church of Rome, or to embrace the doctrine of Luther. Encouraged by this resolution, the Protestant divines exercised the functions of their ministry with such zeal and success that the greatest part of the Danes opened their eyes upon the auspicious beams of sacred liberty, and abandoned gradually both the doctrines and jurisdiction of the Church of Rome. But the honor of finishing this glorious work, of destroying entirely the reign of superstition, and breaking asunder the bonds of papal tyranny, was reserved for Christiern III, a prince equally distinguished by his piety and prudence. He began by suppressing the despotic authority of the bishops, and by restoring to their lawful owners a great part of the wealth and possessions which the church had acquired by the artful stratagems of the crafty and designing clergy. This step was followed by a wise and well-judged settlement of religious doctrine, discipline, and worship, throughout the kingdom, according to a plan laid down by Bugenhagius, whom the king had sent for to Wittenberg to perform that arduous task, for which his piety, learning, and moderation rendered him peculiarly proper. The assembly of the States at Odensee, in the year 1539,

gave a solemn sanction to all these transactions; and thus the work of the reformation was brought to perfection in Denmark."

It is not a little curious to observe the self-contradictions of Dr. Mosheim? Christiern introduced Lutheranism, that by its aid he may "rise to a supremacy both in Church and State." "The States exasperated, some by the schemes he had laid for destroying the liberty of Denmark." But when Frederick supports that same religion "the greater part of the Danes opened their eyes upon the auspicious beams of sacred liberty." When they were Catholics they deposed that tyrant who sought to destroy their liberties: becoming Lutherans, they aid Christiern III, in "breaking asunder the bonds of papal tyranny," of whose existence they had not been previously aware!

Maclaine remarks upon the edict of Odensee of 1527—"It was farther added to this edict, that no person should be molested on account of his religion, that a royal protection should be granted to the Lutherans to defend them from the insults and malignity of their enemies; and that ecclesiastics of whatever rank or order should be permitted to enter into the married state, and to fix their residence wherever they thought proper, without any regard to monasteries, or other religious societies." Thus, Sir, the introduction of Lutheranism took place in Denmark without any persecution of the Lutherans, but accompanied by the enormous plunder of the Catholic Church.

I shall now observe that though Frederick professed the Lutheran religion some time after he ascended the throne of Denmark, it would not have been either prudent or politic on his part, to oppress the Catholics; when the introduction of the Lutheran errors into their Catholic realm, was one of the grievances of which the States complained, in their act of despotism of Christiern, and to which act Frederick himself was a party; and in consequence of which he obtained the throne. Nor did the policy which he adopted injure the cause which he undertook to sustain, for he succeeded in removing the obstacles to the introduction of the new teachers, and in having them effectually protected, until at the period of his death, every thing was ready for the hand of him who undertook the persecution, not of the Lutherans, but of the Catholics. The assault was to be made upon the Bishops, for when the flock is to be destroyed, the guardians must, if possible, be sacrificed in the first instance. The pretext was, that the bishops were too opulent, and too powerful. Let us examine the facts a little, for the examination will tend greatly to elucidate the main question. "Did the Catholic Church persecute the Lutherans in Denmark; or were the latter the persecutors of the Catholics?" The Catholic religion had

been established during upwards of five hundred years in Denmark, previous to the accession of Christiern III. Though the first Bishops had much to endure, and little to possess, yet in process of time, their successors obtained not only the respect and confidence of the nation, but valuable gifts for the support of religion; the administration of whose funds was confided to their care. But their own industry and their frugality, generally made those acquisitions more valuable in a succession of years. The lands which they received in a barren and uncultivated state, were improved by an orderly peasantry, amongst whom they endeavored to diffuse information, and to preserve moral and industrious habits. Thus, whilst the lands of the lay-lords, and even those of the crown, were frequently neglected, by reason of calling off the cultivator to the camp, and by the habits of idleness and dissipation, which the soldier had acquired; and whilst the estate became dilapidated by the extravagance of its owner; the church land went down from one occupant to the next, generally improved, frequently increased. And thus in many instances the property made valuable chiefly by the moderation and the industry of the bishops, presented a strong temptation to the poverty, the cupidity, the recklessness and the ambition of princes and their courtiers. And the former were generally sustained in their aggression by the latter, not merely because of habitual obsequiousness, or positive command; but from the more powerful motive of participating in the plunder. Thus, there never was a tyrant who did not at least endeavor to compel church-men to the observance of gospel poverty, and who was not eloquent upon the subject of clerical rapacity.

We must, however, go a little farther. The possessor of land was obliged, at this period, to provide for its defence, by studding it with castles. Thus, if the prelates did not erect and maintain the castles, they should forfeit the lands. Upon those lands there also grew up towns, and the owner was obliged under pain of forfeiture, to make some provision for sustaining and governing the municipalities. A limited civil and military jurisdiction, then necessarily vested in the trustee of this property, and as the property vested in the bishop for the purposes of the Church, he could not under the laws, preserve the property and divest himself of the power. They went together. There was a farther obligation: the prelate was not only morally bound to preserve all the property, and to administer it fairly for the purposes for which it had been originally bestowed, and which were indicated by the records of the diocess, but he was solemnly sworn to the faithful discharge of those duties, and to the maintenance of those rights and privileges

"against every man." He was bound to maintain them, if necessary, against the monarch or against the Pope. They had their respective jurisdictions over him, but he had his rights to maintain, even against them if necessary. And the history of those ages, shows us, that when mailed monarchs bent their barons to the dust; the crozier alone, frequently was a barrier to their despotism. The bishop was therefore generally to the proud invader of popular or baronial rights or privileges, a most obnoxious individual, and yet strange to say, they of our opponents, who affect to execrate tyrants, and to love liberty, perpetually endeavor to impress us with the notion that those bishops were turbulent and criminal rebels, proud, arrogant, unfeeling men, who refused to the ruler of the land the homage due to his station, and who trampled upon the people as beings of an inferior race.

I will not undertake to say that every bishop properly discharged his duty, for I have evidence that several did not. But in most cases, where they were assailed by the monarchs, it was for the performance of their duty.

To apply these observations to the case before us, Dr. Mosheim says, that Christiern "began by suppressing the despotic authority of the bishops." He does not specify what this "despotic authority" was, but the annals of the times informs us that he abolished "their entire authority," and in the next paragraph, Mosheim himself informs us, "The bishops were deprived of their honors, privileges and possessions, without their consent," upon which Dr. Maclaine, his translator, appends the following note:

"What does Dr. Mosheim mean here? did ever a usurper give up his unjust possessions without reluctance? does rapine constitute a right, when it is maintained by force? Is it unlawful to use violence against extortioners? The question here is, whether or no the bishops deserved the severe treatment they received from Christiern III? And our author seems to answer this question in the affirmative, and to declare this treatment both just and necessary, in the following part of this section. Certain it is, that the bishops were treated with great severity, deposed from their sees, imprisoned on account of their resistance; all the church-lands, towns and fortresses, annexed to the crown, and the temporal power of the clergy forever abolished. It is also certain, that Luther himself looked upon these measures as violent and excessive, and even wrote a letter to Christiern, exhorting him to use the clergy with more lenity. It is therefore proper to decide with moderation on this subject, and to grant that if the insolence and licentiousness of the clergy were enormous, the resentment of the Danish monarch may have been excessive. Nor indeed was his political prudence here so great as Dr. Mosheim seems to represent it; for the equipose of government was hurt, by a total suppression of the power of the bishops. The nobility acquired by this a prodigious degree of influence, and the crown lost an order, which, under proper regulations, might have been rendered one of the strongest supports of its prerogative. But dispositions of this nature are

foreign to our purpose. It is only proper to observe, that in the room of the bishops, Christiern created an order of men, with the denomination of *Superintendants*, who performed the spiritual part of the episcopal office, without sharing the least shadow of temporal authority."

Mosheim next says, that Christiern continued "by restoring to their lawful owners, a great part of the wealth and possessions which the Church had acquired by the artful stratagems of the crafty and designing clergy." Who were these lawful owners? The church had, by the sanction of law, been in quiet possession of the larger portion of this property, during upwards of two hundred years. Neither does he inform us of the clergy who got it, of the persons who gave it, nor of the stratagems made use of to obtain it. But, as usual, we must pass a sweeping condemnation upon the Catholic clergy, without any evidence to prove more than that they had been robbed by the Lutherans, to whom in the simplicity of their hearts, they had given full toleration about a dozen years before! It is just the same return that the Catholics of Maryland received from the Puritan and the Protestant, whom they more than tolerated when these men persecuted each other. The Catholics of Maryland took them to their bosom, cherished them, and were stung by the enactment of the penal code. And the American Protestant proclaims that the Catholic is intolerant! "Do we differ least from them (Catholics) in the intolerant and persecuting spirit of that church." As yet, Rev. Sir, in examining your own cases, we find your intolerance and persecution to be exceedingly ill-favored samples to sustain your boast?

"The lawful owners" got the property. The king took it to himself and doled out a trifle to others; they were that portion of the Danish nobility, who got a sop to keep them in humor, and who, when deprived of the restraints which checked their ambition and turbulence, as Dr. Maclaine tells us, became more troublesome to the monarch than ever the calumniated bishops had been.

Now Sir, will you please to inform us in what part of the Danish history, evidence is found of a persecution of the Lutherans by the Catholics? I have shown you the evidence of a persecution of the Catholics by the Lutherans, carried on by confiscation, plunder, imprisonment, chains, banishment and death.

Mosheim feels the whole weight of his difficulty when about to treat of this persecution. Finding that he cannot escape detailing the facts, he uses every effort to separate the persecution from his religion, but he cannot succeed, and he asserts without a particle of proof, that which all evidence would destroy, if he ventured upon specifications,—that the

bishops had appropriated to themselves a considerable part of the royal patrimony, and of the public revenues of the kingdom.''

And was the Nero of the North a man to permit his property to be thus abstracted? Was Frederick so enamored with the bishops as to allow their undisturbed possession? The effort of your historian in struggling with the meshes, is not the least amusing exhibition of the power of truth over the disposition to misrepresent. Mosheim says:

''It is however to be observed, that in the history of the reformation of Sweden and Denmark, we must carefully distinguish between the reformation of religious opinion, and the reformation of the episcopal order. For though these two things may appear to be closely connected, yet, in reality, they are so far distinct, that either of the two might have been completely transacted without the other. A reformation of doctrine might have been effected without diminishing the authority of the bishops, or suppressing their order; and on the other hand, the opulence and power of the bishops might have been reduced within proper bounds without introducing any change into the system of doctrine that had been so long established, and that was generally received. In the measures taken in these northern kingdoms, for the reformation of a corrupt doctrine and a superstitious discipline, there was nothing that deserved the smallest censure: neither fraud nor violence were employed for this purpose; on the contrary, all things were conducted, with wisdom and moderation, in a manner suitable to the dictates of equity and the spirit of Christianity.'' Why, Sir, the historian appears to have strange notions of moderation. ''The same judgment cannot easily be pronounced with respect to the methods of proceeding in the reformation of the clergy, and more especially of the episcopal order. For here, certainly, violence was used, and the Bishops were deprived of their honors, privileges and possessions, without their consent; and, indeed, notwithstanding the greatest struggles and the warmest opposition. The truth is, that so far as the reformation in Sweden and Denmark regarded the privileges and possessions of the bishops, it was rather a matter of political expediency than of religious obligation; nay, a change here was become so necessary, that had Luther and his doctrine never appeared in the world, it must have been nevertheless attempted by a wise legislator. For the bishops, by a variety of perfidious stratagems, had got into their hands such enormous treasures, such ample possessions, so many castles and fortified towns, and had assumed such an unlimited and despotic authority, that they were in a condition to give law to the sovereign himself, to rule the nation as they thought proper: and in effect, already abused their power so far as to appropriate to themselves a considerable part of the royal patrimony, and of the public revenues of the kingdom. Such, therefore, was the critical state of these northern kingdoms in the time of Luther that it became absolutely necessary, either to degrade the bishops from that rank which they dishonored, and to deprive them of the greatest part of those possessions and prerogatives which they had so unjustly acquired and so licentiously abused, or to see, tamely, royalty rendered contemptible by its weakness, the sovereign deprived of the means of protecting and succoring his people, and the commonwealth exposed to rebellion, misery, and ruin.''

The truth, Sir, is permitted to escape. The king wanted the property of the Church, and the establishment of Lutheranism; the bishops

were mighty obstacles to his projects. They would not come into his views. They were deposed, dishonored, imprisoned, and some of them died in chains.

Nor did the persecution terminate with the bishops: but continued until the Catholic religion was rooted out of the country: and so high did Denmark stand in the esteem of the sect, that before the close of that century she beheld her monarch Christiern IV, at the head of the Protestant confederacy.

Thus it is manifest, that the Lutheran religion was introduced into Denmark by the worst of her kings, for the purpose of aiding in the destruction of the rights and liberties of the people, and of adding to his own despotic power, and of promoting his aggrandizement. That his successor was himself a Lutheran, and protected the professors of that religion. That therefore up to the death of Frederick the Protestants not only suffered no persecution, but were specially protected.

That upon the accession of Christiern III, the Catholic bishops were stripped of their honors, their possessions, their churches and their authority; that they were cast into prison, where most of them died in irons:—that the Lutheran religion was by law made the national religion, and the Catholics worried until not one was to be found in the realm, and that at this day the few Catholics who are to be found there, are in a state of humiliation and degradation scarcely deserving the name of toleration.

And now, Sir, having placed Denmark even lower than Prussia,—I ask you, how it has happened that you forgot yourself so far as to write your 53d paragraph? Did you imagine that no one had read the history of those nations or of your religion? Or is it possible that you never read those historians yourself? And if you did not, how was it possible for you to venture such assertions on such an occasion? And not only to make them from the pulpit, but to print and to publish them to the world? And you, not only the President of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the United States, but also the President of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Charleston, South Carolina! We shall next, Sir, proceed to Sweden.

I remain, Rev. Sirs, yours, B. C.

LETTER XX.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Aug. 23, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth,

Rev. Sir,—I now proceed to show that in procuring the establishment of Lutheranism is Sweden, your church endured no persecution, but that the Catholics were oppressed and grievously persecuted.

Those who have read my last letter to you will have observed that Christiern II, the *Nero of the North,* who introduced Lutheranism into Denmark, procured that he should be elected king of Sweden in 1520; in fact, he had a strong party there which gave him considerable influence long before that period. The principle opposition that he met with was in the senate, and from the higher clergy, who, having witnessed his tyranny in the neighboring kingdom that he ruled, were anxious to guard their rights and liberties against his power and despotism. As soon therefore as he found himself upon the throne, he sought to crush them, and to secure to himself an irresistible dominion. The mode which he adopted was congenial to his nature. He invited to a great banquet the senators and the great dignitaries of the Church, and in the midst of their festivity, his minions seized upon them, and seventy of the great defenders of the rights of Sweden, paid the forfeit of their lives.

The power of the senate was broken; but still the Swedes were Catholic, and he hesitated to strike so decisive a blow against their church. Whilst they continued Catholic, it would be impossible for him to unite the civil and ecclesiastical supremacy in his own person. He sought to do as he was practising in Denmark, to excite declarations against papal usurpations and tyranny, and to alienate the people from the clergy, by continual vituperation, by magnifying their faults, by inventing calumnious charges; and thus to prepare the way for enriching himself with that property which in ancient days had been consecrated by piety to sustain religion, and which had been improved through successive ages by the industry, the frugality and fidelity of the beneficiaries. To effect this, he encouraged the new preachers of the Lutheran doctrines to enter Sweden, and to declaim against the vices of the clergy and the tyranny of the Pope. Amongst those who so entered and exerted themselves, Olaus Petri was conspicuous.

Amongst the Senators who were beheaded, was Eric Vasa, or Wassa, Duke of Gripsholm and Governor of Hatland, a descendant of the ancient Kings of Sweden. His son, Gustavus Vasa, or as he is sometimes called, Ericson, had, in 1518, been sent to Denmark as a hostage,

but made his escape as soon as he learned the murder of his father. Burning with the desire of revenge, and indignant at beholding the murderer of his parent and of his friends seated upon the throne of his ancestors, he wandered for some time, and during a sojourn in Lubec, he made a more special acquaintance with the Lutheran teaching and some of its adherents. Privately returning into Sweden, he took refuge, as a wanderer, amongst the brave miners of Dalecarlia; there, for a time, he wrought with them and gained their confidence and affections, until the arrival of a moment when he believed that, at the head of those hardy lovers of liberty, he could strike that blow which he had so long meditated. On a fair day, he went into the midst of the throng and harangued them upon the oppressions of their common country, until he found their enthusiasm elevated to a proper point; then making himself known, he called upon the men of Dalecarlia to aid in the effort he was about to make for the restoration of Sweden. Gathering round him whom they admired for his assiduity in their common toil, and whom they now proclaimed as their deliverer, the honest band armed and came forward to assert the liberties of their country. The Dalecarlians were, to a man, devoted Roman Catholics.

How has my eye been moistened and my heart affected, when, in early youth, I pored with delight upon the description of the bird of liberty perched upon the craggy summit of those mountains, preparing his wings to cleave the opposing cloud and to lift himself in the storm! Gustavus was an idol of my devotion; the conclusion of an address made by him to his companions in arms, previous to an assault upon the troops of Christiern, seemed to me but the effusion of the poet as he viewed the individual hero—

> "Like the bird of glory towering high,
> Thunder within his grasp, and lightning in his eye."

The genius of freedom seemed to me to have attached the security of victory to his band; the mountain miners were invincible—were victorious: her shackles broken, Sweden shook off the yoke of her tyrant and thought herself free. Gustavus was the object of her love, of her gratitude, and the monarch of her choice.

Christiern fled before him, Stockhold received him, and he was chosen King of Sweden in 1523. Scarcely seated on his throne, he proclaimed himself a Lutheran, and encouraged the preachers who were already propagating the tenets of that sect; he invited others and gave a decided preference to the opponents of the Swedish church; he next seized upon a large portion of the Episcopal revenues and church possessions, and divided a small fraction among some of the nobility.

Mosheim informs us, that whilst at Lubec, he was instructed in the principles of the Reformation, "and looked upon the doctrine of Luther, not only as agreeable to the genius and spirit of the Gospel, but also as favorable to the temporal state and political constitution of the Swedish dominions." The acts of Gustavus to regulate the political state of Sweden, will then be for us a good key to the discovery of his motives for the introduction of Lutheranism. Hitherto the Swedes had the right of electing their monarch. Gustavus procured, when he had fully established the dominion of the Lutheran Church, in 1544, that the crown should be hereditary in his family: he curtailed the privileges of the nobility: he deprived them of many of their ancient rights and left not to the people a shadow of liberty. He who dethrones a tyrant can often do with impunity what his predecessor dare not have attempted. Mosheim tells us that in the encouragement and introduction of Lutheran preachers, Christiern II was animated by no other motive than that of ambition. "It was the prospect of extending his authority, not a zeal for the advancement of true religion that gave life and vigor to his reforming projects," "he protected the religion of Luther with no other view than to rise by it to supremacy in church and state: and that it might afford him a pretext for depriving the bishops of their overgrown authority and those ample possessions which they had gradually usurped, and of appropriating them to himself." Thus, too, Feller says of Gustavus, *Pour affermir sa domination, il s'imagina devoir abolir l'ancienne religion du pays, et etablir le Lutheranisme dans ses etats. Il s'empara d'une partie des biens du clerge; mais pour que le peuple adoptat plus facilement ces changemens, il lui laissa des eveques, en diminuant leur revenu et leur pouvoir.* "To strengthen his domination, he imagined that it was necessary to abolish the ancient religion of the country, and to establish Lutheranism in his states. He took to himself a portion of the goods of the clergy; but that the people should more easily adopt these changes, he left them bishops with diminished income and abridged power." There is no need, Sir, of multiplying quotations or accumulating proofs. Nothing is more clear than that the object of Christiern, of Frederick and of Gustavus was the same, to destroy the Catholic religion and to introduce Lutheranism, for the purpose of changing free constitutions into despotism. The unfortunate pioneer was unsuccessful, but the two double dealers, who succeeded him, had more success.

Yes, I call Gustavus a double dealer, and the Abbe Berault, who is, in general, his panegyrist, is forced to avow "that he entangled his soul in the trickery of pretence and deceit, in low chicane, in notori-

ous oppressions and in manœuvres unworthy of a man of common honesty.'' He prepared with adroitness the way for the accomplishment of his object. Under pretence of seeking for truth, he caused public disputes to be held, after which he affected to yield to a conviction of the truth of what he had six years before determnied to sustain.

In 1527, at the convention of the States at Westeraas, he officially and authoritatively recommended the establishment of Lutheranism. Not only was he strenuously opposed, but the great majority was against him: yet by threats, by an affectation that he would resign his place and deliver them over to the evils of anarchy, unless they would reject the papal supremacy, he succeeded in getting himself made head of the Swedish Church, as well as King of Sweden. Thus was Lutheranism forced upon the kingdom in opposition to the wishes of the Swedish people; in complete domination over the free suffrages of the representatives of the estates of the kingdom.

I shall lay before my readers the account given by Doctor Mosheim, which, though exceedingly partial, and imperfect, yet discloses enough to sustain me in what I have stated:

''The reformed religion was propagated in Sweden, soon after Luther's rupture with Rome, by one of his disciples, whose name was Olaus Petri, and who was the first herald of religious liberty in that kingdom. The zealous efforts of this missionary were powerfully seconded by that valiant and public spirited prince, Gustavus Vassa Errickson, whom Sweden had raised to the throne in the place of Christiern, King of Denmark, whose horrid barbarity lost him the sceptre that he had perfidiously usurped. This generous and patriotic hero had been in exile and in prison, while the brutish usurper now mentioned, was involving his country in desolation and misery; but having escaped from his confinement and taken refuge at Lubec, he was there instructed in the principles of the Reformation, and looked upon the doctrine of Luther not only as agreeable to the genius and spirit of the Gospel, but also as favorable to the temporal state and political constitution of the Swedish dominions. The prudence, however, of this excellent prince was equal to his zeal, and accompanied it always. And as the religious opinions of the Swedes were in a fluctuating state, and their minds divided between their ancient superstitions, recommended by custom, and the doctrine of Luther, which attracted their assent by the power of conviction and truth, Gustavus wisely avoided all vehemence and precipitation in spreading the new doctrine, and proceeded in this important undertaking with circumspection, and by degrees, in a manner suitable to the principles of the reformation, which are diametrically opposite to compulsion and violence. Accordingly, the first object of his attention was the instruction of his people in the sacred doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, for which purpose he invited into his dominions several learned Germans, and spread abroad through the kingdom the Swedish translation of the Bible that had been made by Olaus Petri. Some time after this, in the year 1526, he appointed a conference at Upsal, between this eminent reformer and Peter Gallius, a zealous defender of the ancient superstition, in which these two champions were to plead publicly in behalf of their respective opinions,

that it might thus be seen on which side the truth lay. The dispute, in which Olaus obtained a signal victory, contributed much to confirm Gustavus in his persuasion of the truth of Luther's doctrine, and to promote the progress of that doctrine in Sweden. In the year following, another event gave the finishing stroke to its propagation and success, and this was the assembly of the States at Westeraas, where Gustavus recommended the doctrine of the Reformers with such zeal, wisdom, and piety, that, after warm debates fomented by the clergy in general, and much opposition on the part of the bishops, in particular, it was unanimously resolved that the plan of reformation proposed by Luther should have free admittance among the Swedes. This resolution was principally owing to the firmness and magnanimity of Gustavus, who declared publicly, that he would lay down his sceptre and retire from his kingdom, rather than rule a people enslaved to the orders and authority of the pope, and more controlled by the tyranny of their bishops, than by the laws of their monarch. From this time the papal empire in Sweden was entirely overturned, and Gustavus declared head of the church."—(Cent. xvi, chap. ii, sec. 1 §30).

Doctor Maclaine also in one of his notes, triumphs forth the praise of Gustavus in the following strain:

"This incomparable model of princes gave many proofs of his wisdom and moderation. Once while he was absent from Stockholm, a great number of German Anabaptists, probably the riotous disciples of Munzer, arrived in that city, carried their fanaticism to the highest extremities, pulled down with fury the images and other ornaments of the churches, while the Lutherans dissembled their sentiments of this riot in expectation that the storm would turn to their advantage. But Gustavus no sooner returned to Stockholm than he ordered the leaders of these fanatics to be seized and punished, and covered the Lutherans with bitter reproaches for not having opposed these fanatics in time."

Now I would ask, what right had the Lutherans or had Gustavus himself to reform religion, that was not equally a right of these Anabaptists? Had they not as good a warrant to cast out images as he had to cast out the Pope? But the simple solution is easily discovered in the fact, that the Anabaptists would not acknowledge the headship of his majesty, but the Lutherans did him due homage in this new character.

It is also worth while to observe how the same Dr. Maclaine, in another note, roars lustily against the bishops:

"It was no wonder indeed that the bishops opposed warmly the proposal of Gustavus, since there was no country in Europe where that order and the clergy in general drew greater temporal advantages from the superstition of the times than in Sweden and Denmark. The most of the bishops had revenues superior to those of the sovereign, they possessed castles and fortresses that rendered them independent of the crown, enabled them to excite commotions in the kingdom, and gave them a degree of power that was dangerous to the State. They lived in the most dissolute luxury and overgrown opulence, while the nobility of the kingdom were in misery and want. The resolution formed by the States assembled at Westeraas, did not so much tend to regulate points of doctrine, as to reform the discipline of the Church, to reduce the opulence and authority of the bishops within their proper bounds, to restore to the impoverished nobility the lands and possessions

that their superstitious ancestors had given to an all-devouring clergy, to exclude the prelates from the senate, to take from them their castles, and things of that nature. It was, however, resolved, at the same time, that the Church should be provided with able pastors, who should explain the pure word of God to the people in their native tongue; and that no ecclesiastical preferments should be granted without the king's permission. This was a tacit and gentle method of promoting the reformation."

Yet this is the same Doctor who roared out so gently in another note upon the same subject in Denmark, where he blames Christiern II for the very policy which he commends in Gustavus, as may be seen in my last letter.

But the character of Gustavus is not yet sufficiently developed.

The reader will recollect that it was by the energy and the love of liberty and the patriotism of the brave sons of Dalecarlia, Gustavus was enabled to liberate Sweden and to occupy its throne. The Dalecarlians were Catholics; they loved their religion as they loved their country; they soon practically felt the oppressions and the persecutions of the new head which was placed upon the Swedish Church at Westeraas, in 1527. They remonstrated; but in vain; they claimed their ancient usages, their religious rights, the inviolability of their worship. The stern answer was, that all must be obedient, as well in ecclesiastical as in civil concerns. They reminded the monarch of the principles which he proclaimed when the crow-bar of the miner levelled the ranks of Christiern. But the maxims of the mountain warrior were not the maxims of the King of Sweden. Dalecarlia rose once more to vindicate her freedom: but alas!—victory had deserted her. Hill after hill was carried, cavern after cavern was searched, and because Dalecarlia would not tamely bow to the dictates of Gustavus and adopt the religion of Luther, the bravest of her sons fell upon her fields and others expired under the hands of the executioner, and the subjugation of the hardy soldiers of the mountain by him whom they bore in the enthusiasm of their love of freedom to a throne, was the ruin of Catholicity and of liberty in Sweden.

In 1544, at his dictation, the States of Westeraas, now become the phantom of a deliberate body, decreed that Gustavus should be almost absolute in his authority, and that the crown should descend to his children. This monarch died in 1560, having nearly extinguished the Catholic religion in Sweden.

Thus, Sir, it is manifest that Lutheranism suffered no persecutions in Sweden:—but, that at its introduction, it was cherished and protected; and the Catholics were greviously oppressed, their Church establishments destroyed, their clergy degraded, pillaged, and in sev-

eral instances imprisoned and put to death, the professors of the ancient religion of the land, who first aided in the cause of liberty, butchered upon their own hills, because of their attachment to the creed of their fathers. Where, then, Sir, is the cruel tyranny of Catholics? Where the boasted toleration of your Church? You have referred us to Sweden; we have gone thither. Behold the result!

To follow up the history after the death of Gustavus, would be only to continue an exhibition of successive oppressions and revolts; yet perhaps an outline may be profitably given, for the purpose of showing how from that day to nearly this, Catholics have suffered for their religion, from the monarchs of this nation which you put forward as a model of Christian meekness of Lutheran toleration.

His eldest son, Eric XIV, succeeded Gustavus. The ambition of this man was to become the husband of Elizabeth of England; disappointed in his scheme, he married the daughter of a peasant; which offended an aristocracy already disgusted with his tyranny. Whilst he gave his best attention to the confirming of Lutheranism, he, by his vices, his crimes, and his despotism, caused himself and the country which tolerated him to be despised. The ancient glories of Sweden were no more; the spark of patriotism which Dalecarlia once nourished with religious affection had been quenched in blood; Pibrac, the Chancellor of Henry IV, King of Navarre, seeking to express the most contemptible notion of royalty, said, that France had no more respect for Henry than it would had he been King of Sweden or of Cyprus. Upon the most unfounded suspicions, Eric shut up his brother John in prison, where he lay during five years. At the instance of an infamous favorite, he had some of the best of his nobility put to death: he stabbed with his own hand a nobleman, Sture, to whom he suspected the queen was partial. After eight years of disgraceful rule he was deposed, and his brother John took his place upon the throne. Whilst the Swedish government was endeavoring to root out the last fibres of Catholicism from the land, Sigismund II, of Poland, a Catholic, in 1563, repealed the law of that kingdom which excluded all but Catholics from the higher civil offices. Was it not a little strange, Sir, that you overlooked this contrast when the 53d paragraph was issuing from your pen?

John III, second son of Gustavus Vasa, was married to Catharine, daughter of Sigismund of Poland, by whom he was induced to have favorable sentiments of the Catholic religion. When he was called to the throne in 1568, he found the kingdom at the lowest ebb, and involved in a war with Russia and Denmark.

He had in his service an able French officer, Pontus, Baron De La Gardie, whom he employed in negotiations and in the field. He found it necessary to procure peace by yielding Norway to Denmark and other provinces to Russia, though De La Gardie had been successful in the field. John became a Catholic and educated his son, Sigismund, in that religion, and also proposed to the people to return to the church of their fathers. De La Gardie was employed to treat for proper aid at Vienna, and to negotiate with Rome.

The nobility opposed all efforts to favor the Catholic religion; John was of a vacillating disposition, his queen died in 1583, after which he was prevailed upon once again to profess the Lutheran religion; he did not persecute the Catholics, but favored and sustained the Protestants. Thus up to the period of his death there was no persecution of Protestants, and scarcely any protection for Catholics.

Sigismund III, who continued in the Catholic communion, was seventeen years old at the period of his mother's death, and four years afterwards was crowned King of Poland. Upon the death of his father he went into Sweden to occupy the throne in 1594. His religion caused the Swedes to treat him with coldness. He constituted his uncle, Charles, Prince of Sudermania, who was a Lutheran, and youngest son of Gustavus, his viceroy. Upon disputes arising between Charles and the senate, Sigismund decided in favor of the latter, and Charles revolted, and after some defeats and trials, succeeded in securing to himself, in 1604, that crown which he wore under the title of Charles IX. The fact is notorious, that Sigismund, who was remarkable for piety, for justice, and for clemency, lost the kingdom of Sweden, because, and only because of his profession of the Catholic religion. Probably, Sir, you would not deem this to be persecution; it is a species of toleration of which Protestantism furnishes us with numerous examples.

Upon the death of Fædor or Theodore Ivanowitz, the last male descendant of the Czars of Muscovy, of the line of Ruric, in 1588, Sigismund was entitled to the dominion, but his accession thereto was opposed upon the ground of his being a Catholic, and he preferred the loss of a realm, with a conscience void of offence, to an extensive domain which could only be obtained by hypocrisy. It is true, Sir, that they were not Lutherans, who openly opposed his claims to Muscovy; but I make the statement to show that Catholics were the greatest sufferers from persecution.

Sigusmund had, however, much more to undergo.

During the reign of Charles IX, the Lutherans were triumphant,

and the few Catholics that remained were greviously oppressed. He died in 1611, and was succeeded by his son, Gustavus Adolphus, who was not only a Lutheran, but a strict observer of the principles of his sect. Having a decided propensity for war, he was as successful as he was enterprising. He in two years forced Denmark and Muscovy to make with him an advantageous peace: then uniting with him the German Lutherans, and placing himself at the head of the Protestant confederacy, he drove Sigismund from Poland, and undertook to subdue the Emperor and the Catholic princes of Germany. In less than three years he overran two-thirds of Germany, from the Vistula to the Danube and the Rhine. He fell upon the plain of Lutzen on the 18th of November, 1633. He not only had the most severe penalties enacted in Sweden against the introduction of Catholic clergymen, but Catholic Germany felt in him the oppression of a hardened persecutor—churches robbed, altars overturned, the worshippers insulted and plundered at the discretion of his soldiers, and other such feats, signalize the zeal of the king and of his soldiers against the Catholic religion. In the midst of all this, he daily had, in his camp, at stated hours, prayers composed by himself, and gave a portion of his time to reading the Holy Scriptures. Under this prince, Lutheranism was sustained and triumphant, and Catholics suffered greatly by his armies, directed to break their power and to subjugate their country.

Christina succeeded to her father in 1633, with more splendid talents and extensive information. Hating war, loving literature, and liberty, she waited until after the conclusion of the treaty of Westphalia to execute a resolve which she had made seven years previously, at the age of 20 years. In 1654, she abdicated in favor of her relative, Charles Gustavus, son of her father's sister Catharine, who had married John Casimir, Duke of Deux-Ponts-Cleburgh, and thus that house gave to Sweden a new dynasty, which continued to enforce the exclusion of the Catholic religion by the most cruel laws that were enacted against the clergy, with perhaps the exception of those in force in Great Britain and Ireland, and in the American colonies, now the United States. Shortly after her abdication, Christina returned to the Catholic Church, embracing the original Christian religion of her ancestors, at Brussels.

Charles X was ambitious of the laurels of a warrior, and died at the age of 37 years, whilst he was preparing to do what his son effected for absolution. Charles XI, also active in the field, was not so fortunate in defence of his possessions in Pomerania; he, however, at the peace of Nimeguen, recovered what he had yielded in fight, and was subsequently chosen mediator to establish the peace of Ryswick. A

despot over his people, he destroyed the power of the senate, he played the tyrant with his subjects, and strengthened the domination of Lutheranism in the country, adding also to the severity of the edicts against the introduction of Catholic priests.

Charles XII caused the North to bristle with bayonets, but was careless of the practice of religion, he professed and sustained Lutheranism. He had no Catholics to be objects of domestic persecution, nor did he care to worry them, if he had. Neither his sister Ulrica Leonora, to whom the crown devolved, nor her husband, Frederick, of Hesse Cassel, in whose favor she abdicated, had much to do with persecution or protection. The family of Holstein Hutin succeeded in 1751, in the person of Adolphus Frederick, a descendant of Charles the Ninth, from whom his mother, Albertina, was a fourth descent. He was a friend of science, but was greatly crippled in his efforts to promote its interests and to reform the laws, by the factions of the Senate, to which Ulrica, after the death of her brother, had restored its ancient power. He was succeeded in 1771, by his son, Gustavus III. who was assassinated in 1792 by Ankarstroem. Few better educated or more active monarchs then filled any throne in Europe. He found in his realms a very few Catholics, the shred that was left of a once powerful population, almost annihilated by an emaciating persecution, which, with little intermission, had now continued during upwards of two hundred and fifty years—begun by Lutherans, continued by Lutherans, aggravated by Lutherans, and of course approved of by Lutherans. He found this poor remnant without a church, without a monastery, exposed to the operation of cruel laws, and he took pity upon it. He conciliated the minds of many of the Protestants to mercy, and in 1781 he gave them liberty to make open profession of their faith, to build houses of worship, and to perform the rites of their religion! This may be considered the first relaxation of the heavy persecution of Catholics in Sweden.

And now, Sir, I trust I have answered your question, paragraph 52. "And where, we ask, has the Lutheran Church ever betrayed a spirit of intolerance?" I have told you, "In Prussia, in Denmark, in Sweden"—and if this will not satisfy you, I shall furnish you with as much more.

Now, Sir, what think you of your 53d paragraph? "After having endured with fortitude the persecutions of bigotry and power, our Church at last became triumphant, and her doctrines were established as the national religion of Prussia, Denmark and Sweden. Mark the temper she exhibited in the day of her triumph. She commenced no retaliation against her persecutors. She encouraged no bitter spirit

of revenge. Her former opponents of the Romish Church were allowed to dwell unmolested in the land, there to this day their temples and their monasteries remain as monuments of the toleration of our Church." You have selected Prussia, Denmark and Sweden, I have followed you thither and from the records of history and by the testimony of your own writers, I have dissipated those fictions which your imagination put forward as facts. You have charged us with being persecutors, when we had it not in our power to persecute you, even if we would. You proclaimed your fortitude in sufferings, when we suffered bitterly from your abuse of our confidence and your exertion of force. You told us that toleration was your peculiar attribute, and upon your principles it ought, for you declare that although you think your surmises as to what God has revealed are probably correct, yet you cannot be certain that you are right and that they who differ from you are wrong; yet wherever you had authority, it has been exercised with peculiar intolerance. You told us that your Church in the day of triumph commenced no retaliation against her persecutors. In this you are correct, because there was no persecutor upon whom she could retaliate; so there was nothing for which she could seek revenge. You say that her former opponents of the Romish Church were allowed to dwell unmolested in the land, and you wrote this with the history of Prussia, of Denmark and Sweden open before you! Be good enough to point out the temples of which we had not been deprived. Name the monasteries of which we had not been despoiled! And now Sir, how could you have asked, "And where, we ask, has the Lutheran Church ever betrayed a spirit of intolerance?" "Do we differ least from the intolerant and persecuting spirit of that (Catholic) Church?"

To continue the historical view, would be only to show the efforts of a few Catholics to profit by the kindness which was shown to them, in their endeavoring to practice what they believed, without troubling those who differed from them. In fact, their number was so small, and their poverty so great, that they could scarcely be noticed in the review of the population; so effectualy had they been worn down by ages of persecution. Gustavus IV gave them neither annoyance nor aid from the period of his accession in 1792, to the year 1809, when upon the evidence of his folly and derangement, he was quietly set aside, to make room for his uncle the Duke of Sudermania, who succeeded by the name of Charles XIII. Under him there was no persecution. He had no child, and passing by the son whom his nephew had left, he procured the nomination of the French Marshal Bernadotte, as his successor. This man, like most of Napoleon's officers of rank, professed the Cath-

olic religion, but had no idea of permitting it to be an obstacle to his wearing a crown. To please the Swedes and to remove the impediments which it might raise between him and the throne, he solemnly abjured the Catholic religion and made profession of the Lutheran opinions On the 5th of April, 1818, upon the death of Charles XIII, he became King of Sweden, by a title of Charles John. Uuder his sway the Catholic religion had no serious impediment. A collection has been lately made in many parts of Europe to enable the Catholics to build a good church in Stockholm, and it has been raised and blessed. Some of the royal family vouchsafed to be present on the occasion. And thus, Sir, after a long and disastrous persecution, the Catholics again are permitted peaceably to worship in the way that was practised by those brave miners of Dalecarlia, who raised to power and to fame the faithless Gustavus, who smote upon their thresholds the men who preferred to their own lives, their country and their God.

And now, having made a partial settlement of our accounts upon the score of persecution, by paying you an instalment of Lutheran deeds, I beg to assure you, that should you or your friends demand it, there is more at your service in the fund from which this has been drawn.

Recollect, Sir, that you have provoked this yourself. We left you unassailed, until you thought proper, for the purpose of showing that you ought to be cherished in Protestant fellowship, to charge us with persecuting the Lutherans; you boasted of their kindness towards us. We have feelings like other men, and the records of history are open to us equally as they are to you. You have driven us to the necessity of producing them to vindicate ourselves. If we show that they contain what you did not imagine; we can only say that it would have been prudence on your part, to have consulted them before you ventured to assert what you cannot prove.

We believe, Sir, that you are as tolerant as any other Protestants are; but that is not more so than we claim to be, and it is much less than your flatterers proclaim.

There are, Sir, in your Sermon, a few other topics which I must notice. I shall dwell upon them as briefly as possible.

I remain, Rev. Sir, yours,

B. C.

LETTER XXI.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Aug. 30, 1838.

To the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., and so forth.

Rev. Sir,—In your 52d paragraph you ask, "Are we (Lutherans) most like the Roman Catholics in the power of our priesthood, and the pomp and parade of our religious worship?

You must be aware that there is an inherent, essential power left by Christ in his Church, and bestowed by him upon the priesthood, if you admit the divine origin of ecclesiastical order. If you do not admit that it has such an origin, the priesthood, in your notion, is like every other human institution; a body of men created by the community or by its ruler, with certain specified powers, which it exercises in the name of that community upon the conditions laid down by the community, as long as the community itself may think proper. I am unable to say what your opinion upon the subject is, but I shall assume it to be that which most generally prevails amongst Lutherans; that the clergy, or priesthood has been divinely commissioned by the Saviour; to teach the doctrine revealed by him, to administer the sacraments instituted by him, and to preserve discipline and regularity in the Church. This is power. The Roman Catholic Chruch teaches that it was thus divinely given and perpetuated by ordination and by mission. In what then consists the difference? You also claim this power, you claim it is derived from God and not from the community. You say that your "pastors are chosen by the people," but their ordination is not by the people, and their power is derived in the first instance from their ordination.

Neither is it true of Lutheranism, that in the German, the Danish, the Swedish or the Prussian dominions it is endowed with that right which it here possesses. The pastors in those places, Sir, I believe you will admit, are not elected by the people, but are appointed by the prince.

You treat of the whole Lutheran Society, of your 27,000,000, and not of your 50,000 communicants in these United States. You undertake to give us the character of the Lutheran Society through the world, and not that of the Lutheran Evangelical Church of the United States of North America. In this latter division, your pastors are indeed chosen by your people, but in the other places they are appointed by the State. Every where, their power is derived in the first instance from their ordination, Luther required a mission besides ordination. He held that ordination was not the bestowing of authority to perform

the ministerial duties, but the qualifying a person to receive that authority, so that one who had not been ordained was incapable of receiving the authority; yet that ordination did not bestow it, but made the person ordained capable of receiving the power, from those to whom it appertained to send the ordained person with due authority, to perform the work; that is, to give the mission. In this, Sir, he agreed with the Catholic Church. Again, he agreed with her when he taught that the power to give this mission ordinarily belonged to the lawful pastors of the Church, but that God by a special interference and a manifest interposition may give to an individual an extraordinary mission, an authority to act. But the doctrine of the Catholic Church is, that God will never create an extraordinary authority to clash with the ordinary tribunal which he established, when he sent his Apostles to teach all nations, promising that he would be with them all days to the end of the world.

Luther asserted that his own mission was of this extraordinary character, and therefore he styled himself "Martin Luther by the grace of God, Ecclesiastes of Wittenberg"—and in his letter to the Catholic Bishops (t. ii, f. 305), he states that "so many bulls and so many excommunications, so many condemnations from the Pope and Emperor, had stript him of all his former titles, and defaced the character of the beast in him; yet he could not remain without a title, and therefore had given himself this, as a token of the ministry to which God had called him, and which he had received not from man, nor by man, but by the gift of God, and by the revelation of Jesus Christ."—(*Ep. ad falso nomin. Episc. ordin.* t. ii). The necessity of ordination, is held by all your churches. The necessity of mission is taught by your great Reformer. Without these there is no power, according to your principles: with them and by their means, power is conferred on the ministry or the priesthood, and resides therein; and thus, Sir, you are like the Roman Catholic in teaching the power of the priesthood: I shall not undertake to say how far you are unlike them in the possession of that power.

Sleidan informs us (lib. v), that when Muncer and the Anabaptists made exactly the same claims that Luther did:—this latter would not permit them to refer to the Scriptures for any proof of their doctrine, nor have them treated in any way as a Christian body, until Muncer should first answer the question "Who has given you a commission to preach?" "Should he answer 'God;' let him prove it by a manifest miracle; for when God intends to alter any thing in the ordinary form, of mission, it is by such signs that he declares himself." And in 1534,

in his treatise on authority of magistrates, he writes, "That he had much rather that a Lutheran should leave a parish, than preach there against the consent of his pastor; that the magistrate ought not to suffer any private assemblies, nor permit any one to preach without a lawful vocation; that if they had suppressed the Anabaptists, when, without any vocation, they began to spread abroad their doctrine, the evils which made Germany desolate, would have had a timely prevention; that no truly pions man should undertake any thing without vocation; that this principle ought to be so religiously observed, that an Evangelical should not preach in the parish of a papist or of a heretic, without consent of that pastor." This he writes for the instruction of magistrates, that they may treat in a proper way, "those prattlers, who brought not good and sure testimonials of their vocation, either from God or from men: that without such testimonials, they ought not to be allowed, even though they preached the pure Gospel, or were even angels dropped down from Heaven."

Thus, Sir, the only power which the Catholic priesthood claims, is that of preaching, of offering the mass, of administering the sacraments, and of preserving discipline, order, and regularity in the church. And that this power was conferred by Christ upon the Apostles, and has been transmitted to our day, by the ordinary succession to office, after vocation, ordination and mission. And you, Sir, in the Lutheran Society, keep as much of this power, or of its semblance as you can.

As to the "pomp and parade of our religious worship." They are, with us, so far matters of indifference, that we believe God is equally well worshipped upon the most humble altar which is occasionally fitted up in the tottering shantee of our rail road laborers, as in the midst of the splendid array which decorates the church of the Vatican on its highest festival. Yet we think this solemnity and pomp is calculated to inspire the mind with sentiments useful to religion, and we believe that such was the lesson taught by the Almighty, when he instructed Moses how to provide for the pomp and parade of religious worship in the desert; when he approved the resolution of David, and when in the midst of the pomp and parade of religious worship, in the presence of the assembled sons of Israel he filled the temple with his majesty and gave token of his protection, as the vicinity of the mercy seat was radiant between the wings of the Seraphim whose likeness he commanded to be made. We consider the pomp and parade of religious worship to be useful, only as it elevates the mind to God, as it reminds us of the important facts which are thus more strongly impressed upon the memory, as it exhibits to us more forcibly the grounds of our

hope, in the promises of good things to come, and as it enforces the lesson for the performance of our duty. The Catholic Church regards all her ritual observances, except such as have been instituted by the Saviour for sacramental purposes, in this light; and if her erring children would but return to her bosom, upon the condition of her laying aside her decorations, we should soon again have the happiness of being only one fold under one shepherd. The taste and genius of nations differ widely, and the ceremony or the dress which one admires is ridiculous in the eyes of another. The pomp and parade of our religious worship should not then be cause of disunion, nor a matter of reproach.

You say also that "you have no overgrown hierarchy." But you do not vouchsafe to inform us what you mean by "overgrown." Surely you do not consider our American hierarchy to be "overgrown." Yet it is fully and substantially as much invested with power as any other division of our hierarchy in the world. We have fifteen diocesses for perhaps 1,250,000 Catholics, or about 83,000 Catholics to every diocess. It is true they are never equally divided, for some of the prelates have nearly 150,000, whilst others have not 10,000 to their territory. The number of priests to serve them is very little over 400,—which is one priest to about 3,000 souls. Now if this be "overgrown" what shall we say of the Protestant Episcopalians, who are set down in the American Almanac at 600,000, having 850 clergymen or about 700 souls to each pastor, and having 17 Bishops, that is, one prelate to about 35,300 souls? Thus, Sir, if you take the ratio between the Hierarchy and the flock, the Protestant Episcopal Hierarchy of the United States is more than twice as much overgrown as is that of our Church, and yet you protest with both your hands against the existence of any similitude with us, whilst you desire to be recognised as their eldest brother! By the same Almanac, you have 267 Lutheran ministers for a population of 540,000 souls, that is, one minister to 2,000 souls. The Hierarchy is overgrown when the flock is too few to require the services of that sacred body. The Protestant Episcopalians of the United States, have the ratio of the prelates to the people, as, 1 to 35,300. The Catholics as 1 to 83,000. The Episcopalian Protestants have of clergymen, 1, to 700 laity: the Lutherans, 1, to 2,000: the Catholics, 1, to 3,000. Now whether does the Lutheran ratio approach nearer to the Catholic or to the Protestant Episcopalian? which is overgrown?

But why not take in Europe? Most willingly. In France the ratio may be fairly set down of three prelates to as many Catholics as there are in the entire United States. So that if you add the Lutherans

and the Protestant Episcopalians of these United States together, they would not give as many souls as form the charge of three French Bishops. Yet they have seventeen Protestant Bishops, and you can inform us how many Lutherans! Where now is the overgrown Hierarchy? In Germany—No. The Catholic prelates there are fewer in proportion than in France! In Spain? The ratio here is 1 to 230,000! Italy? Yes; here, you say it is an overgrown Hierarchy:—the seat of the power of the Beast! The ratio is one bishop to 89,000 of the laity. Now in Denmark, the ratio is 1 bishop to 241,000 Lutheran Population, in Sweden and Norway, 1 to 183,000. The Lutherans together give us an average of one prelate to 212,000 people. The average of the Catholics is, one prelate to 306,000 population. This statement is always found to be the best mode of correcting your vague assertions. Where now is the overgrown Hierarchy?—Clearly in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States! It has one Bishop for 35,300 of the population: the Catholic Church in Italy and in Sicily has one Bishop for about 90,000. The average of the Catholic Church in Europe is one Bishop to 306,000 souls, that of the Lutherans in Europe, one Bishop to 212,000 souls. In Ireland the Protestant Episcopalians had lately one Bishop with a revenue equal to that of eight or ten Italian Bishops, to about 22,500 Protestant souls. Yet you have no overgrown Hierarchy, and who taunt us with upholding it, aspire to a similitude with this Protestant Church, and declare that you are unlike us, for you do not love an "overgrown Hierarchy."

You tell us that "your church is destitute of wealth or power." If you mean this for the United States, I can tell you that you are not so destitute of either one or the other as the Catholics are. Do you mean it for Europe? To a certain extent the statement is true. But, go read the history of Europe, and you will easily perceive its cause. Why did the first Lutheran princes introduce your religion into their territory? Because it aided them to plunder the Church of its property, and to appropriate it to their own use, and to the use of their menials, and of their favorites; because by its aid they were confirmed in a despotic power, for Lutheranism proclaimed the principle that the civil ruler was the head of the Church in his own dominions. This Christiern saw, this Gustavus saw, this the renegade Grand-Master saw, as clearly as it was seen by Philip the Landgrave of Hesse, and by his associates. Hence, not only did Lutheranism unite in an indissoluble bond the Church and State, but she became the handmaid of the monarch for the purposes of the State, and in Europe her clergy are kept under the supervision of the prince, with the same regularity and the same facility

that the ordinary police are kept. They are the salaried officers of the monarch, and should the Church receive any donation from the piety of her children, it is disposed of by the head. Thus it is that your Church is destitute of wealth and of power. It is so by your own procuration. The monarch, accustomed to have every order instantly obeyed, becomes exasperated when a Catholic prelate resists his mandate in the concerns of religion; and the Archbishop of Cologne is now a prisoner in Minden, because the Prussian King will not understand that the Catholic religion cannot be modified as easily, at his pleasure, as the Lutheran religion was.

Your reformation, as you call it, despoiled of their independent income the clergy, who in the worst times were the most impregnable barrier for the protection of the people. Your religious changes took what the piety and the industry of ages had treasured for the purposes of religion: and with the sustenance of the clergy, the patrimony of the poor, and the gifts of the altar, were the avarice and the ambition of princes gratified, the clergy made a stipendiary police, the temporal and the ecclesiastical authority placed in the same hands and these hands left uncontrolled. You may declaim against tyranny! You have, in the principles of your religious changes, done more to encourage, to support, to flatter and to uphold it, than had been done in Europe for centuries before; and in doing this you despoiled yourself and consented to your own debasement.

You recollect the fable of the envious and of the avaricious man. You have prayed, Sir, to be deprived of some things, that we may be despoiled of every thing. Your Church is now reaping what your predecessors have sown.

And now, I ask you,—Do you covet the wealth or the power of the Bishop of Charleston?—This bloated member of the overgrown Hierarchy, at all events has hitherto, had an excellent mode of concealing that wealth and of wielding that power! But, seriously, Sir. You should not taunt him with his poverty. It is not his fault, if his flock are not rich and liberal.

You say that "your temples are without images or imposing pictures." Why, Sir, so is the poor wooden Cathedral of St. Finnbar, so was the Church of St. Mary. But, Sir, you ought to know than not only is the splendid statuary of Thorwalsden, the images of Christ and of his Apostles to be the decoration of a Danish Lutheran Church, but in several others you may see what I have seen, the image of the crucifix upon the altar, and lighted candles, and pictures and other decorations, Some of the images I most admired as decorations, I have seen in Lu-

theran Churches. But I did not fall into the same mistake that a friend of mine did in Hamburg, where he waited a considerable time reading prayers before mass, whilst he thought the clergyman was making preparation, until an acquaintance informed him that he had mistaken a Lutheran Church for a Catholic one. You will not find everywhere that your forms "of worship are of the simplest kind."

In your 54th paragraph you ask "Do we differ least from them, (Catholics) in withholding the word of God from the common people?" You should not have made this charge, until you had better examined the ground upon which it rests. You call the word of God,—your translation of the Bible. Sir, you beg the position you have taken: the ground is not yours. I deny that the book which you would give, is the word of God. The Catholic Church tells her children not to take your book, for she tells them that your book is not the word of God. When you prove that it is, you shall have advanced one step. But, Sir, with every disposition to treat you with respect, I tell you, that you never can, upon Protestant principles, make the smallest advance to that point.

Next, you give your book for the purpose of telling "the common people," to use it to aid them in forming a system of religion, each for himself. She tells them that the principle is an outrageous departure from the first maxims of Jesus Christ, as notoriously delusive as it is impracticable.

But, Sir, she gives to all her children the pure and uncontaminated word of God, to instruct them in the belief of what God has taught, and in the practice of what he has commanded. This is not the moment to enter upon so wide a field as this question would open. I merely make the remark to show that your charge is an unmeaning flourish, your position an usurped station. You have no evidence as a Protestant to know that any book contains a revelation of heaven, and if you had, you would not well have entered upon the question which you have so boldly begged.

In your paragraph 54, you show something of your own character for a monemt. I should be sorry, were I driven to class you with the wretched group of the Slocums, Brownlees and other miserable ministers who have given to their names an unenviable notoriety for their mean associations, their virulent bigotry and their recklessness of truth.

You say that you "do not lend a willing ear to every idle tale promulgated by bigotry against the morals of our priests and people." This is I believe no idle boast. Rogues and renegades, fools and imposters, have, if I am rightly informed, endeavored to work upon you

by tales of scandal. You had, at least, the good sense not to commit yourself. I will go farther, for I believe it, and will say; you had the honor and the generosity to use those powers of mind that you possess, not to defame the clergy of the Catholic Church in this city, but to sift to the bottom, the tales that were whispered to you, and you had the discrimination to detect their falsehood, and the honesty to say openly what you believed. As a Catholic; I thank you for what you have done. I respect you for your honesty. Though I may now inform you, that had you pursued a different line of conduct; you would have had difficulties to overcome, of whose existence you had perhaps no suspicion.

You say, however, that "you do not countenance our errors." You will not then blame me for not having countenanced your mistakes. I have dealt freely with your Sermon, I hope not discourteously with yourself, I have done what I conceived to be a duty. What we have written is before the little world that surrounds us.

Accept my apology, if any thing has escaped from my pen, that may be calculated to give you any personal offence, and be assured, that however I may feel myself obliged to differ from your religious opinions, there are not many who hold you in higher personal esteem. Adieu, if you will.

I remain, Rev. Sir, yours, B. C.

TERTULLIAN AND TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

[The following Criticism upon a passage in Tertullian, often cited —as favoring the figurative sense of the words of consecration in the Holy Eucharist,—is extracted from the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, Vol. III, for the year 1824.]

A passage taken from the works of Tertullian, which appears to contradict the doctrine of our Church, on this dogma, [Transubstantiation] has been sent to us for explanation, by two or three esteemed friends of our communion. It is amongst those adduced by Mr. Ratio, in the Missionary, and has been for some time bandied about by a Protestant clergyman of North Carolina, for whom we entertain sentiments of regard. In general we do not consider ourselves, by the nature of our work, called upon to devote our pages to explanations upon every objection to a particular tenet; for if we were so bound, we would no longer be masters of our publication, and some of our good friends might furnish us in one week with as many objections as would require our whole volume to answer. But upon the present occasion, we shall take up the passage which has been now adduced against the doctrine for probably the ten thousandth time within the last three hundred years, because, as far as we can observe, the answer has not reached the objectors, nor the Catholics in the present instance.

We must premise a few remarks. Suppose Tertullian did not believe in the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the holy Eucharist, but believed that sacrament to be only a figure of Christ's body and blood, should we therefore believe that all the other writers of the same and of the previous and subsequent ages, who did believe in the doctrine of the real presence, taught differently from the Church, and that Tertullian alone believed with the Church? A single name, how great soever, is not authority. Though the doctrine of Tertullian in regard to the Eucharist was in accordance with that of the Church, still at the latter period of his life he fell into the errors of Montanus, and so far as they went, he differed from the great body of Christians. If, therefore, a passage was found in the works in favor of the figurative commemoration, it would no more prove that to have been the true doctrine, than the passages which are found in favor of the Montanist heresy,

prove that heresy to have been the true doctrine. Such a passage would only prove that the writer held and taught that doctrine.

Our next remark is, that when the Catholic writers quote passages from the Fathers, they only produce public, competent witnesses, to testify what was the doctrine of the Church in their day. Suppose Tertullian's works favored the figurative commemoration, and that many and unsuspected teachers of the same age, testified the doctrine of the real presence, we should decide by the number and the character of the witnesses, and say that the doctrine of the day was to be found by the testimony of the great body and not that of an individual.

Next: The sense of a writer is not to be gathered from an isolated passage, but from the examination of the writer's object and comparison with several other passages. Any person in the least degree conversant with the rules of sound criticism, must at once perceive that an isolated passage taken without reference to its general object, and the circumstances with which it is accompanied, so far from giving information, will mislead. This reminds us of the man who insisted he could prove Atheism to be a scriptural doctrine, and turning to the 13th *Psalm*, (14th *Prot. Version*,) read very distinctly the following words which are found in its first verse: "There is no God." His half discomfited adversary, however, seizing the book, looked eagerly and found the words, it is true, as they were read, but he exultingly read the preceding passage: "The fool hath said in his heart," and gave his opponent the choice between folly and defeat. The man of the strict letter was not, however, to be so easily put down, for he contended that it was not in his heart he said so, but with his lips. To be serious, however—It is clear an isolated passage will not be proof, unless the sense which it has in its separate state, be also that which it has in its conjunction with the context.

Another principle of explanation, which every good critic and every honest man adheres to, is, to pay full deference to peculiarities in style of the writer, because the object is not to find what the words can be brought to mean, but what was the meaning of the writer.

These observations being premised, we could furnish from Tertullian's works, three other texts which would appear more forcibly to establish the figurative commemoration of the Eucharist than the one in question, and we could produce very few in plain support of our own doctrine, yet we have no doubt that he believed upon this head as we do.

The passage in question is taken from his 4th book against Marcion, and is the following:

Acceptem panem, et distributum discipulis' corpus suum illum fecit; Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est figura corporis mei.

The translation which Mr. Ratio gives of the passage, is the following:

The bread being taken and distributed to his disciples, Christ made it his body, saying, This is my body, that is, the figure of my body.

In the first place we object to this translation; not that the words might not be translated so, but because they ought not to be translated so. We do not say that it is not a good syntactical translation of those Latin words as they are found so isolated, but it is not a correct representation of the meaning of Tertullian in that passage.

First, the context will not admit this translation as correct; next, the style of Tertullian will prove it incorrect; and thirdly it would make Tertullian assert what was not the fact.

To take the last. It makes Tertullian assert, that our Saviour said what the Evangelists do not record, and what no person ever asserted the Saviour to have said, viz. that at the institution of the Eucharist Christ added to the words which the Evangelists relate, "This is my body;" those other words, "that is, the figure of my body." The good gentlemen who are so anxious to preserve the bare letter of the Scripture from notes or comment as to threaten us with all the plagues that are written in the book, if we add one word thereto, ought not even upon the authority of Tertullian to have added five or six words without some scruple of conscience. But we will be told, they are not added to the Scripture, they are the explanation of Tertullian. Then it is no crime to add a note to help out the Scripture, which is so obscure as that therein a body means the figure of a body. We shall be told this is quibbling—we shall soon, we trust show that it is not. If Tertullian's meaning then was that our Lord said these words, he asserts that which is not true. It will then be admitted that Tertullian does not give them as spoken by our Saviour, but as his own comment. The words of our Lord were "This is my body," and Tertullian says that by those words, he "made the bread, his body," mark: Tertullian does not say, Christ by these words "This is my body," "made the bread his body, that is, the figure of his body." Thus he neither says that the Saviour used these explanatory words, "that is the figure of my body," nor does he say that the Saviour made the bread the figure of his body, but he distinctly says, that "he made it his body." But what are we to do with those words "that is the figure of my body"? Have they no meaning, no force? Are we to throw them away? Were they not written by Tertullian? We shall keep the words very carefully, and put them into

their proper place, because Tertullian wrote them, and his sentence would be very inapplicable to its object without them.

What was his object? To refute Marcion. One of Marcion's errors was that our Saviour had not a real body. Tertullian's object was to prove that Christ had a real body and that in the new law he fulfilled the figures of the old law, by substituting the realities, and in this very place he is proving the fact that Christ had real flesh and blood, from the circumstance that in the old law which was a figure of the new, there were several figures of the body and blood of Christ, which were all completed by the substitution of the reality of the body, in the new, for the figure of the body in the old. And in this special place his argument is to the following effect: "In the old law, the bread of proposition, and so forth, was a figure of the body of Christ, for which he was to substitute the reality in the new law, and he did substitute the reality when at his last supper he took bread and gave it to his disciples, and by the words 'This,' which in the old law was a figure of my body, 'is my body,' made it his body, therefore Christ had a real body and not a figure of a body, for he put his body instead of the figure of his body, which in the old law was bread."

Now we have to show the grounds of our statement. First, there is no question but the error of Marcion was what we state; next, the object of Tertullian was what we state; again, there is no question that his general line of proof is what we have laid down. Then if Tertullian's special argument was not what we have exhibited, his whole passage is nonsense, and so far from refuting Marcion, which all acknowledge he did, his words are without object, connexion or meaning, and so far from doing any violence to his style, we translate it most accurately. Whoever examines his works will discover them to exhibit a rapidity of thought which rushed to give his whole conception and then turned back to explain. This renders his style uneven, sometimes obscure, always crabbed and negligent; because whilst he wrote rapidly, he also endeavored to be concise. We shall adduce one or two instances of his peculiarity of style. In his book against Praxeas he has this passage, *Christus mortuus est, id est unctus*; translated as the passage in the objection is translated by Ratio, this is, "Christ was dead, that is anointed;" this is perfect nonsense, for it is asserting death to mean being anointed if it would mean any thing. Tertullian first gave his whole proposition, "Christ is dead," then turning back to explain what he before omitted, but wishes state, he adds, "that is anointed." Where was the omission? After the principal word "Christ." Thus the meaning of his sentence is obviously this, "Christ, that is, the

anointed, is dead.'' Common sense shows this to be the meaning, and this is perfectly intelligible when we know that the word Christ signifies anointed. A little farther on we have this passage, *Id quod est unctum, mortuum ostendit, id est carnem.* Now by Mr. Ratio's rule we should translate it thus, that which is anointed he shows dead, that is flesh, and by construction dead must mean the same as flesh. But knowing the writer's style makes common sense give us the meaning, that which is anointed, that is flesh, he shows dead.

By the same rule we translate the passage in question, *Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit. Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est figura corporis mei*: thus, ''That bread which was taken and distributed to his disciples, he made his body, saying, This, that is what was the figure of my body, is my body.'' In translating it thus we are certain, for many reasons, that we gave Tertullian's meaning. First, it agrees perfectly with his style as we have seen.

Secondly we do not make the writer contradict himself as the other translation does; for that makes him say that Christ made the bread his body, and then asserts that it was not his body, for it was only the figure of his body.

Thirdly, The very words which follow prove our meaning to be that of the writer, those words are: *figura autem non fuisset nisi veritatis esset corpus.* Now those words are the conclusion of his argument upon this topic, in this sentence aginst Marcion, which argument we have before alluded to—''The old law contained figures of the realities of the new law. Bread, in the old law, was a figure of the body of Christ; in the new law, Christ put the reality in place of the figure. He changed the bread which was the figure of his body, into his body, when he said, ''This is my body,' But it, the bread, would not have been a figure of his body, unless that sacrament was the body of truth.'' That is, there could have been no figure in the old law, unless there was a reality in the other. The writer's object was to refute Marcion who held, amongst other errors, that Christ had not a body. Unless he admitted that Christ's real body was in the Eucharist, this line of argument would have been ridiculous, for Marcion could have easily retorted—''In the old law bread was a figure of the body of Christ, yet you avow that in the old law Christ had not a body. Now in the new law you say bread is a figure of Christ's body; your argument proves nothing against me, for I only require in the new law what you grant in the old law. In the old law there was a figure in bread and no real body, in the new law there is a figure in bread and no real body.''

Fourthly, Tertullian takes up for his principle that which was used by St. Paul, viz. that the prophecies of the old law, faintly showed the facts of the new; and that the figures of the old law, were its facts which were but shadows, or types of the facts in the new law. In this same book against Marcion, a little forward, is this passage, *Cur panem corpus suum appellat, et non magis peponem, quem Marcion loco cordis habuit non intelligens veterem fuisse istam figuram corporis Christi, dicentis per Hieremiam; Venite conjiciamus lignum in panem ajus; scilicet crucem in corpus ejus? Itaque illuminator antiquitatum quid tunc voluerit significasse panem, satis declaravit, corpus suum vocans panem.* "Why he calls bread, and not rather other food which Marcion had instead of a heart, his body, not understanding that that was an ancient figure of the body of Christ, saying by Jeremias: Come let us cast wood upon his bread, to wit, the cross upon his body? Thus the illustrator of antiquities has sufficiently declared what he then wished bread to signify, calling bread his body."

The writer shows in a variety of places, that in the old law bread was a figure of the body, and in the passage under consideration he shows Marcion, those figures were fulfilled by placing the reality in their stead; thus by his words he made the bread which in the old law was the figure of his body, his body, by the words, 'this is my body,' and bread would not have been a figure of his body, if his body was not given under the appearance of the bread: Jeremias foresaw the facts, and tells us that the wood of the cross is to be laid upon the flesh of Christ, when he carried it to the place of his crucifixion. Therefore he says to Marcion, Christ had real flesh upon which that cross was laid as Jeremias prophecied.

Fifthly, explaining the prophecy of Jacob, *Genesis* xlix. he has this passage in the same book and for the same object, *Lavabit in vino stolam suam: et in sanguine uvoe pallium suum, Stolam carnem demonstrat, et vinum sanguinem. Ita et nunc sanguinem suum in vino consecravit, qui tunc vinum in sanguine figuravit.* "He will wash his stole in wine, and his cloak in the blood of the grape. The stole shows the flesh, and the wine the blood. So now, he who then figured wine in blood, has consecrated his blood in wine." The words "figured wine in blood," have according to Tertullian's style, this meaning, "made wine which is the blood of the grape, a figure of his blood." Tertullian's explanations of this prophecy fully acord with his explanation of the prophecy of Jeremias. The stole shows the flesh: he will wash his flesh in his blood, bread is a figure of his body, wine is a figure of his blood, he makes the bread his body, he has consecrated his blood in wine. The

object of the writer was to show that Christ did not destroy the old law, but fulfil its figurative institutions and prophecies; instead of the figure bread, he gave his flesh; instead of the figure wine, he fulfils the prophecy by consecrating blood in wine; this argument against Marcion is then conclusive. Thus the old figures are fulfilled by the substitution of the reality, and Christ has real flesh and real blood, which he gave in place of the old figures.

Thus from the style of the writer and from his context we find his meaning, and do not quibble upon an isolated paragraph, which might bear to be translated in two or three different ways.

We now take a new view of the question. Tertullian's doctrine was not contradictory to itself upon this subject. It was consistent. Therefore, if we can find in his works other passages which exhibit a doctrine not of figurative but of real presence, it will confirm what we have written, if that confirmation should be necessary.

A few observations as to the circumstances under which he wrote may be necessary to show why the expressions of this and other writers of the same period are so obscure. Christians were under the persecution and were generally cautious of attracting much notice, they were ridiculed and were desirous of avoiding the irritation of their feelings, nothing was more fashionable than to hold up their doctrines and ceremonies to contempt, hence they studiously spoke and wrote in so guarded a manner as to be intelligible to each other, and not to the pagans, except in their Apologetic works, and even in those they avoided particulars as much as possible. Thus it is only by a minute knowledge of special facts their language is frequently to be understood. Tertullian flourished about the year 200. Amongst his works are two books to his wife. In the second he is stating the inconveninces which arise from a Christian wife being wedded to a Pagan husband, and amongst others he mentions that which will arise from the difficulty of her receiving communion: for she must altogether abstain from the Eucharist, or else it must be exposed to the contempt of her husband.

To understand the ground of his difficulty, we must advert to a custom which existed in those times of persecution. Christians who were faithful and approved of, were frequently permitted to take home the holy Eucharist, under the appearance of bread only, and keep it, lest upon the sudden breaking out of a persecution they might be deprived of their clergy, or lest they might be seized upon, and in order to give them the opportunity of communion in either case, they were allowed to keep the holy sacrament. Tertullian then expresses his difficulty thus: *Non sciet maritus quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes*;

et si sciverit, panem, non illum credit esse qui dicitur. "Your husband will not know what you may taste privately, before all food; and if he shall know, he believes it to be bread, not him who is said to be there." The guarded phraseology of Tertullian is sufficiently intelligible to one who has been taught that it is not bread, but Him, viz. Christ, who is there in the sacrament which then and now, in our church was and is taken before all food, fasting, according to a discipline introduced originally by St. Paul, at Corinth, to remedy an evil which he describes, (*I Cor.* xi, 20).

Tertullian's difficulty could have been easily removed by a wife who could tell her husband, "This is sanctified bread, which is to me a figure to remind me of the principal doctrine of my belief." There would be nothing in this which her Pagan husband could not as fully believe as she could. But it would be very difficult indeed, for her to persuade a Pagan that it was Christ who was there, and her faith would be put to many trials by his contempt of her supposed folly; and the object of the writer was to guard against those trials of her faith.

In his book *De Corona Militis*, he mentions a few of the customs of Christians, amongst them he states the great anxiety of the faithful to guard against any falling of a particle, or shedding of a drop from the Chalice, evidently upon the principle and in conformity with the decree of Pope Pius I, who presided over the church from the year 142 to 157. The following is the extract from the decree:

Si per negligentiam aliquid de sanguine Domini stillaverit in terram, lingua lambetur, et tabula radetur, si non fuerit tabula, ut non conculcatur, locus corradetur, et igne consumatur, and cinis intra altare recondetur, et sacerdos quadraginta diebus paeniteat. Et si super altare stillaverit calix, sorbeat minister stillam et tribus biebus paeniteat, and so forth.

If through negligence any of the blood of the Lord shall have dropped upon the ground, let it be licked up with the tongue, and the board be scraped. If there be no board; that it should not be trodden upon, let the place be scraped up, and the scrapings burned with fire, and the ashes be laid up within the altar, and let the priest do penance during forty days. If the chalice shall have left a drop upon the altar, let him who administers suck it up and do penance during three days, and so forth.

Origen who lived nearly at the same period as Tertullian, in his 13th Homily on Genesis, explaining chapter 25, has these words:

Nostis qui divinis mysteriis interesse consuevistis, quomodo cum suscipitur corpus Domini, cum omni cautela et veneratione, servatis ne ex eo parum quid decidat, and so forth.

You who are accustomed to be present at the divine mysteries know, how when the body of the Lord is taken, you keep it with all caution and veneration lest the smallest particle should fall, and so forth.

It will not then be doing any violence to the passage of Tertullian, to explain its meaning by the law which regarded the custom and by the more distinct testimony of Origen, we may call him a contemporary.

In Tertullian's book *On the Resurrection*, he uses as an argument in proof that our bodies will arise, from the topic that the sacraments must all come in contact with the body, before the soul will receive their benefit. The following is one passage: *Caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur; caro ungitur ut anima consecretur; caro corpore et sanguine Christi rescitur, ut anima saginetur.* "The flesh is washed, that the soul might be cleansed; the flesh is anointed that the soul might be consecrated; the flesh is fed with the body and blood of Christ, that the soul might be nourished." In this place his argument would not have any force, nor would his words have their meaning if the flesh being fed with the body and blood of Christ, meant only the flesh is fed with bread, which is a figure, because still it would be only bread, and not the body of Christ.

To understand the next passage, we must be aware of the mode in which communion was then given. The communicants held a small clean cloth of linen on the palm of the right hand, the sacrament was laid upon this, and they conveyed it themselves to the mouth. Tertullian in his book on Idolatry, reproving those who gave the sacrament into the hands of those who made idols in the way of their trade, has the following passage: *Proh scelus! Semel Judaei Christo manus intulerant, isti quotidie corpus ejus lacessunt, O! manus praescindendae, and so forth.* "Oh wickedness! The Jews once had laid hands upon Christ, these men every day abuse his body. O hands which should be cut off, and so forth."

There is another passage in the first book of this writer, against Marcion, which is quoted to show that he held the figurative sense. Speaking of the Eucharist it states: *Nec panem, quo ipsum suum corpus repraesentat.* "Nor the bread which he represents his own very body." Thus we are told the bread was by this writer stated to represent his body, that is to be a figure of his body, therefore not his body. The question here is, how the word *repraesentat* ought to be translated. No doubt it can be rendered into the English word represents, but the question really is not how it can, but how it ought to be translated. We say the verb *repraesentat* may be translated correctly exhibited or presented, we could adduce many classical passages to prove this; but the question is, what was Tertullian's meaning. We find him use the word again in his 4th book against Marcion; in this passage stating the testi-

mony of the voice of the eternal Father from Heaven, testifying for the son on Thabor. *Itaque jam repraesentans eum: Hic est filius meus dilectus, and so forth.* "Therefore now representing him: this is my beloved Son," and so forth. Tertullian could not mean that it was a figure of Christ and not real Christ which was upon Thabor, especially when his object was to prove that Christ had a real body: the word *repraesentat* must then be translated exhibited or presented. We will then have the father presenting his son on Thabor, by his testimony, and we will have Jesus Christ not representing a figure of his body in his bread, but presenting his body therein.

We feel that we have been very tedious, but we were desirous to show that the testimony of our church is not that little quibbling carping at possible translations of ambiguous passages, but the result of deep research, close examination, accurate comparison, and the full investigation of facts. Thus we thought it but right to show that although a few ambiguous passages might be adduced to throw doubts upon the fact that our doctrines were held by all the fathers, still it would be folly in us to fill up our paper with critical exhibitions like the present upon every one of those which might be adduced. From the respectability of some of the applications on the present occasion, we thought ourselves called upon to give this article.

We shall add but one topic before we hasten to its conclusion. Tertullian was never suspected by his contemporaries nor by the writers since his day of having erred upon the doctrine of the Eucharist, though he did err with the Montanists. Now if he taught as the Sacramentarians do, the doctrine of only a figurative presence, he would have been as speedily arraigned and convicted for that as for his Montanist errors, by the host of writers whom we can adduce in the age in which he lived, and those ages which have since elapsed, teaching as we do. Yet they are all silent as to this alleged error of his respecting the Eucharist. They all assumed and believed that he taught as they did, and they taught not a figurative but a real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament.

Our facts then are—1. That Tertullian did in some passages plainly teach the doctrine of the real presence. 2. That in describing some circumstances regarding the sacrament, he alludes to those customs and laws which existed amongst the persons who held the doctrine of the real presence, and with whom he was in accord upon the subject. 3. That the passages which appear to favor the figurative meaning do so, only when translated in contradiction to his style of writing, and taken in an isolated way. 4. That those same passages, translated in accord-

ance with his style, and paying due regard to the context, support the doctrine of the real presence. 5. That if he did not hold the doctrine of the real presence, his arguments against Marcion, which were universally acknowledged to be powerful, conclusive and unanswerable, would have no force or value. 6. That if those passages support the figurative sense, Tertullian has been guilty in those books of many self contradictions. And 7. That he was charged with no error on this score by those writers who, in his day and during 1,300 years afterwards, read his works, and believed the doctrine of the real presence.

Whence we conclude that Tertullian did hold the doctrine of the real presence, and that those passages which are adduced from his writings as opposed thereto, have not the meaning which is attempted to be put upon them by those persons who adduce them against us.

INTENTION AND THE SACRAMENTS.

Letters Addressed to Mr. Thomas Waddell.

[From the *United States Catholic Miscellany* for Aug. 28, 1830.]

DOCTRINE OF INTENTION.

A Mr. or Rev. Doctor Thomas Waddell, we know not which, wrote a long letter to us upon this subject more than a year since. We declined, for reasons which we stated on the 25th of July, 1829, to enter the lists with this writer, but he was not to be put off: he states himself the subsequent history:

"I sent the first of the following letters, in substance, to the Editor of the *New York Truth Teller*, and to the Editor of the *Hartford Catholic Press*, in June last, requesting them to explain or defend the Doctrine of Intention: but they both acted more cunningly than their brethren in Charleston—they wisely suppressed it. When I came to this city, I inquired of the Editor of the *Truth Teller* why he did not answer or notice that communication; he said, 'he did not receive it, for if he had received it, he would of course have answered it.' I asked him if he strictly attended to all such communications; he said he did. A few days after, I drew it out, and handed it to him again: he read it partially in my presence, and said I was entirely wrong—that I misunderstood their doctrine: and having pronounced it an absurdity, denied that they were bound to believe that the intention of the minister is necessary to the validity of their sacraments. He said, however, that he would answer the communication in the next number of his paper, or as soon as possible. I called upon him the week after, and he told me the thing was taken up by a clergyman. I do not accuse this gentleman of wilful deception, in denying the doctrine of his mother church: for the ignorance of the best informed laymen amongst the Romanists respecting the doctrines of the papacy—their pride and their boast—is inconceivable. That clergyman has not yet favored us with a solution of the hitherto insuperable difficulty, and he never will.

"Such is the badness and weakness of the papal cause that even the heroes of the *Truth Teller* fall before the touch of inquiry; and yet against the dictates of conscience, they mislead their ignorant dupes to perdition, by unblushing falsehoods and mean artifices. 'He that hath ears to hear let him hear.'

"I also sent the same arguments again to the Editor of the *Catholic Press*, about the 11th of January; pressing him to answer them, or to give his reasons why he would not; but he did not notice my communication till the 13th of February. He then published it in his paper with a reply, which occupies nearly five columns; in which he accuses me of ignorance and misrepresentation, but fails to support his charge. He then admits the consequences which I deduce from the doctrine, and grants that the defect may occur and prove ruinous in some cases, and only attempts

to evince, that it cannot annihilate the whole body of the papal clergy, on account of the promises made to the church—that she cannot be destroyed. Thus, unable to stand against the irresistible conclusions fairly deduced from his doctrine, he retreats behind the fortress of his infallibility. If he does not yet see that this ideal fortress is overthrown by his own concession, I hope he will soon be convinced by my further inquiries.

"It is therefore necessary, in these perilous times, when those arch seducers are abroad like prowling wolves, that this doctrine, with its consequences, should be fairly exhibited to the world. The following letters furnish an argument, intelligible to the weakest capacity, and the conclusion is irresistible—by which a boy of sixteen summers can gag and chase a thousand Jesuits or even the President of St. Joseph's College; who, it is said, has proffered to answer all the objections which can be made to the Romish doctrines. If he can refute my letters, I will immediately become a papist."

Mr. Waddell has now published a pamphlet of 71 pages which he styles—

"Letters to the Editors of the *Catholic Miscellany*: illustrating the Papal Doctrine of Intention! the *Opus Operatum*; Roman Infallibility, and the knavery of Popish writers, by Thomas Waddell.

"Unruly and vain talkers and deceivers—whose mouths must be stopped—teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake.—*Paul.*"

In looking over this we found that our respected correspondent B. C. was the principal object of his attack, having sent him the book we received the following answer:—

To the Editors: Aug. 25, 1820.

Gentlemen—I have got the pamphlet of Mr. Waddell which you sent; I looked over it. I can have no objection to give an explanation of my assertions even in answer to that writer.—I shall send you a letter or two upon the subject, though I shall not have leisure to begin this week. Yours, sincerely,

B. C.

LETTER I.

Charleston, S. C., Sept. 17, 1830.

To Mr. Thomas Waddell.

Sir:—The Editors of the *United States Catholic Miscellany* have some weeks since handed to me, a pamphlet of about 70 pages, purporting to be letters of yours to them. The letters are five in number, and they are followed by an appendix of two pieces. The subjects of the letters are exceedingly various, and would require many more letters to answer the charges than were required to make them. I am under the impression that the editors do not intend to notice your productions

farther than they have done, and are willing to allow you all the merit and take to themselves all the shame that can arise from this silence.

I find however, Sir, that whatever might be the opinion of those gentlemen, they owe to me a little space, even in regard to you. I trust I shall make no indiscreet use of their concession, nor trespass too long upon your time. And first, Sir, I have to thank you for the very great courtesy of your manner. You and I, in all probability, never met, and certainly do not know each other: I had never written any thing to you or of you, when you vouchsafed to state that I "slipped off by a beggarly evasion from a subject on which I pretended to refute Bishop Bowen." And not content with paying me this as an incipient compliment, you kindly designate me "that scribe," who makes a "barefaced denial" of what is "fairly stated and applied" on "the doctrine of intention," and one whom you are not surprised at seeing in the use of "mean artifices," one of which is making "a false and impudent charge of misrepresentation" with a "shabby appearance." For these and sundry such compliments, Sir, you have my due acknowledgements, and proper estimation.

"If you condescend to favor me with a reply, let it not be a beggarly evasion, like that with which your correspondent B. C. has slipped off from the subject, in one his letters to Bishop Bowen, which I have met with since I wrote to you on the subject. As I was looking over the *Protestant Catechism*, which he published in the *Miscellany* for the purpose of a pretended refutation, I saw the doctrine of intention fairly stated and applied. I then turned over hastily to his letter to the bishop, foolishly expecting to see a full discussion, that would, perhaps, solve the whole difficulty. I was anxious, indeed, to read what that scribe might say on that subject, which, on account of its difficulty, is seldom touched by any of your writers. How great then, must you imagine my surprise to have been when I saw the barefaced denial, and false impudent charge of misrepresentation make their shabby appearance! I would indeed have been surprised, had I seen it proceeding from the pen of a writer of any other class.; but I have been too long and too well acquainted with your Machiavelians to be surprised by their mean artifices. In this trick we can see nothing of the Divine, but much of the Jesuit. Why did he not show it to be a misrepresentation, by stating the doctrine fairly, and defining your theological meaning of the word Intention? But why do I ask such an unscholarlike question? You know the reason as well as I do, and so must every man except his bigoted admirers, with whom every evasion, and every denial, and every dogmatism, pass for a demonstration. I would have you now to inform that fox, that he is required to come out from his retreat, and finish his work on that subject by stating that doctrine fairly, and defining your theological meaning of the word *Intention*, not by his *ipse dixit*, but from the standard books of Rome. Let him show us, if he can, the difference between the statement in the catechism, and my quotations from your acknowledged authorities.

"I again request you to publish an answer to my inquiries in your *Miscellany*. pp. 25 and 26. THOMAS WADDELL."

You have required me, "that fox, to come out from his retreat and finish his work on that subject, by stating that doctrine fairly, and defining our theological meaning of the word *Intention*, not by his *ipse dixit*, but from the standard books of Rome." I am perfectly at a loss to know upon what score Mr. Waddell could have made the above charges. In the first place I never undertook to state in my remarks upon the *Protestant Catechism*, what the Catholic doctrines were; I only stated that I would point out where the passages of the catechism were misrepresentations of those doctrines. I not only did not undertake to refute the prelate to whom I addressed the letters, but I distinctly stated in Letter I, "I seek not controversy upon the doctrinal differences of the two Churches. My object is to show that the Church of which I am a member has been misrepresented, vilified and insulted."[33]—Thus, Mr. Waddell states the thing which is not the fact, when he asserts that B. C. published his letters in the *Miscellany* for the purpose of a pretended refutation.

Again, Sir, you have, in other places, thought proper to charge me with denying the doctrine of the Church to which I belong: (p. 42),

"By these knavish tricks you may no doubt impose upon men of learning in controversy, who are ignorant of Popery and Popish artifices.—You may thus deny your doctrines, charge them with slander, and then assail them with your cunning sophistry, which they have perhaps never studied or provided against—in this way you may stand a mock fight, and may dazzle the eyes of your credulous admirers with a show of victory, but when you are assailed with fair inquiry, by any man who thoroughly knows your doctrine, you are struck dumb. You fall before the fatal touch of truth. Let it not be said that this false charge of misrepresentation, and denial of your doctrine, is in this affair to be laid only at the door of B. C., for it is chargeable to yourselves also, as you have published it with the rest of his work on that catechism, as a simple explanation and temperate maintenance of the doctrines of your church. Neither can it be said that you did it inadvertently, for you certainly examine what you publish, and you knew in your consciences that this was a false charge." . . . . .

"I should like very much to hear you account for your curious conduct on this head. The noble work of B. C. on this subject, has served no other purpose than to deceive the poor stupid subjects of the triple crown; to show that the work is indispensably necessary but impracticable; and to pour contempt and ridicule upon the great cause."—p. 32.

I shall add the following passage taken from pp. 44 and 45. I had written towards the conclusion of my Second Letter to Bishop Bowen, respecting the Doctrine of Intention.

"This is a very serious misrepresentation of our doctrine of *Intention*. I should scarcely believe it possible that it was an innocent mistake, but that I have lately discovered that the mode in which the general body of Protestant writers

[33] See *Letters to Bishop Bowen*, Vol. I, p. 370.

learn what Roman Catholics teach, is not by reading the works of Catholic authors. Hence I do admit that even you, Right Rev. Sir, might possibly, notwithstanding the station which you occupy, be yourself under a serious mistake upon this head, and that you perhaps do not know our theological meaning of the word "Intention," at all events your little Tract is egregiously incorrect upon this head."

You are pleased to remark upon the passage in the following way:

"Suppose the Bishop had been deceived into a mistake upon this head by Protestant writers, or by hearsay, or by a dream, or by some other way than by reading the works of Roman authors, I cannot see how his mistakes would be excusable; since he can have recourse to those authors from whom he could learn it correctly. Such a man should not suffer himself to be imposed upon by others, whether they be Protestants or Papists. The Bishop therefore cannot be excused on this ground, if he has misrepresented your doctrine: but perhaps he may be excusably ignorant of the meaning of the word intention: and this may be the case, if he be too stupid or simple to comprehend or remember it. He accounts for the possibility of this mistake in the Bishop, by the discovery he has lately made: 'that the WHOLE mode, in which the general body of Protestant writers learn what Roman Catholics teach, is not by reading the works of Roman Catholic authors.' How has he made this late discovery? I suppose by their writings; as they generally state the doctrine of the Church of Rome fairly: for these doctrines they could hardly learn from Roman authors. We might as well, indeed, expect to find wealth in a poet, sincerity in a lawyer, or truth in a gamester, as integrity and honor in a Roman writer in a Protestant country. Such writers are generally too near akin to B. C. himself and his quondam brethren. To Roman Catholic priests, when stating their doctrines in Protestant countries, where they apprehend danger from investigation, the complaint, I think, of Shakespeare, may very fitly be applied:

" 'Why seek we truth from priests?
A lawyer's frowns, a courtier's smiles,
And mourning of an heir,
Are truths to what priests tell.
O why has priesthood privilege to lie,
And yet to be believed?' "

"This comparison may be thought lame, as it admits of exceptions; but it suits on this very account; as there are exceptions on both sides: for as we may sometimes find sincerity in a lawyer, or truth in a gamester, so we may sometimes see a Roman priest giving a fair statement of his doctrine. But such writers are rare birds: the general body of your priests are poor theological cowards, liars and deceivers. We must allow, however, they are wise in their generation; for they know their cause would soon go to destruction if it were fairly exposed to the light. By thus raising the outcry of misrepresentation against Protestant writers, and aspersing their characters, they succeed admirably in filling the minds of their bigoted adherents with prejudice and hatred against them, and against the truth which they teach; so that Satan himself is supposed to be a far more harmless creature than a Protestant writer: if he has got one cloven foot, be sure a Protestant writer has got two. This piece of Popish policy succeeds so well in deceiving the poor sons of Papal delusion, that I have never yet conversed with one layman of your communion, whom I could not teach in the doctrines of his church, and who would not raise the outcry of misrepresentation against me, like B. C., when I

stated the naked truth. Thus they conceal many of the absurdities and abominations of Popery, and daub the faces of Protestants and their doctrines so notably, that the minds of their deluded adherents are quite inaccessible to the light of the Gospel, and even to their own doctrines, which they conceit they know thoroughly, though they are generally ignorant of the worst parts of their system. By thus effectually excluding a part of their absurd system from their view, by telling them thousands of lies about their victories in controversy, their miracles, &c., and by their false pretensions to antiquity, telling their people that all the new articles of the Trent Creed, with the whole farrago of human inventions, are as old as Christianity itself; which they must well know to be arrant falsehood; they lull the poor people asleep in their dark and deadly errors. If you were once to relinquish such mean artifices; if you were once to publish and acknowledge the whole of your system, and to risk it upon fair arguments and explanation; we might then reasonably look for the speedy downfall of Popery in all nations. Should any person doubt the propriety of this remark, we can call in B. C. with his quondam brethren for an illustration; for they have shown themselves afraid to put their cause upon such a dangerous issue: and need we seek for better witnesses? It is amazing, however, to see you attempting to succeed by these pious frauds in so public a manner, and with Protestants of learning and information; but I suppose Popish controversy is a novelty here; and you think your tricks will not be suspected. At all events you know you cannot lose by it; for your poor dupes will never see your knavery, and you know you have no reputation to lose with Protestants: for Popish writers have long been known to be legitimate sons of the father of liars.''—pp. 44 and 45.

I would have perhaps supposed it possible that the word whole, which I have marked above in capital letters, was an accidental interpolation, but that in giving the passage itself, as quoted from my letter, in your page 39, you have it in exactly the same words; accidental error is not usually thus repeated.

I shall now produce another of your complimentary modes of expressing your charge against me; the extract is from page 55.

''To keep off this light, they must raise an outcry of slander and misrepresentation against Protestants, and, like B. C., with his quondam brethren, deny her doctrines when fairly stated by them. By these unfair means, and by aspersing the characters of the Reformers and modern writers, and by telling thousands of palpable falsehoods, sufficient to make a devil blush, they get their pernicious ends too well accomplished, in deceiving the ignorant of their own and many of the unwary of other persuasions.''

I could not indeed expect to be treated otherwise by a writer who in the fifth page of his introduction says of such Roman Catholic priests as ''have studied,'' as each of them is obliged to do, ''the Scriptures, the fathers, history and general councils;'' ''neither can I acquit any of them from wilful fraud and corrupt perjury, who deny any of their doctrines, which they are sworn to confess till the last breath of their lives. How awfully, then, do the general body of the Papal priests trifle with their consciences, whenever they are assailed with inquiry, and find it necessary to deny their doctrines! In these fraudful artifices they

succeed amazingly in perverting the weak and ignorant, and in keeping their deluded people from ever knowing the blessed doctrines of the glorious Gospel; or even their own creed, which they are sworn to teach them. Surely the Papal clergy are the most complete tools Satan has in this world; and the Papal system, besides being the most pernicious, is the most degrading to the human mind, that Satan has ever contrived."

I am not astonished, Sir, at finding that the Editors of the *Miscellany* have no ambition of your farther acquaintance, and can easily account for it, upon the same principle that creates the practical classifications and intercourse of society. Happening, Sir, to believe that it is possible for me to answer you without adopting your style, I shall endeavor to show that you are incorrect in stating as you do in page 46:

"Your correspondent could not possibly expect to satisfy Bishop Bowen, and other Protestants, by this ridiculous conjecture; it is nothing more or less than a cunning fetch to deceive the ignorant and unwary, by casting a cloud of darkness upon the plain word; so that his simple readers would think that when used by such profound theologians as Popish priests, it was some technical scholastic term, of deep theological import, too profound for simple readers ever to understand, even though Peter Lombard, or Thomas Aquinas, should attempt to explain it for them. When he would thus set them a gazing at the word with wonder and delight, he might escape from it to some other subject, and dazzle their eyes with sophistry.

"Now, sirs, I put him and his brethren to the test, and defy them to show me that your Church attaches any meaning to the word, different from that which it has in common acceptation. Whatever, therefore, your theological meaning of the word Intention may be, the overwhelming conclusion must be admitted, if it be Intention at all, in any sense of the word, which a school boy can conceive.

"I have long wished to see an explanation of this term, and I have been truly sorry that B. C. has not favored the world with it. I have often been at a loss to know whether it be the virtual or actual intention, which is by your Church supposed to be necessary to the validity of her sacraments. If we could ascertain this, I think we would then be able to calculate, to some degree of certainty, the danger to which you say you are exposed by the occurrence of this defect. As you have never given us anything upon that subject, though you say your paper is intended for the simple explanation of your doctrines, and as we may rest assured that you never will, I have to enter upon an inquiry into the meaning of this important word, myself—or rather into the meaning of the whole canon, that I may, if possible, ascertain what Intention is required—whether the virtual Intention, which consists in being free from a malicious or wanton design, or the actual Intention to administer the sacrament aright, and confer the necessary grace. If I can thus arrive at your theological meaning of this word, I may then, it seems, be wiser, perhaps, than Bishop Bowen."

There is one reason, Sir, which has frequently induced me to avoid giving to catechists of your description any reply to several of their inquiries respecting the religion which I profess. I had reason to be-

lieve that instead of seeking honestly for information, they only sought an opportunity to dispute, and though you may possibly question my veracity, yet I imagine, if I am not conscious, that I am averse to wrangling disputation. I believe there is good reason to question that a man who writes as you do, seeks for information. You know not whether I am a layman or a clergyman. In p. viii you state, "I have never yet known a Romanist amongst the laity who knew their own doctrine of intention." You could not seriously ask me for information, then, upon a subject on which you boasted superior knowledge. If I am a clergyman, it will be seen from your published sentiments how completely it would be wasting my time to undertake giving you my explanations. Hence, Sir, all your appeals to the charity, the zeal, the information of our members, whether lay or clerical, are too plainly seen to be mere flourishes, which have only the unmeaning appearance of desire for information. The editors of the *Miscellany*, well aware of this, felt no disposition to permit you to indulge yourself at the expense of their space, their money and their readers.

But, Sir, you have charged me with denying our doctrine and its consequences, and you have kindly furnished me with what I wanted before I could undertake to justify myself. In your 47th and 48th pages, you give me your notion of our doctrine. The little Catechism did not give any description of what it imputed to us; but it asserted that certain consequences which it enumerated necessarily flowed from our doctrine. I perceived that no such consequences could follow, and therefore I stated that there must be a misrepresentation or misconception of what we held. The Catechism did not give the description which you do, and therefore I could not examine what was not produced. You, however, say, that being perhaps wiser than Bishop Bowen, you go through the process of arriving at our theological meaning of the word "Intention," and you lay out the following process, page 47:

"This Intention, your canon says, is the intention of doing what the Church does. Here arises a question: What does your Church do? She consecrates and administers her sacraments effectually, and confers grace by them. The minister, then, must have the actual intention to do what the Church has power to do, and what she actually does—he must actually intend to consecrate and perform the sacraments truly and effectually, and to confer grace by the work. If he does not believe he can do this, or if he does not think of the work, and actually intend to do it, he has not the necessary intention, and the work is still undone. Should he, then, at the critical time, happen to think of something else, and permit his thoughts to wander from his work, he would then fail of having this intention, and all would be null and void. That it is this actual intention which your canon intends, is evident by the existence of the canon itself; for it was certainly formed with a view to guard as much as possible against the danger of this fatal occurrence,

by informing the priest of the necessity of intention, that he might be upon the watch lest the defect should occur through his carelessness or inadvertency; and that he might have his thoughts exercised about his work, to exert this good intention at the critical time. Your Church surely could not have formed this canon with a view to prevent the occurrence of a malicious intention to spoil the sacrament; for she would, by telling a malicious priest that the efficacy of the sacraments depends upon this intention, inform him of the evil he had power to do, and would thus put him upon destroying, by wholesale or retail, the people who had offended him, if he only had malice enough. We see, then, by the language and manifest design of the canon, that your Church insists upon the actual intention of her priests, in order to the validity of her sacraments. But let us consult the Rubric of your Missal upon this point, which is intended as a golden key to let every priest into the meaning of this canon, that he may see what this intention is, and how he may fail of having it.

"And first, we may see that the want of this intention, by being placed in the class of defects occurring in the mass, must be the want of the actual intention: for a positive, malicious intention is not a defect but a property, arguing indeed the want of an actual good intention, which may or may not occur without this malicious design. But the Rubric furnishes plainer language than this upon the subject; so plain, that any novice, I think, can understand it very clearly, whether Dr. Bowen does or not. Thus speaks that form of sound words: 'If any one intend not to consecrate, but to cheat or banter; also if any wafers remain forgotten on the altar, or if any part of the wine or any wafer lie hidden, when he did not intend consecrating but what he saw; also if he shall have before him eleven wafers, and intended to consecrate but ten only, not determining what ten he meant; in all these cases the consecration fails, because intention is required.'

"In the case of the wafers remaining forgotten on the altar, it appears evidently the actual intention is required. For as these wafers get mingled with others which the priest lays upon the altar for consecration, without being noticed by him, he has not his thoughts exercised about them when he proceeds to consecrate, and so they miss of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted only to consecrate the wafers he had noticed. The other case of the eleven wafers is exactly parallel, and, if possible, more conclusive in favor of my opinion; for if he should by misreckoning, or any other way, think he had but ten wafers on the altar when there were eleven, his thoughts would be exercised only about ten, without determining what ten he meant, and so they would all fail of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted upon none of them: not because he had a wanton, wicked design to spoil the work, but because he did not think particularly of the wafers he virtually meant to consecrate. Should any thing therefore attract his attention from his work, he would fail of having the necessary actual intention.

"Thus Dr. Bowen, or any other man, whatever station he occupies, whether a bishopric or a barn, may easily see your theological meaning of the term, and that it is the actual intention that is required by the canon.

"The other case of a defect, in which your Church supposes the priest may intend not to consecrate but to cheat or banter, may very readily occur without a wanton, wicked intention. Suppose the priest should happen to think within himself, that Christ's humanity, which has now existed for 1800 years, and his divinity, which has existed from everlasting, cannot by any power whatever, begin now to

exist, and yet go on buzzing, crossing and mumming, through the whole form of the mass, pretending to consecrate; he then cheats; for he cannot intend to do what he knows or believes cannot be done.''

Now, Sir, the question is reduced to very narrow limits, and all will be resolved by merely ascertaining whether you have stated our doctrine correctly. If you have, I deserve your censure, and I was wrong when I stated that the Catechism was a misrepresentation. This question I shall examine in my next.

I am, Sir, yours, and so forth, B. C.

LETTER II.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Sept. 12, 1838.

To Mr. Thomas Waddell.

Sir,—The question between us is very simple; it is whether your description of our doctrine of Intention is correct. That description you give in p. 47 of your pamphlet, in the phrases which I copied into my former letter. Upon the ordinary principles of testimony, it would be easy to arrive at a decision; but, as if aware of the facility to convict you in this manner, you at once impeach the integrity of the witnesses. I need only refer to one passage of yours as a sample of several. In p. 44, speaking of our doctrines, you ask how Protestant authors could learn them, and then you answer:

''For these doctrines they could hardly learn from Roman authors. We might as well, indeed, expect to find wealth in a poet, sincerity in a lawyer, or truth in a gamester, as integrity and honor in a Roman writer in a Protestant country. Such writers are generally too near of kin to B. C. himself and his quondam brethren. To Roman Catholic priests, when stating their doctrines in Protestant countries, where they apprehend danger from investigation, the complaint, I think, of Shakespeare, may very fitly be applied:

'' 'Why seek we truth from priests?
A lawyer's frowns, a courtier's smiles,
And mourning of an heir,
Are truths to what priests tell.
O why has priesthood privilege to lie,
And yet to be believed?' ''

Thus, Sir, you will not allow me generally to produce Roman Catholic witnesses to state what are our doctrines. However, in page 13, you quote Cardinal Bellarmine as upholding your cause, and he was not a Roman Catholic writer in a Protestant country. I shall therefore take the witness whom you produce against us, as my authority, and shall leave to his testimony the decision of the case between Mr. Waddell and B. C. You say of him and of Gabriel Biel, page 13:

"Thus writes Bellarmine, that most able and steady supporter of the papal cause; and none of you can invalidate the conclusion which he deduces from your doctrine, which is necessary, and is admitted by a greater authority than Bellarmine or Biel, even by your Church herself, as is manifested by her consistent practice at the fountain head of Popery, where she can have her will, being there free from all control of the secular power."

Now, Sir, I shall take your description of our doctrine, clause by clause, and compare it with the statements of the Cardinal. You say page 47:

"This intention, your canon says, is the intention of doing what the Church does. Here arises a question: What does your Church do? She consecrates and administers her sacraments effectually, and confers grace by them. The minister, then, must have the actual intention to do what the Church has power to do, and what she actually does—he must actually intend to consecrate and perform the sacraments truly and effectually, and to confer grace by the work. If he does not believe he can do this, or if he does not think of the work, and actually intend to do it, he has not the necessary intention, and the work is still undone."

You very correctly state that the canon requires that the celebrant shall have "the intention of doing what the Church does." But as soon as you proceed to reason upon this statement, you draw a conclusion of your own, which is not contained in the premises that you have laid down. You extend the meaning first to "doing what the Church has power to do," and you have thus changed the terms by substituting the phrase has power to do for the word does. Mr. Waddell ought to know that a man who gives only one dollar, might have power to give a million; that a governor who has power to pardon does sign a death warrant. Having made this false step, Mr. Waddell goes on to make another error by a similar process against the principle of that philosophy which warns him not to conclude that all which a person has power to do is done by him.

Mr. Waddell says, "The Minister, then, must have the actual intention to do what the Church has the power to do, and what she actually does." I now quote from Bellarmine:

Tertio, non requiritur necessario actualis intentio, nec sufficit habitualis, sed virtualis requiritur, quamvis danda sit opera ut actualis habeatur. Actualis dicitur quando minister actu habet talem intentionem: quae quidem actualis intentio non requiritur, and so forth. (*De Sacramentis in Genere*, lib. i, cap. xxvii).

"*Thirdly*—an actual intention is not necessarily required, nor is an habitual one sufficient, but a virtual one is required, although persons should try to have an actual one. It is called actual when the minister has the intention with the very act: which intention indeed is not required," and so forth.

Now in the Appendix he had under his eye the very words of Bishop Hornihold.

"Q. How many kinds of intention are men capable of?

"A. Chiefly three, viz. actual, which is accompanied with an actual attention of the mind, to the thing we are about. A virtual intention, is when the actual intention is judged to remain in its force by not being expressly retracted, or interrupted by too long a time. An habitual intention is the faculty of performing a thing, obtained by a habit or custom, without any actual reflection, or vital influence, upon the work."

Mr. Waddell is also pleased to say that actual intention and virtual are perfectly synonymous. I can only say that Divines are all in the habit of admitting the distinction; and if you, Sir, are pleased to say that by what we designate brown you mean white, it is useless for us to converse, for our words only mislead. You can only find safety in confusing terms that you might be able to confound things and thus escape in the confusion—but, Sir, this is a privilege which you cannot be allowed.

Mr. Waddell, then, is contradicted not only by Bellarmine and by Hornihold, but by all our divines, when he says, "the minister must have the actual intention." Nay, even Bellarmine refers to a passage of St. Thomas of Aquin, which would appear to require still less than he and Hornihold correctly state to be necessary.

Mr. Waddell says, "he must actually intend to consecrate and perform the sacraments truly and effectually, and to confer grace by the work."

Sir, you are by no means the first who made this statement; some generations have passed away since Cardinal Bellarmine, writing upon the subject, stated of Tilman and Kemnitz, in the chapter quoted before:

Uterque auctor locis notatis dicit, Concilium Tridentinum definivisse non ratum esse sacramentum, nisi minister intendat non solum actum, sed etiam finem sacramenti; id est, intendat illud, propter quod sacramentum est institutum: quod certe multum distat a nostra sententia.

"Each author, in the cited places, says, that the Council of Trent had defined, that the sacrament was not effected unless the minister should intend not only the act, but also the end of the sacrament, that is, should intend that for which the sacrament was instituted: which certainly differs very much from our opinion."

Hornihold has the same in the appendix which you have given; you had there under your eye the following contradiction to what you assert:

"Q. Is it necessary to intend the effect of the sacrament?

"A. No, otherwise heretics and pagans could not baptize validly. It is sufficient to have an intention of doing what the Church of Christ does, without considering which is the true Church."

Bellarmine is quite unceremonious in the epithet which, in the fashion of his day, he bestows upon the assertion which you repeat.

Sed hoc merum mendacium est. Concilium enim in toto can. 11, *non nominat finem sacramenti; neque dicit concilium, ut illi videntur accepisse, oportere ministrum*

intendere id facere quod Ecclesia intendit, sed quod Ecclesia facit. Porro quod Ecclesia facit, non finem sed actionem significat.

"But this is a mere lie. Because the Council, through the entire 11th canon, makes no mention of the end of the sacrament: nor does the council say, as they would appear to have understood, that the minister ought to intend to do that which the Church intends, but that which the Church does. Now that which the Church does, signifies not the end but the action."

Bellarmine then proceeds to show that the Church considers valid the baptism conferred by several who err greatly concerning the end, to attain which this sacrament is conferred, and who of course have no intention of producing an end which they look upon to be unattainable.

Thus, Mr. Waddell is again contradicted by both Bellarmine and Hornihold. You proceed father in your description. "If he does not believe, he can do this, [confer grace by the work,] and actually intend to do it, he has not the necessary intention, and the work is still undone." In page 48, you again describe this defect. "Suppose the priest should happen to think within himself, that Christ's humanity, which has now existed for 1800 years, and his divinity which has existed from everlasting, cannot by any power whatever begin now to exist." I shall observe that he would think very correctly: and if he were to imagine that what has previously existed and continues to exist, commenced only just now to exist, he would imagine an absurdity: but when Mr. Waddell put this absurdity as the Catholic doctrine, he was grossly ignorant or grossly criminal. I should hope it is the former. Catholics say and believe that what previously existed might become present at a point where it previously was not. And this they believe to be common sense, not contradiction. Your object, Sir, is to show that if a priest loses his belief he cannot intend to do that which he does not believe possible; and that of course, want of faith, or of correct belief in the minister argues want of sufficient intention, and destroys the sacrament. In page 49, you state, "as therefore this actual intention may be wanting through unbelief, carelessness or inattention, we may, I think, ascertain pretty nearly the degree of the danger to which your Church says her children are exposed, by the fatal occurrence of this woful defect; for how easily may it thus occur?"

In your description of intention, then, Sir, you say that we require in the ministry correct belief respecting the sacrament or its effects.

Let us have recourse to Cardinal Bellarmine, to see how he agrees with you in attributing this doctrine to our Church. In chapter xxvi of the book previously cited, he states the question for examination thus:

Utrum requiratur necessario fides aut charitas, ita ut haeretici, infideles, schismatici, improbi Catholici non possint sacramenta conficere, . . . an sit irritum

quidquid faciunt infideles aut improbi homines, etiamsi alioqui legitime ordinati sint presbyteri aut episcopi, et nihil omittant eorum quae ad substantiam sacramentorum pertinent.

"Whether either faith or charity is to be necessarily required, so that heretics, infidels, schismatics, or wicked Catholics, cannot confer sacraments, . . . if that which faithless or wicked men do be invalid, though otherwise they be lawfully ordained priests or bishops, and do not omit any of those things which belong to the essence of the sacraments."

Upon this question Bellarmine states that there appeared to be scarcely any, if at all any, difference between Catholics and Luther and Calvin, and so forth, for that they all appear to be agreed that neither faith, which is correct belief, nor morality, is required in the minister, in order to the validity of the sacraments. It is true that Luther writes in his book, *De Mis. Priv. et Unct. Sacerd.*, that if the Devil came in human shape and was ordained, the sacraments conferred by him would be valid. I trust, Sir, you will not require of Roman Catholics to go so far.

In the same chapter, Bellarmine proceeds to state not only the Catholic doctrine: that defect of faith, or of correct belief in the minister, does not injure the sacrament which he administers; but he gives the catalogue and history of those condemned by the Church at several periods for teaching that such faith was necessary to the validity of the sacrament. He mentions some Asiatics in the third century, of whom Eusebius informs us in book vii, of his history; they are also mentioned by Denis of Alexandria. Some Africans in the same century whom the same historian mentions, and of whom St. Augustin relates in chapter 7, of his book ii, on Baptism, that they received their opinion from Agrippinus, the predecessor of St. Cyprian in the see of Carthage. The Donatists also fell into this error, and were combated upon that as well as other points by St. Augustin. St. Jerom counts it amongst the errors of the Luciferians. It was condemned by several popes, amongst whom are Stephen I, who died about the year 258, Siricius, who died at the close of the succeeding century, Innocent I, who died about twenty years later, Leo I, about the middle of the fifth age, and Anastasius II, at its termination. You might also, sir, have found upon inquiry that it was condemned at the first Council of Nice in 325,—as well as the first of Carthage 348. The first Council of Arles held in the year 314 made a decree against the principle, in its eighth canon. My object not being to prove the correctness of our doctrine, but its misrepresentation by you; and your having made an effort to deprive me of the benefit of my witnesses as well as having denied my own competency to testify the doctrines taught by my church, I have used against you the only

witness to whom you appeared not to object, and upon whose works I could lay my hand. I have no access to those of Biel. I believe, Sir, I have then established by this testimony three substantial errors in your description of our doctrine of Intention. It will also be seen that Bishop Hornihold in your own appendix contradicts you here also, because he admits as every Catholic must, that the baptism conferred by heretics and infidels is valid, provided they observe what Christ instituted, though neither of them has correct belief or faith. Thus, Sir, you not only attributed to us, as our doctrine, what our Church condemn as gross error, but you did so with the evidence of its contradiction under your eye; and you very fortunately published that evidence.

You make a fourth assertion equally incorrect, page 47. "Should he, then, at the critical time, happen to think of something else, and permit his thoughts to wander from his work, he would then fail of having this intention and all would be null and void." You then assert our doctrine to be that the existence of distraction or inadvertency would destroy the sacrament, by destroying the requisite intention. You therefore charge us with holding, 1, that actual advertence and attention are required for a sufficient intention. 2, That consequently where the minister acts without this actual attention, the sacrament is not conferred." If I prove the second or consequential proposition to be untrue, the first will necessarily be untrue. I shall, however, first show that I do not overstrain your meaning. Immediately after the passage above quoted you continue to develope your meaning.

"Should he, then at the critical time, happen to think of something else, and permit his thoughts to wander from his work, he would then fail of having this intention, and all would be null and void. That it is this actual intention which your canon intends, is evident by the existence of the canon itself; for it was certainly formed with a view to guard as much as possible against the danger of this fatal occurrence, by informing the priest of the necessity of intention, that he might be upon the watch lest the defect should occur through his carelessness or inadvertency; and that he might have his thoughts exercised about his work, to exert this good intention at the critical time."

Now, Sir, having previously shown your assumption "That it is this actual intention which our canon intends," to be not only arbitrary, but untrue, and the actual attention or advertency not being required except for actual intention, it necessarily follows that its absence will not be fatal, because the virtual attention which is not destroyed by a little distraction or inadvertency will be sufficient for the virtual intention that suffices in the minister of the sacraments.

Allow me here to exemplify. I shall at present confine myself to the definitions which I find in your own pamphlet. In page 46, you

state the common meaning of the word intention; but I presume there is an error of the press. You write of Bishop Bowen thus. "For he could not without doing your Church an injury, suppose for a moment that she means by the word Intention, something quite different from design of purpose, which is the meaning the word always has in common acceptation." Johnson gives three meanings in which the word might be used,—the second of which is design: purpose. I should believe you wrote *or* and by mistake, it was printed *of*. I now accept the word purpose as expressing the correct meaning of the word which has so much perplexed you. In your appendix, you insert Hornihold's definition of actual intention, as distinguished from virtual; in this distinction we must find the character by which they are to be discerned. Hornihold says that "the actual intention is accompanied with an actual attention of mind to the things we are about." And this alone is its characteristic, by which it is distinguished from virtual intention: as long as this actual attention or advertency exists, so long does the actual intention exist, and no longer. This attention or advertency ceases, but the purpose or "intention is judged to remain in force by not being expressly retracted, or interrupted by too long a time." Here then is what Hornihold calls "virtual intention," which clearly exists without any actual attention or advertency of the mind, at the present moment. We may easily suppose that a slight distraction of the mind from contemplating its original purpose to the contemplation of some other object caused this want of attention. Yet the agent is fairly judged to retain his original purpose, because it has not been expressly retracted, nor too long interrupted. There is therefore no actual attention, where there exists only a virtual intention, suffices for the validity of the sacrament, it necessarily follows that actual attention is not necessary, though desirable and becoming in the minister.

Yet, Sir, you are good enough to tell us that "actual and virtual intention as used here by the Bishop, are precisely synonymous." I am to suppose that you think so, and of course I can easily know the value of your arguments.

I shall now examine what a few of our divines say respecting the necessity of this actual attention for the validity of the sacrament. Bellarmine informs us (in cap. xxvii, lib. 1, *De Sac. in Gen.*) treating of actual. intention.

Tantum requirit ut homo sit praesens animo, et attente faciat quod facit. Ista enim dicitur intentio in actu exercito, ut loquitur Cajetanus, et ut diximus non necessario exigitur; quia non est in nostra potestate, quin distrahatur aliquando nostra cogitatio etiam dum res sanctissimas agimus. "It only requires that a man be present with his mind and do attentively what he performs, for that is called intention in

act, as Cajetan says, and as we have said, it is not necessarily required, because it is not in our power, but that our thoughts might sometimes be distracted even when we perform most holy things.''

Thus Bellarmine gives us actual attention as the character of actual intention, and states that it is not required. Respecting virtual intention he writes:

Virtualis dicitur cum actualis intentio in praesenti non adest ob aliquam evagationem mentis, tamen paulo ante adfuit et in virtute illius fit operatio: et haec omnium consensu requiritur, si actualis non adsit, et sufficit. ''It is called virtual when because of some wandering of the mind, an actual intention does not now exist—yet it was in existence a short time before and the act is done in virtue thereof: and all agree that if an actual intention does not exist, this is required, and suffices.''

Thus, Sir, Bellarmine distinguishes what you confound, and, contradicts your assertion that actual attention is necessary for that intention which suffices for the validity of a sacrament.

You have asserted that according to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church sacraments were not validly conferred, first, if the minister had not an actual intention of conferring them at the very time of the administration, or, if having such intention, he did not intend to confer grace by the work—or, if he was at the time an unbeliever in the doctrine of the Church regarding the nature or effects of the sacraments conferred—or, if through carelessness, or inadvertency he at the critical time, permitted his thoughts to wander from his work. Your assertions, Sir, are altogether untrue, and each of them is contradicted by every Catholic writer upon the subject. You have chosen Bellarmine and Hornihold, and I have confined myself to them; but, Sir, they agree with all the others in contradiction to you.—Yet you modestly inform us, at the conclusion of your fifth letter, to the Editors of the *Miscellany*:

''I could, indeed, detect you on any point in the controversy, so as to know whether you stated your doctrine fairly or unfairly, or whether you denied it or not, without a book at all. But this would not be sufficient in controversy, to expose or silence you, or to convince others that you dealt unfairly; for it would be necessary in such a case to quote your authorities verbatim. For this purpose I would require more books of the kind than I have at present, were I engaged to go through the whole course of the controversy with you: but I have no occasion for any books to instruct me in your doctrine: for I know every point of it as well as you do yourselves, and this knowledge I have at present, by a certain faculty called memory. This you very well know might be the case when you made the above ungenerous insinuation; for I did not say that I had no books of the kind, or that I had never read any. All your italics heretofore, and your three little capitals amount to nothing, and serve no other purpose than to satisfy your simple readers. Since you have made this foul insinuation, however, I shall shortly let

you know whether I have detected your mis-statements or not; for however indecorous it may seem to address you again in the way of controversy, after your refusal to meet me upon any subject, I cannot let you escape with this foul insinuation and your false statements. I shall cite you before the public again, and make the charge good; and then you may answer for your conduct if you can, or suffer judgment to pass against you by default.

"It is however after all, no disparagement to your parts or learning that you have fallen before the fatal touch; for who can contend with fate and unanswerable questions! But truly your honor and honesty must be called in question. You must know that you are laboring by foul means to support a bad cause, and to deceive unwary souls."

I would advise you, Sir, in future to have a little less confidence in your memory, and more recourse to books. I might here close my case, satisfied that I have proved all that I cared to accomplish, which is, that Mr. Thomas Waddell misrepresented our doctrine of Intention. But I shall to-morrow determine whether I shall examine a little farther into the contents of his very extraordinary pamphlet. I remain, Sir, with becoming sentiments,

Yours, and so forth, B. C.

LETTER III.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Sept. 20, 1830.

To Mr. Thomas Waddell.

Sir,—Having shown that you misrepresented our doctrine of *Intention*; I now state what I believe to be the fact, that you did not yourself understand it; I also admit that the consequences which you draw from your misconception, would generally flow from such a principle as you attributed to us, but as the principle is not ours, neither can the consequences be, on that account, charged to us. I might, as I before stated, here close my case. But, Sir, there are a few other passages in your production which it will not be amiss to notice.

You state in your *Introductory*, page viii:

"I have often thought that the argument of uncertainty drawn from the doctrine of Intention, has not been so generally and so exclusively urged in the controversy as it ought to have been. It had indeed been sometimes called in as an auxiliary, when the arguments were sufficient without its aid. I have never before seen it used as a principal except once; when it was tried upon a renegade Missionary, sent from Rome to Ireland, in consequence of a challenge which he offered to all Protestants, ministers especially; and, like the heroes of the *Miscellany*, he stood dumb before it. It is an argument with which few Protestants are acquainted, and I have never yet met with a Romanist amongst the laity who knew their own doctrine of Intention."

Indeed, Sir, your reading upon the subject cannot be very exten-

sive: for a great many Protestant writers have, without as much boasting as yours, put forward the argument with far more ingenuity than you have done:—and I have seldom found a Protestant even tolerably imbued with the spirit of controversy, who has not been as fully acquainted with it as you appear to be; that is, he mistook its nature and urged his arguments as unanswerable because of his mistake. I have, Sir, met several of this description and I do not recollect one of them who did not, as you have, when I endeavored to disabuse him, assure me that he knew the doctrines of my Church better than I did myself, or if I knew them as well as he did, that I disguised or denied them. Will you blame me, Sir, when I assure you that after such a declaration, I leave the field to the hero who makes it, unless there should be some weighty and sufficient cause upon other grounds for my continuing therein? Perhaps, Sir, the Editors of the *Miscellany* have similar feelings, and it would argue some charity in you, to attribute their silence as well as that of the gentleman whom you call "a renegade," rather to this, than to the cause which you have assigned.

"I was, indeed, in my early days, brought into doubts and difficulties by them; but I soon learned to see through their sophistry, and by degrees detected the various knavish tricks resorted to by the Popish sons of imposture to deceive the ignorant, and to save their cause from destruction. I afterwards made the Popish controversy my study, and found upon trial it was a quick and easy piece of work to silence Roman gainsayers. I therefore determined, upon seeing the Catholic *Miscellany*, which contained nothing but the old silly arguments and wretched dogmatisms, to pose the heroes of it in short metre. As the distance was great, I made choice of an argument which I knew would gag them immediately. They trifled at first, and afterwards declined my invitation; the reasons they gave for declining the combat, show clearly that the work is impracticable, and show their cause untenable."—(*Introduction*, p. viii.).

Sir, "To pose the heroes of the *Miscellany* in short metre," you have quoted Bellarmine. Will you excuse me for stating the grounds of my belief that you never read his works? I do not wish to come unnecessarily to the conclusion that you printed a deliberate falsehood: if you read that author you would have seen in the places quoted by me in my Second Letter, and in other places of his work, that the argument founded upon misrepresenting the doctrine of Intention, was used as a principal by several Protestant writers. I can as easily conceive that your imagination deludes you, regarding the extent of your theological acquirements, as it does regarding the nature of our doctrines.

I shall now take up the quotation which you make from the Cardinal; and it is somewhat curious to observe that one should not be produced from those books where he was writing expressly upon the sub-

ject, but one garbled from the midst of a paragraph upon another question in another book, and the isolated piece becomes thus ambiguous. You refer to Bellarmine Lib. iii, *De Justificatione*, cap. 8. Your reference is imperfect for you omit the book, and your quotation is but the tail of a sentence, and you give the original of only a piece of that tail; however, this is the place in which the words are found. His third book is entitled *Qui est de incertitudine, mutabilitate et inaequalitate justitiae.* "Which is concerning the uncertainty, the changeableness and the inequality of righteousness."

The Cardinal was defending the doctrine of the Church on those points, which doctrine is, 1. That no individual can be certain, without a special revelation, that he is in a state of righteousness. 2. That a righteous man might fall into sin again, and become a reprobate, and 3. That there are various degrees of righteousness, at the same time in several just persons; as also that there might be various degrees thereof, at different times, in the same individual. In the eighth chapter of this book he is arguing in support of the first of those doctrines, and answering persons who asserted that even besides the case of special revelation, a man can know *with the certainty of faith*, that he is in a state of righteousness.

In the fifth paragraph of the chapter an argument is taken up by him, which might be thus condensed: "You have the certainty of faith that God gives his grace and justification to those who receive the sacraments with proper dispositions. But you can know when you have so received the sacraments. Therefore you can have the certainty of faith that you have been justified, and are now righteous." In his answer to this, Bellarmine first denies that any man can know without a special revelation, that he has received the sacraments with proper dispositions; and next says that he cannot have the certainty of faith that he has received a true sacrament; and thus, although the first proposition be known with the certainty of faith, the second has not the evidence required as a basis for faith, and the man who imagined himself well disposed, might have labored under a delusion; thus there was not a *certainty of faith.* In the second paragraph of the chapter, the Cardinal had thus stated what is required for such a certainty.

Non potest aliquid certum esse certitudine fidei, *nisi aut immediate contineatur in verbo Dei; aut ex verbo Dei per* evidentem *consequentiam deducatur: Fides enim non est nisi verbi divine auctoritate nitatur.*

"Nothing can be certain *with the certainty of faith,* unless it be either immediately contained in the word of God; or be deduced therefrom by *evident* consequence: because it is not faith, unless it rests upon the authority of the divine word."

Now we are not to confound the *certainty of faith* which requires

the basis of the word of God, or revelation, with every other description of certainty; and in ascertaining the meaning of any author, we must use his words in the sense which he attaches to them himself. Bellarmine, in chap. ii of the same book gives us six descriptions of certainty, under two classes; one class is under the head *evident*, which arises from either mental or sensible perception; the other *obscure*, which arises 1, from divine revelation, 2, from human testimony, and 3, from circumstances. Thus besides faith, the author gives us five other grounds upon which we might build our certainty. Seeing his object and his language, let us now look to the quotation.

Sed fortasse Catharinus respondeat, non exigi necessario perfectam conversionem et paenitentiam, nisi extra sacramentum, eum sacramento autem sufficere, ut quis obicem non ponat. At neque potest quis certus esse certitudine fidei, *se non ponere obicem, cum possit ex ignorantia crassa gerere affectum ad peccatum; neque potest esse certus* certitudine fidei, *se percipere verum sacramentum, cum sacramentum, sine intentione ministri non conficiatur, et intentionem alterius nemo videre possit.*

"But perhaps Catharinus might answer, that perfect conversion and penance are not necessarily required, except without the sacrament; but that, together with the sacrament, it is sufficient if no obstacle be placed. But neither can any one be certain *with the certainty of faith*, that he does not put an obstacle, for by reason of his gross ignorance, he might bear an affection to sin; neither can he be certain, *with the certainty of faith*, that he receives a true sacrament, since the sacrament might not be without the intention of the minister, and no one can see the intention of another."

I have here given the passage at length: the object of Bellarmine was to prove as I before stated, that no man can without special revelation, which would, as being the word of God, give him a ground for faith, know with the certainty of faith that he was righteous. We know by faith what things are required for the existence of a sacrament; but it is not by faith, but by other motives of credibility, that we assured of the existence of those requisites. Intention is one of those requisites, we do not know of its existence by faith, but we can have that certainty by circumstances, which is according to Bellarmine a good ground of certainty, but not of the certainty of faith; because not founded upon revelation. In denying then that we have the certainty of faith, he is far from asserting that we have no certainty; yet this is what you have assumed, p. 13—you draw an universal conclusion from particular premises.

"This uncerainty, the inevitable consequence of your doctrine, is admitted by some of your most celebrated divines. "No priest that celebrateth can know evidently whether he be a priest, because he cannot know evidently whether he be baptized or lawfully ordained." And Cardinal Bellarime tells us why: "No man," says he, "can be certain, by the certainty of faith, that he receives a true sacra-

ment; because it depends upon the *intention* of the minister, and none can see another man's intention."

You then must feel that you have given to Bellarmine a meaning which he has never intended. The Cardinal does not say, that the sacrament "depends upon the intention of the minister." When he uses the words *intentionem alterius nemo videre possit* "No one can see the intention of another," I apprehend you do not give to the word *videre* "see," the meaning which the Cardinal did. In the sixth paragraph of his chap. ii, he explains himself thus, *Certitudo evidens est earum rerum quae aliquo modo videntur.* "Certainty evident is of those things, which are in some manner seen." In this class he places: first, principles,—next the evident consequences of first principles; lastly, that which is under the cognizance of well regulated senses. *Certitudo obscura est earum rerum quae sola fide, vel opinione nituntur,* "Certainty obscure, is of those things which rest only on faith or on opinion." In this class he places: knowledge derived first from the testimony of God; next from human testimony; then, from circumstances. This explanation is the key which he gives to the meaning of his words throughout the book; *evidens and videre*, "evident" and "see," then regard only the first class but not the second. We cannot see the intention of another person, for it is not a first principle, nor a consequence of that principle, nor does it come in its own immediate form, under the cognizance of our senses. Neither can we know it generally from the testimony of God, but from the testimony of men, and from circumstances. Hence though a person cannot see the intention of another, he might know its existence with certainty; though neither with the certainty of faith, nor with the certainty of evidence. Thus, Sir, neither Bellarmine or Biel would admit our assumption, "That we are uncertain of the existence of our sacraments." Because we have two grounds either of which will assure us of their existence, though the special fact in each particular case is not an article of faith. Every reasonable man is perfectly certain of the truth of hundreds of facts, which though neither first principles, nor their evident consequences, nor having come under the cognizance of his senses, nor yet having been revealed by God, yet are sustained by motives of credibility which produce infallible certainty.

When you add this, Sir, to the four egregious blunders which you made in your description of the meaning of the word, Intention, as described in my second letter, probably I may leave to yourself to appreciate the value of your compilation.

I stated in that letter that I accepted the English word *purpose* as expressing the meaning of the Latin technical word *Intentio*, or that

which in our language is more equivocal, *Intention.* In your page 12, you state that a canon is found upon the subject in the proceedings of the Council of Florence; your words are, "This canon is found in the Council of Florence and that of Trent,"—the canon of which you make this statement, you describe thus page 11, "According to a certain canon you are bound to believe that 'the efficacy of every sacrament depends upon the Intention of the officiating minister;' so that if he should fail of having this necessary intention, the apparent sacrament is null and void." Now, Sir, perhaps you will think it, to use your own polite language "knavery," "a pious fraud," "a shameful denial," when I inform you that the Council of Florence made no such canon, nor is any canon of our church couched in such phrases, though you were so accurate as to place them between inverted commas. The Council of Trent indeed made a canon upon the subject which you quote accurately in a note to your p. 12, but the Council of Florence did not. However, Sir, Pope Eugenius IV, who remained at Florence after the departure of the Greeks, together with some of the Cardinals and Bishops of the Latin Church continued the sessions in 1439, for the purpose of receiving into communion some of the Armenian Eutychians, and upon their reconciliation, the Pope in his decree of instruction did, in treating of the sacraments mention the necessity of the intention of the minister, besides the matter and form, to constitute a sacrament. I state this, not charging you with being guilty of misrepresentation in this place, but merely to show you that besides "a certain faculty called memory," a certain quality called information is necessary for a person who undertakes to write upon these subjects. Your appendix even would have taught you this. But, perhaps, you do not know the difference between a decree and a canon.

"Q. What are we to believe as to the matter and form of the sacraments, and how they are to be conceived?

"A. Eugenius IV, in his decree, in the Council of Florence, which was held in the year 1439, declares that every sacrament requires matter, form, and intention of doing what the church does."

I now come to the "simple explanation" of our doctrine which you have so completely enveloped in your effort to show it sustaining your conclusions.

The whole doctrine may be thus expressed, "It is required that in the creation or administration of the sacraments, the minister shall use the elements and the words, in a reasonable manner, for a Christian purpose."

I shall take one sacrament as an exemplification—Baptism. Pope

Eugenius states that three things are necessary, the matter, (water) the form, (the words) and the intention of the minister; (the purpose). —I shall now give a few instances where the matter and form would be applied to the proper subject, and yet no sacrament be conferred, because of the want of intention or purpose.

1. A priest desires to show the sponsors how they ought to attend, and tells them that he will rehearse the ceremony, but not baptize the child at present; he then uses the water and repeats the words, for the purpose of making them acquainted with the manner of proceeding, but not for the purpose of conferring the sacrament.

2. One minister is desirous of teaching another how to confer the sacrament; and for this purpose, but not for the purpose of conferring the sacrament, he seriously and deliberately goes through the whole rite, using the elements and the words.

3. A person undertakes to mimic the ceremony, and uses the water and the words to amuse those present, but not for the purpose of baptizing.

4. At a theatre, a baptism is to be represented; the matter and the form are used, but not for the purpose of doing what the Church does, that is conforming to the institution of Christ, but for the purpose of representation.

5. A person intends to administer the sacrament, and actually commences, but is requested to defer it for a few hours, consents, but still, for the purpose of instructing the sponsors or others, goes through the remainder of the ceremony.

6. A person during his dream, or a somnambulist, uses the matter and form upon an unbaptized subject which is near him.

7. A person stupidly drunk, or

8. A person who is an idot or crazy.

9. An ignorant person might use the matter and form for the purpose of procuring the bodily health of a child, without even knowing that it was ever a church ceremony.

In these and a variety of other cases there is the matter and the form, but there is not the intention; the sacrament is not conferred, hence it has always been held in the church that the existence of matter and the intention of doing what the church does, is necessary. And you, Sir, had under your eye, in your appendix, the very words of Hornihold, to show what our meaning was.

"Q. In what cases is there a defect of a sufficient intention.

"A. If a minister performs the work in a ludicrous manner. If he is asleep, drunk, or mad; he has either no intention, or only an habitual one."

All that we require is that it shall be a reasonable act done for the purpose of religion, that is for the purpose of doing what the Church does. This also you saw in your appendix from Hornihold.

"Q. What intention is required in the minister?

"A. In the first place, intention, in general, is a volition, or act of determining of a thing by the means; it is requisite to every rational action, and much more to every religious action."

You gave the canon of the Council of Trent in page 12, pretty correctly. You only omitted the words *at least*. "If any man shall say that when the ministers make and confer sacraments the intention, at least, of doing what the Church does, is not required: let him be anathema." I cannot conjecture what your object in omitting those words at least could have been, except to destroy the distinction which we admit between two persons who both validly confer sacraments: viz. the minister who knew and believed and gave actual and willing attention with a desire to procure grace for the recipient; and the careless infidel who looked upon the ceremony to be idle and vain, but who nevertheless went through it, for the purpose of religion, or of doing what the Church does. Our doctrine is that each of those persons confers the sacrament, but the Church exhorts her clergy and others to have the first and better disposition. There are several intermediate dispositions of mind between those two; it is useless to describe them, these are the two extremes, and in each of those as well as in all the intermediate cases, there exists a sufficient intention for securing the validity of the sacrament, because in all those cases the minister acts for the purpose of doing what the Church does, that is, for the purpose of performing a Christian rite. All our authors agree, that it is not necessary for the minister himself to believe the rite holy or efficacious, or even useful: but that it is sufficient, if he should do the act for the purpose of administering a rite which Christians consider holy.

I shall now suppose a man who has even a malicious disposition, called upon by a parent to baptize his child. The parent believing the rite to be of divine institution and destined to remove original sin, beseeches this person to administer that baptism which Christ instituted: he is answered by the person to whom he applies, that the whole is an idle and useless ceremony, and the person strives to disuade the parent from its performance; the parent answers; that he is otherwise convinced, and entreats this person to perform it. Thus urged, the infidel complies, uses the water and pronounces the words in accordance with the request of the parent. Is it not manifest, that whatever his own private malice might be, his act was in compliance with the parent's re-

quest, and that the purpose was to perform the Christian rite?—I may be told that in his soul he wished to prevent the effects of the rite. My answer is, that his act was for a purpose which was determined by the circumstances, and he had no control over those; he might have desired to destroy the effect of the Saviour's institutions, but the providence of God saved them from the power of his malice. The mercy of heaven is not made subject to his indiscretion, but is administered according to the institutions of the Saviour; of those he is a minister but not a despot. He may refuse to act, but if he acts for a particular purpose, it is impossible that he should not act for that purpose; to suppose otherwise would be to suppose a contradiction. The matter and the form of the sacraments might be used for a variety of purposes; but when used for the purpose instituted by Christ, then and only then, they form a sacrament. This is the language of our Church, and, Sir, I believe it is the language of common sense. In this view, though we have not the certainty of Faith, or that which arises from divine revelation, for the existence of a sacrament in each special case, nor the certainty of evidence in the scholastic meaning of the word as before laid down, we can have what is usually called evidence, in the ordinary use of words, for we can have that certainty which arises from human testimony and from circumstances.

You will then perceive, Sir, that it was from the want of knowing our doctrine of Intention, you charged upon us that state of uncertainty, in the consequences of which you triumph.—pages 14, 15.

"Such then being your state of uncertainty and misery with respect to your sacraments, how can you possess peace of mind for a moment? And how can we look upon a Church as infallible, and a sure guide to heaven, which involves all her children in such miserable circumstances, that they can never know whether they be Christians, or whether the clergy be true priests, or Christians at all? How deplorable and miserable must your condition be, if this doctrine be true! And how poor must be your chance for salvation! What an awful amount of sin and damage may one of your lay priests be the cause of to thousands, who may attend upon him continually! All his consecrations so many nullities, causing the continual practice of idolatry by himself, and the unfortunate creatures who attend upon him; all his absolutions so many deceptions, leaving the people still in their sins. And how much damage may be done even by a true priest, through the want of due Intention in his ministrations, none of you can know. Through the fatal and frequent occurrence of this woful defect, many of his apparent marriages may be mere nullities—states of licensed concubinage; many of his apparent baptisms may be mere nullities, leaving the poor children in a state of something below the level of heathenism, out of which they can never rise. And these children, by getting into the priesthood in their turn, may be the ministers of damnation to thousands and tens of thousands, who may have the misfortune to attend upon them. And suppose some of these blank priests should get into bishoprics, how much more sin and

destruction might be caused by them! No mind can conceive half the amount; for they might send out a number of sacrilegious pretenders, to deceive the multitude, who would be lost by hundreds and by thousands, by worshipping false hosts and receiving false absolutions, from their pretending priests, who would fall and perish with their people, all through the occurrence of this fatal defect, in some careless or dishonest bishop, priest, doctor, old woman, or some other person, in the long lapse of eighteen hundred years. Thus the devastation once commenced by one blank bishop, might proceed with the celerity of geometrical progression, and in a few generations might unpriest a whole nation. Thus your church in the plentitude of her infallibility, has plunged you all in an awful abyss of uncertainty and misery, and so your infallibility has undermined itself, and ruined its advocates. Live as you will, you can never know whether you be Christians or not, or whether your practices be lawful, or wicked and ruinous. How melancholy and distressing must the consideration of these doleful and fearful truths be to every thoughtful, feeling heart!

"But your priests and people, notwithstanding this awful uncertainty and danger, seem to be quite easy in their minds, and talk as confidently about their absolutions, baptisms, marriages, oblations, ordinations and consecrations, as if the above canon had never existed. How shall we account for this stupid inconsistency! Only by the fact, that you do not sincerely believe this doctrine, and attentively consider its import and ruinous consequences.

Sir, you have here some semblance of correct reasoning, for we do not sincerely believe in the doctrine which you described as ours.

I am Sir, yours, and so forth, B. C.

LETTER IV.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Sept. 27, 1830.

To Mr. Thomas Waddell.

Sir,—I shall now examine how far you were accurate or correct in your extracts from the rubics of our Missal, and your comments upon them. I have published the passage in my first letter, extracted from pp. 47 and 48 of your production. I shall, however, again lay it before my readers:

"Your Church surely could not have formed this canon with a view to prevent the occurrence of a malicious intention to spoil the sacrament; for she would, by telling a malicious priest that the efficacy of the sacraments depends upon this intention, inform him of the evil he had power to do, and would thus put him upon destroying, by wholesale or retail, the people who had offended him, if he only had malice enough. We see, then, by the language and manifest design of the canon, that your Church insists upon the actual intention of her priests, in order to the validity of her sacraments. But let us consult the Rubric of your Missal upon this point, which is intended as a golden key to let every priest into the meaning of this canon, that he may see what this intention is, and how he may fail of having it.

"And first, we may see that the want of this intention, by being placed in the class of defects occurring in the mass, must be the want of the actual intention: for

a positive, malicious intention is not a defect but a property, arguing indeed the want of an actual good intention, which may or may not occur without this malicious design. But the Rubric furnishes plainer language than this upon the subject; so plain, that any novice, I think, can understand it very clearly, whether Dr. Bowen does or not. Thus speaks that form of sound words: 'If any one intend not to consecrate, but to cheat or banter; also if any wafers remain forgotten on the altar, or if any part of the wine or any wafer lie hidden, when he did not intend consecrating but what he saw; also if he shall have before him eleven wafers, and intended to consecrate but ten only, not determining what ten he meant; in all these cases the consecration fails, because intention is required.'

"In the case of the wafers remaining forgotten on the altar, it appears evidently the actual intention is required. For as these wafers get mingled with others which the priest lays upon the altar for consecration, without being noticed by him, he has not his thoughts exercised about them when he proceeds to consecrate, and so they miss of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted only to consecrate the wafers he had noticed. The other case of the eleven wafers is exactly parallel, and, if possible, more conclusive in favor of my opinion; for if he should by misreckoning, or any other way, think he had but ten wafers on the altar when there were eleven, his thoughts would be exercised only about ten, without determining what ten he meant, and so they would all fail of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted upon none of them: not because he had a wanton, wicked design to spoil the work, but because he did not think particularly of the wafers he virtually meant to consecrate. Should any thing therefore attract his attention from his work, he would fail of having the necessary actual intention.

"Thus Dr. Bowen, or any other man, whatever station he occupies, whether a bishopric or a barn, may easily see your theological meaning of the term, and that it is the actual intention that is required by the canon.

"The other case of a defect, in which your Church supposses the priest may intend not to consecrate but to cheat or banter, may very readily occur without a wanton, wicked intention. Suppose the priest should happen to think within himself, that Christ's humanity, which has now existed for 1800 years, and his divinity, which has existed from everlasting, cannot by any power whatever, begin now to exist, and yet go on buzzing, crossing and mumming, through the whole form of the mass, pretending to consecrate; he then cheats; for he cannot intend to do what he knows or believes cannot be done."

In the beginning of this passage, you inform us that it was not a malicious intention to spoil the sacrament the canon which required intention regarded. To sustain this position you assert that a positive malicious intention is not a defect, but a property, and as the rubric of the Missal treats only of defects, it could not mean malicious intention, for that would not be properly considered a defect. Now, Sir, your translation of the words of the Missal will, I apprehend, be sufficient to correct your mistake: the words of the *Missal* are, *si quis non intendit conficere, sed delusorie aliquid agere.* "If a person do not intend to make, (a sacrament,) but to do something in a delusive way,"

or as you translate it, "If any one intend not to consecrate, but to cheat or banter." In all these expressions we have the defect of a proper intention, viz. "If a person do not intend to consecrate, i. e. not purpose of cheating or bantering, which on such an occasion must be positively malicious. Thus, Sir, where a man, instead of doing an act of religion, intends to cheat or banter, he has a malicious intention. It was on your part a mistake to say that he had not.

In the case of wafers forgotten upon the altar, you tell us, "for as these wafers get mingled with others which the priest lays upon the altar for consecration, without being noticed by him, he has not his thoughts exercised about them, when he proceeds to consecrate, so they miss of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted to consecrate only the wafers he had noticed."

You again assert here, as if upon the authority of the *Missal*, that it is because of the want of actual intention the consecration failed. This, Sir, is another mistake; I shall help your "faculty called memory," by quoting from the very head of the rubric which you garble:

4. *Si intentio* non sit actualis *in ipsa consecratione propter evagationem mentis, sed virtualis, cum accedens ad altare intendat facere quod facit Ecclesia,* conficitur sacramentum, *etsi curare debet sacerdos, ut etiam actualem intentionem adhibeat.*

4. "If the intention *be not actual,* at the very consecration, because of some wandering of the mind, but virtual, when the person going to the altar intends to do what the Church does, *the sacrament is produced,* yet the priest should carefully endeavor to bring with him an actual intention."

You are very unfortunate, Sir, in conceiving wrong notions of our doctrine, and making very unwarrantable conclusions, because of your mistakes. You speak of "one forgotten particle which is mingled with those placed for consecration," and seen amongst them, which of course every priest intends to consecrate according to the direction of the Missal which you are so careful as not to notice. *Quilibet sacerdos talem semper intentionem habere deberet, scilicet consecrandi eas* omnes, *quas ante se ad consecrandum positas habet.* "Every priest ought always have such intention, viz. that of consecrating *all* those which he has placed before him for consecration." The direction follows immediately after the passage which I shall presently copy respecting eleven hosts, where he imagined there were only ten. The case which you imagine of a forgotten wafer mingling with the others, is not in the *Missal.*

The case there described is that of particles which are not so mingled, and which do not at any time become mingled with those placed separately for consecration; but which in the preparation of the altar might have been laid aside upon some part of it, different from that where those for consecration are placed; and which it was intended

to remove, but which, through forgetfulness, had not been taken away. If, previous to the consecration, they did get mingled with the others which the priest laid for consecration, they would be consecrated, for they would be seen with others, and his purpose was to consecrate all which he saw in that place, but if they were forgotten on a remote part of the altar, they would not be consecrated, upon the same principle that those lying hidden would fail of being consecrated.

They who are in the habit of officiating at the altar, could inform you that there are a variety of cases in which a host might be hidden. I shall give one instance, which shall be sufficient. The particles to be consecrated are laid upon a small cloth called a corporal, because the *corpus* or body rests upon it; in preparing the altar, and placing this cloth, some particles might lie hidden under it, and not be noticed by the clergyman, having fallen there without being observed, and as not being known could not be forgotten. The plain purpose of the priest is to consecrate all that he placed upon the corporal, to this his ministry is directed, he has no farther object. He has performed this duty, he has given communion, he has removed the remaining particles from upon the corporal, if any be there: he now proceeds to fold the corporal itself and finds that some unconsecrated particles lay under it, others lay at a distance from it, forgotten and overlooked; he never proposed to consecrate any of them, he knew nothing of them. The *Missal* says they are not consecrated: it is only the language of common sense; for when a religious act is to be performed, it must, like all other acts, be done in a reasonable manner; when any thing is to be consecrated, it must be designated, and the effect of the consecrating process does not go beyond the boundary of the designation. Suppose a clergyman is asked to baptize two children; they are presented him, pointed out, designated and named; he proceeds to the baptism, and without any intimation to him, altogether without his knowledge, a third child is placed so as that the water shall flow upon it from the body of one of those whom he intends to baptize, the water flows whilst he uses the words, without any reference to this child, of whose presence he is perfectly unconscious. I hope, Sir, you would not say, that religion requires that it is reasonable to assert [that] this third child was validly baptized. Suppose this child, so surreptitiously introduced, dies immediately; it is now too late to administer a sacrament: had the clergyman known of the existence of the concealed child, he would have baptized it; it was the child of a dear friend—one of those baptized was the child of an enemy, to whom he bears a deadly malice, whose child he would keep from heaven if he could. Now, Sir, we would say that

his affection cannot supply to the dead child what it has not received, nor can his malice prevent in the living child the effects of that ministry of divine institution in which he has officiated.

I trust, Sir, you will perceive that it is only the language of common sense which the *Missal* uses, when it states that a clergyman does not consecrate particles which he either removed from those selected for use, but forgot to remove from the altar, nor particles of whose existence he knew nothing, because of their being hidden under the cloth, or the book, or in any other way.

But, let us see Mr. Waddell's object. It is to infer [that] because these are not consecrated, therefore we cannot be certain that the particles upon the corporal are consecrated, because as the clergyman did not intend to consecrate the forgotten and hidden, it is also possible that he did not intend to consecrate those which he saw, and to which he referred his acts. We have, as in the case of the children, the certainty arising from all the circumstances, of the intention to act, and of the actual agency in the one case, whilst we have upon the same grounds, the certainty that he had no purpose of acting and no rational agency in the other. And yet, Sir, you would expect with this evidence of a difference between the two cases, that we should not draw any distinction between them!

I now come to the last case which you take from our *Missal*, "if he have before him eleven wafers, and intended to consecrate but ten only, not determining what ten he meant, consecration fails, because intention is required." You state, "if he should by misreckoning or any other way think he had but ten wafers on the altar when there were eleven," and so forth. Now, Sir, it is impossible that you could have read the *Missal* when you make the assertion, that this regards a case of mistake by misreckoning, because the next paragraph, 2, which you do not quote, takes up the very case of such a mistake, and informs us that the consecration is valid. The case is thus described:

Si sacerdos putens se tenere unam hostiam, post consecrationem invenerit duas fuisse simul junctas, in sumptione sumet simul utramque, and so forth. "If the priest, thinking that he held only one host, should, after consecration, find that there were two joined together, let him receive both together," and so forth.

Here we see that the mistake regarding the number would not invalidate the consecration. What, then, is the former case? It is what Mr. Waddell says it is not. He says, "they would all fail of being consecrated through the want of his actual intention, which was exerted upon none of them: not because he had a wanton wicked design to spoil the work, but because he did not think particularly of the wafers

he virtually meant to consecrate." Such, as we have repeatedly seen, is not the fact. The case would be exactly parallel to this. Eleven children are placed for baptism: a person pours water on all the eleven, saying, "I baptize ten of you," etc. The act is not that of a rational being, it is not a consistent, but it is a foolish, or a wanton, or a wicked one. Could Mr. Waddell point out any of the children that was baptized? From the circumstances, it is plain that the man's purpose was not to baptize but to banter. There is no consecration in the other case, as there is no baptism in this case.

I have to remark, Sir, that in the Appendix No. 2, which you give as an extract from the *Roman Missal*, you have indeed given, not a continuous extract, but a number of pieces selected from different parts of the Rubrics, in such a manner as to favor the view which you take of our doctrine, but which would no longer support your position if you were fairly and fully to give the whole context. However, as you proceed by "a certain faculty called memory," you have been rather fortunate in recollecting even so much.

Another ground upon which you assail our doctrine of Intention, is thus described by you in pages 13 and 14:

"If a husband or wife at Rome, should declare solemnly that he or she had not the intention to be married when the nuptials were solemnized, the apparent marriage is then pronounced a mere nullity; the parties are separated. We have this account from Bishop Burnet,[34] who, in Rome, obtained full and satisfactory information on the subject, and was perhaps an eye-witness to the practice. He says, also, that such divorces are very frequent there. Nor is the fact incredible, but highly reasonable and feasible; for the practice is justifiable and even necessary, and ought to prevail in all places, amongst Papists, if your doctrine of Intention be true. For, if the validity of the sacrament depends upon the Intention of the receiver, as well as of the Intention of the minister, there can be no sacrament, and therefore no real marriage, unless the priest, man and woman, all exert their Intention to accomplish the work. According to this doctrine, we may reasonably suppose that vast numbers of your people are living in concubinage, who are apparently married. I think, then, it would be a fair question to ask, why does not this good practice prevail amongst you in all places? And why are the people not exhorted to consider and inquire whether they have had, on their part, the necessary ingredient in their marriage; that if upon fair inquiry, it could be found they had it not at the critical time, they might be separated and delivered out of a wicked state of life, that would lead to everlasting ruin. Many would then no doubt join your Church, with a view to accomplish fraudulent purposes, under the sanction of your new law, which ought thus, by the rule of consistency, to open a wide door to perfidy, knavery, and other evils. Query—Is this practice, which they observe at Rome, and which, according to your doctrine, ought to prevail in all places, one of those laws which has descended in your Church by oral tradition?"

[34] See Burnet on the 39 *Articles*, Article 25.

Now, Sir, there is a little difference between Bishop Burnet's statement, such as it is, and your assertion: he states that "solemn swearing" is required, you make him say that "solemn declaration" is sufficient. However, even here you and he are both under a mistake. Again you lead us to believe that he "was perhaps an eye witness of the practice." The Bishop says nothing to warrant this supposition. As the Bishop is just as much in error as you are, I might as well give his text and yours at once to my readers. Writing of marriage, he has the two following paragraphs, Article xxv:

"The matter assigned by the Roman doctors is the inward consent, by which both parties do mutually give themselves to one another: the form they make to be the words or signs, by which this is expressed. Now[35] it seems a strange thing to make the secret thoughts of men the matter, and their words the form of a Sacrament; all mutual compacts being as much sacraments as this, there being no visible material things applied to the parties who receive them; which is necessary to the being of a sacrament. It is also a very absurd opinion, which may have very fatal consequences, and raise very afflicting scruples, if any should imagine that the inward consent is the matter of this sacrament; here is a foundation laid down for voiding every marriage. The parties may, and often do marry against their wills; and though they profess an outward consent, they do inwardly repine against what they are doing. If after this they grow to like their marriage, scruples must arise, since they know they have not the sacrament; because it is a doctrine in that Church, that as intention is necessary in every sacrament, so here that goes further, the intention being the only matter of this sacrament; so that without it there is no marriage, and yet since they cannot be married again to complete, or rather to make the marriage, such persons do live only in a state of concubinage.

"On the other hand, here is a foundation laid down for breaking marriages as often as the parties, or either of them, will solemnly swear that they gave no inward consent, which is often practised at Rome. All contracts are sacred things; but of them all, marriage is the most sacred, since so much depends upon it. Men's words, confirmed by oaths and other solemn acts, must either be binding according to the plain and acknowledged sense of them, or all the security and confidence of mankind is destroyed. No man can be safe if this principle is once admitted; that a man is not bound by his promise and oaths, unless his inward consent went along with them: and if such a fraudulent thing may be applied to marriages, in which so many persons are concerned, and upon which the order of the world does so much depend, it may be very justly applied to all other contracts whatsoever, so that they may be voided at pleasure. A man's words and oaths bind him by the eternal laws of fidelity and truth; and it is a just prejudice against any religion whatsoever, if it should teach a doctrine in which, by the secret reserves of not

[35] "Upon the whole doctrine of the Church of Rome, concerning the Sacraments, as it is explained by the schoolmen, I have followed the account given by Honoratus Fabri, in his *Summa Theologica*, who is dead within these ten years. I knew him at Rome, anno 1685. He was a true philosopher, beyond the liberties allowed by his order, and studied to reduce their school divinity to as clear ideas as it was capable of. So that in following him I have given the best, and not the worst face of their doctrine. His book was printed at Lyons, anno 1669."

giving an inward consent, the faith which is solemnly given may be broken. Here such a door is opened to perfidy and treachery, that the world can be no longer safe while it is allowed; hereby lewd and vicious persons may entangle others, and in the meanwhile order their own thoughts so, that they shall be all the while free.''

I assure you, Mr. Waddell, that I am quite at a loss whether most to admire Bishop Burnet or you, in comparing your productions. Allow me, however, as you are now my principal object, to get rid of the Bishop as quickly as possible, for though he had been in Rome, he has made some sad mistakes. 1. He gave us a mere school opinion for a Catholic doctrine. 2. He distorts the opinion from its natural shape, giving us only its caricature. 3. He thus argues against a phantom of his own creation. 4. He confounds what the Church distinguishes, viz. the matter and the intention. 5. He mistakes the nature of intention itself. 6. He asserts a gross theological absurdity in stating that ''if there be no marriage they cannot be married again.'' 7. From this false position he draws a false conclusion. 8. He states what is not the fact, where he asserts that a foundation is laid down for breaking the marriage where the parties or either of them solemnly swear that they gave no inward consent; if by laying a foundation he means that this is considered sufficient evidence of the fact, as his words and context seem to imply. 9. All his conclusions, of course, drawn from this assumption, are unwarranted imputations against the Roman Catholic Church. I might, perhaps, should my leisure permit, dedicate a letter to his Lordship's misrepresentations in the above extract.

Mr. Waddell, then, has built upon the authority of Bishop Burnet the assertion, 1. ''That if a husband or wife at Rome declare solemnly that he or she had not the intention of being married when the nuptials were solemnized, the apparent marriage is then pronounced a nullity; the parties are separated.'' Yet Bishop Burnet makes no such assertion, and if he did, he would have asserted an untruth. The principle of the Church is, that when there is no circumstance at the time to create a reasonable doubt of the consent being freely given, no examination shall be subsequently permitted, and under any circumstances, the oath of either party is the most suspicious testimony that could be adduced: because there is the prior and the more solemn evidence of the party itself given to the contrary assertion at the time of the marriage. 2. Mr. Waddell asserts that the Bishop obtained in Rome full and satisfactory information on the subject, and was perhaps an eye-witness to the practice. The Bishop does not appear to say any such thing, but merely states in a note that he took the doctrine concerning the sacraments from the work of a well informed divine with whom he con-

versed in Rome. 3. Mr. Waddell states that the Bishop asserts such divorces to be very frequent in Rome. The Bishop, I think, makes no such assertion, he merely says, "the swearing is often practised at Rome," and for which we have only Burnet's mere assertion. All that Mr. Waddell adds about the doctrine of intention respecting marriage, is totally at variance with the statement of the doctrine as laid down by Burnet, who makes the parties and not the priest the ministers of the sacrament, by making their words the form, whilst Mr. Waddell requires the intention of the priest and thus makes him the minister. His object is to show that we cannot know when marriages are good. The answer is, that which our practice exhibits: that is, we have the evidence of circumstances to show the intention of contracting, this produces certainty, and unless there be at the time of the contract some very suspicious circumstances, no declarations nor oaths of either or both parties will be considered equivalent to the evidence of the solemn contract of their marriage. Thus the statements put forward are palpable misrepresentations, and the conclusions drawn from them must partake of their nature. I have been drawn farther after you, Sir, than I intended. But I have not done as yet.

I am, Sir, yours, and so forth, B. C.

LETTER V.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Oct. 4, 1830.

To Mr. Thomas Waddell.

Sir,—Having shown your misconceptions of the authors and documents which you adduced to sustain your notion of our doctrine of Intention, I shall take the liberty of inserting a few other passages of your letters for the purpose of more clearly and fully exhibiting your mistakes.

In my remarks on the Protestant Catechism, I stated the consequences of the doctrine which is imputed to us, in the following words which you give in your letter, page 38.

"Roman Catholics cannot be certain that the Eucharist is duly consecrated, neither can they be certain of receiving any sacrament, and must at least be in a state of doubt and anxiety about all their sacraments, as the effect depends upon the secret and concealed intention of the priest."

Upon which you remark,

"This proposition does not differ from the statement and conclusion of the catechist, except in the adjectives secret and concealed, which are not in the catechism, though they must be implied if the observation of Bellarmine holds good, 'that none can see another man's intention.' The conclusion, also, that 'Roman

Catholics must at best be in a state of doubt and anxiety about all their sacraments,' I believe is not in the catechism, though it is also implied: did you sincerely believe your doctrine, which if we can credit your most eminent writers, is not the case.''

I have already shown that you mistook Bellarmine's meaning, and that Roman Catholics had every reasonable certainty, in the testimony or circumstances which removed the doubt here assumed to exist. In reference to the doctrine imputed to us and its consequences as described in the above paragraph I had written,

''This is a very serious misrepresentation of our doctrine of Intention. I could scarcely believe it was an innocent mistake, but that I have lately discovered, that the whole mode in which the general body of Protestant writers learn what Roman Catholics teach is not by reading the works of Roman Catholic authors. Hence, I do admit, that even you, Right Reverend Sir, might possibly, notwithstanding the station you occupy, be yourself under a very serious mistake upon this head, and that you perhaps do not know our theological meaning of the word Intention; at all events, your little tract is egregiously incorrect upon this head.''

You took the liberty of introducing the word *whole* which I disclaim; and alluding to this paragraph of mine, you had the kindness to write,

''Against this proposition, however, your correspondent raises the following piteous outcry, which is indeed something like the bold beginning of a good reply, but as it wants the trifling particular called proof, is only like a piece of half begun work, which serves no other purpose than to show it can never be finished in such a way that the end will accord with a bold beginning.''

Full of your anticipated victory, and under the impression that you were not only right but unanswerable, you thus commenced your fourth letter,

''In my second letter I requested to inform your correspondent B. C. that he was required to resume his work upon the doctrine of Intention, or rather upon the statement of that doctrine, in the *Protestant Catechism,* and the consequences deduced from it by the *Catechism,* for which he holds Bishop Bowen accountable. As he has given us nothing in support of his charge of misrepresentation, I have thought it necessary to enter upon an inquiry into your theological meaning of the word intention, that I may repel the heavy charge which now stands against my letters on that head, as well as against Bishop Bowen, the Catechist, and the general body of Protestant writers; and that I may ascertain in some measure the degree of danger in which your Church says by this doctrine her children are exposed, in the worship of the host and through a failure in her other sacraments by the want of this necessary intention.

Alluding to my declaration that our doctrine was misrepresented, you wrote,

''What a bold beginning is here! When I first saw it, I expected something very clever would follow, and I prepared my mind to examine and study it very attentively. How great was my surprise, when I saw the whole affair end in a pitiful, broad assertion, just where it began? Must it not be disgusting and mortifying even to your own bigoted admirers, with whom every unsupported dogmatism and every

beggarly sophism passes for a demonstration? One who was not thoroughly acquainted with your credulity and stupidity would be disposed to think they could not but see the difficulty in which your favorite champion was involved, and his knavery to deceive them, that he might seem to deliver himself and his wretched cause from confusion. Must they not know it was incumbent upon him to state his doctrine fairly and to institute a comparison, that the very serious misrepresentation might appear to the confusion of the Catechist and Bishop Bowen; and also to explain his theological meaning of the word intention, that his doctrine might be delivered from the consequences deduced from it by the Catechist and many other Protestant writers, as well as by some of your own doctors of the first rate? But why need I ask such questions, for the poor deluded people are too simple and credulous to see any thing that makes against the doctrines of Rome? But did he think Bishop Bowen, and other Protestant readers, were fools and blind, and capable of being satisfied by the ipse dixit of such a writer? This indeed would have been a poor subterfuge for any man to fly to who even belonged to any honorable tribe of writers.

"How can this be accounted for? Only by the deplorable distress and confusion of the writer. What could he do in such a desperate case? If your doctrine can be neither explained away, nor maintained, it must be denied if possible."

I am very far, Sir, from imagining myself to be as favorite a champion of one side as probably you esteem yourself of the other. I have not rejoiced at the resuscitation of controversy, I did not feel confident that I could overthrow my opponents, nor did I find upon trial that although I believed myself upon the side of truth, it was a quick and easy piece of work to pose the heroes of the opposite party.—I was reluctantly dragged forth,—I was taunted by you, with cowardice and inability,—I was threatened with a gag,—I was sneered at and held up to ridicule. (*Introduction*, vii).

"When I first heard of these proceedings, I rejoiced very much that the long dormant controversy was about to be renewed; for I felt confident that the Papal system would quickly be overthrown by being brought to a public investigation. The weapons of warfare used by the Romanists, are nothing but frivolous sophistry, subtle distinctions, barefaced denials and forgeries, and inconclusive, plausible arguments. By these, they may indeed, do incalculable mischief amongst the silly and thoughtless; but if they can bring nothing more powerful against us in controversy, then let no man's heart fail because of them. I was, indeed, in my early days, brought into doubts and difficulties by them; but I soon learned to see through their sophistry, and by degrees detected the various knavish tricks resorted to by the Popish sons of imposture, to deceive the ignorant and to save the cause from destruction. I afterwards made the Popish controversy my study, and found upon trial it was a quick and easy piece of work to silence Roman gainsayers. I therefore determined upon seeing the *Catholic Miscellany*, which contained nothing but the old silly arguments and wretched dogmatisms, to pose the heroes of it in short metre. As the distance was great, I made choice of an argument which I knew would gag them immediately. They trifled at first, and afterwards declined my invitation; the reasons they give for declining the combat show clearly that the work is impracticable, and their cause untenable."

Yet, Sir, when you forced me to come out, have I not shown from your own selected authorities that you misrepresented our doctrine?—In page 51 you asserted,

"But of all the doctrines calculated to favor them most and raise them to their highest wish, the doctrine of intention appeared foremost. This doctrine showed the great power with which the priest was invested over the sacraments and over the souls of the people. Except he possessed the actual intention in his consecration, there should be no sacrament; it would be null; then, though apparently married, baptized, and so forth, yet would they nevertheless be unmarried, unbaptized, &c., so would they be in a state of heathenism and concubinage; their penances, confessions, and absolutions, would be of no avail! the worship of the host would be wicked idolatry: and so they would be all damned together.

"To prevent all this, and seeing their salvation depending almost entirely upon the intention of the priest, they must feel it necessary ever to be attentive to him, and to endeavor to please him upon all occasions, that he might be always careful to have and to exert his good intention."

I have shown that we do not require this actual intention, you draw your train of consequences from the false assumption that we do. All these assumed or fancied conclusions are then baseless visions. I have, Sir, stated our doctrine fairly, I have instituted a comparison between what we hold and what you imputed, and I have brought the testimony regarding our doctrine from the very authors which you pointed out, from Bellarmine and the *Missal*. Yet, Sir, I am far from thinking that though I have delivered myself from what you are pleased to call the difficulty and the knavery and the confusion of my wretched cause, that you are either satisfied, or "posed," or silenced; and when I undertook to write these letters, I assure you, I had no hopes of attaining this object.

However, Sir, before we separate, and probably for ever, I shall take the liberty of instituting a few more comparisons; the result may be useful to others, if not to you.

In your page viii, you inform us, "I have never yet met with a Romanist amongst the laity who knew their own doctrine of Intention." Really this appears a little strange since in page 12, you inform us,

"This canon is found in the Council of Florence and that of Trent, and teaches the doctrine thus: 'If any man shall say, that when the ministers make and confer the sacraments, the intention of doing what the Church does, is not required, let him be anathema.' Reily's catechism teaches the doctrine in much the same phraseology. That the intention insisted on by the above canon, is in order to the efficacy of the sacrament, is manifest, by the sense which is attached to it in other books of equal authority. *The Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine*, a book publicly authorized and of general use in Ireland, as a book of instruction for the common people, teaches it in the following plain, unequivocal language.

Q. Is the intention of the minister to do what Christ ordained, a condition without which the sacrament subsisteth not?

A. It is, as also the intention of the receiver, to receive what Christ ordained, if he be at years of understanding.

Q. Why do you say if he be at years of understanding?

A. Because for infants in the sacrament of baptism, the Intention of the Church sufficeth."

Reily's catechism was then generally used by all the Catholic children in Ireland, and, if the doctrine was taught therein it must have been taught to all the children who learned their catechism. Strange that the laity did not know the doctrine which they were taught!

The Abridgement of the Christian Doctrine, publicly authorized and in general use for the instruction of the common people, teaches the doctrine in plain and unequivocal language, and yet, "you never met with a Romanist who knew" what he had thus been taught!

But it seems that although they had been thoroughly instructed in those doctrines of their Church, yet they did not know them; for in page 45 you inform us:

"That the general body of our priests are *poor theological cowards, liars and deceivers,* who know their cause would soon go to destruction if it were fairly exposed to the light. By thus raising the outcry of misrepresentation against Protestant writers, and aspersing their characters, they succeed admirably in filling the minds of their bigoted adherents with prejudice and hatred against them, and against the truth which they teach; so that Satan himself is supposed to be a far more harmless creature than a Protestant writer: if he has got one cloven foot, be sure a Protestant writer has got two. This piece of Popish policy succeeds so well in deceiving the sons of Papal delusion, that I have never yet conversed with one laymen of your communion, whom I could not teach the doctrines of his church, and who would not raise the outcry of misrepresentation against me like B. C. when I would state the naked truth. Thus they conceal many of the absurdities and abominations of Popery, and daub the faces of Protestants and their doctrines so notably, that the minds of their deluded adherents are quite inaccessible to the light of the gospel, and even to their own doctrines, which they conceit they know thoroughly, although they are generally ignorant of the worst parts of their system."

No, Sir, to me it appears very strange that those Catholics should have in their hands the very books from which you make your quotations, should have in their childhood been instructed in their doctrine from those very books, and yet not understand them. Some of them, as for instance, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Shiel, Mr. Wyse, Mr. Coppinger, (for you seem to confine yourself to Ireland,) might be supposed to have as much understanding as Mr. Waddell, and have, we should suppose, at least, as much information as the common people, who learn the abridgement. Really Mr. Waddell, it is difficult to suppose that there are not laymen amongst the Romanists who do know their own doctrine

of Intention, though they might not have the honor of your acquaintance. Now, Sir, there is only one circumstance, which I shall state hereafter, which prevents me from asserting that you contradicted yourself when you asserted they did not know their own doctrine, and yet that it was contained in the books from which they were taught.

You have charged our laity with stupidity, ignorance and carelessness. It would indeed take almost a reprint of your whole production to exhibit the manner in which you libel our clergy. The following extract respecting the venerable Doctor Challoner, Bishop of Debra, and one of the most eminent, learned and pious of the English Vicars Apostolic, may be taken merely as a specimen. It is found in pages 15 and 16, of your production.

"But this magic charm, whatever [power] it may possess in laying your difficulties and doubts asleep, has never yet been sufficient to enable your writers to maintain their cause, by giving a fair and solid answer to those who have not tasted of the powerful opiate. To illustrate the above remark, that your priests and people overlook the import of this doctrine, and are blind to the danger implied by it, I shall produce the opinion of your great Dr. Challoner on this subject, who sings one note with his brethren.

'Q. Is there no danger of idolatry in this practice; (the divine worship of the host?)

'A. No, certainly; because this honor is not paid to the outward veil, or the sacramental signs, but to Jesus Christ who lies hidden there. Now Jesus Christ is no idol, but the true and living God.'

'Q. But if the doctrine of the real presence and transubstantiation should not be true, should we not then at least, be guilty of idolatry?

'A. We are as positively certain, by divine faith, of the truth of the doctrine of the real presence and of transubstantiation, as Protestants can be of the divinity of Jesus Christ; and therefore we are as much out of the reach of the danger of idolatry, in worshipping Christ in the sacrament, as they are of worshipping him in heaven.'—*Cath. Christ. Inst.*, p. 77.

"Throughout the above questions the writer pretends to justify the worship of the host only by the doctrine of transubstantiation; and argues that as that doctrine is true, he is as far out of the reach of the danger of idolatry in the divine worship of the host, as Protestants can be in worshipping Christ in heaven. Now, if he does not overlook the above canon, he tells a wilful falsehood: and if he does not contradict his *Missal*, there is no contradiction between the Council of Trent, and the articles of the Church of England; for the greatest of books asserts positively, that 'Mass may be defective.'

"Thus Dr. Challoner, and the general body of your authors, write, speak, and act, as if this canon had never existed. It is only therefore, by this fact, that they do not sincerely believe this doctrine of Intention, that I can account for their inconsistency, and the honesty and sincerity of their conduct in the worship of their host, and in speaking with such certainty of their stupidity in being blind to the danger to which they are exposed from all quarters, if the above be not true. Nothing but a fond conceit in their infallibility, can make them capable of thus receiving the doc-

trines implicitly, without attending to their obvious, plain import. As, therefore, you do not sincerely believe this doctrine, we charitably hope your practice may be sincere in the divine worship of the host, if you believe in the doctrine of transubstantiation; and that as your mistake extenuates your guilt, the Lord will forgive you, 'as you know not what you do.' ''

It is in perfect keeping with this, that you had previously asserted:

''But your priests and people, notwithstanding this awful uncertainty and danger, seem to be quite easy in their minds, and talk as confidently about their absolutions, baptisms, marriages, ordinations and consecrations, as if the above canon had never existed. How shall we account for this stupid inconsistency? Only by the fact, that you do not sincerely believe this doctrine, and attentively consider its import and ruinous consequences.''

Hence you assert in page 39, that we do not sincerely believe the doctrine: ''The conclusion also, that Roman Catholics must be at least in a state of doubt and anxiety about all their sacraments:'' I believe is not in the catechism, though it is also implied: ''did you sincerely believe your doctrine, which if we can credit your most eminent writers, is not the case.'' I could continue extracts of this description as I pleased: but I am disgusted and tired, and hasten to an obvious conclusion; which is this: Mr. Waddell declares that he never yet met a layman of our church who understood his own doctrine of intention; and that our most eminent divines do not sincerely believe our doctrine. It is clear that a man must believe his own doctrine, and that another might mistake it. Mr. Waddell and other Protestants impute to us a doctrine which is not ours, by giving to the doctrine of intention a meaning which our most eminent divines do not admit, which our laity do not know, which our *Missal* contradicts; and from this imputed doctrine they draw consequences which do not follow from what we believe: and when they impute the consequences to us and to our doctrine, we complain that they do us injustice and misrepresent our tenets. I leave to any rational being to decide whether this is not a more natural conclusion, than to assert that our laity do not know a doctrine which they are taught, and that our clergy do not believe the truth of what they profess and teach. Nor is this a singular instance of the pertinacity with which men like you will endeavor to fasten upon us follies which we disclaim. All the religious papers of the different Protestant churches continually bear false witness thus against us. And when we complain of the calumny; like you, they call us knaves, poor theological cowards, liars, deceivers, and every other vile epithet which the decorum of society would not permit in any other case: but here, unfortunately, the public taste is vitiated, and public justice has yet to awake in these United States, to protect the feelings of a large body of citizens who

have been the unpitied butt of every drawcansir, whose ambition for polemic fame urged him to pick up and use the poisoned arrows which defeated men of prowess had cast away, when they left the field with blushes other than those of honor and of fame.

Thus, Sir, you confess that the doctrine which you impute to us is not that of our clergy nor of our laity, consequently not ours.

I know not, Sir, whether I shall spare time to make a few more extracts from your pamphlet.

Yours, and so forth,

B. C.

LETTER VI.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Oct. 11, 1830.

To Mr. Thomas Waddell.

Sir,—I shall trespass once more upon you, and recommend to your consideration, in the first place, what I conceive to be a few of the contradictions which you have put forward in treating of the doctrine of intention, so that if you should favor the public with a second edition of your pamphlet, you might be able either to attempt their reconciliation or their correction.

In your p. viii, you inform the world, regarding the mighty argument, by the use of which you fancied you would "pose the heroes of the *Miscellany* in short metre." "It is an argument with which few Protestants are acquainted." You also state, "I have never before seen it used as a principal (argument) except once, when it was tried upon a renegade missionary from Rome to Ireland." Yet in page 21, you assure us,

> "I am not the first Protestant that has deduced these consequences from your canon; for this argument of uncertainty is one of the objections of Protestants which have been standing against your Church for ages, unanswered and unattempted."

In page 39, writing of this doctrine, you are good enough to say that we should state it fairly, that it "might be delivered from the consequences deduced from it by the catechist, and many other Protestant writers."

When you shall have reconciled these assertions, it will be for you, who have read Bellarmine, and of course perused the 16th chapter of his first book "On the Sacraments in General," to inform us of the fact, that in the tenth and eleventh paragraphs thereof he shows the difference between the doctrines of Luther and Calvin, and of the Catholic Church, upon this topic. You are, I suppose, also competent to inform

us of the statements and arguments which are contained in chapters xxvii, and xxviii, of the same book, where, in ten closely printed folio columns, he expains the doctrine at length, and at least attempts to refute the statements of those two gentlemen, and of one of their followers. As I cannot suppose you would have ventured to assert that Bellarmine taught the doctrine in your mode of exhibiting it, without your having read what he wrote upon the subject; it appeared to me very like a contradiction in you to assert that the argument has been "standing against our Church for ages unanswered and unattempted." You appear to be so well acquainted with our whole system, for you assured us in page vii, "I felt confident that the Papal system would be quickly overthrown by being brought to a public investigation: the weapons of warfare used by the Romanists are nothing but frivolous sophistry, subtle distinctions, barefaced denials and forgeries, and inconclusive plausible arguments:" that I took it for granted you had read many of our theological works, and that you must of course have observed that every theologian who wrote upon "*The Sacraments in General*," did attempt to answer the objections. I thought it strange that you should contradict this palpable fact by asserting that they were "for ages unanswered and unattempted." I could never, Sir, after the assertions and the display of superior acquirements made by you, suspect or permit the insinuation that you had never read those authors, but that you merely repeated what others had said or written concerning them. Far be it from me, Sir, to place you amongst those "Protestant writers who learn what Roman Catholics teach, not by reading Roman Catholic authors." Your honest indignation at the charge is your vindication. To what then am I to impute your ignorance of the fact that not only have attempts been made but answers are continually given? Yet, Sir, to save your honesty, I fear I must tax your memory with being seriously defective.

To the above I might add your assertion in p. viii. "I have never met with a Romanist who knew their own doctrine of Intention"—and ask you to reconcile it with your assertion in p. 12, that "Reily's *Catechism* teaches the doctrine in much the same phraseology" as "the canon of the Council of Florence and of Trent." And also, that the doctrine "is taught in plain unequivocal language in *The Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine*, a book publicly authorized, and of general use in Ireland, as a book of instruction for the common people."

There are several other contradictions to which I could easily refer, but my object is not to exhibit your imperfections; I sought merely to justify myself in asserting that our doctrine of Intention was misrep-

resented. However, I shall give one other specimen of your consistency. In page 15, you have the following passage:

"For the sincere belief and clear view of the above necessary consequences of this doctrine would so confound both priests and people, that your priests would no more venture to minister in holy or unholy things, than I would, if I sincerely believed it; neither would their people venture to attend upon their masses, or place any confidence in their sacraments; nor would they talk so confidently about these things as they do. What! you ask, do you think our priests would swear to a doctrine they do not believe? This is the most charitable construction of their inconsistency. I do not say, indeed, that they would wilfully and knowingly forswear themselves; for this inconsistency can be accounted for without such a supposition, when we consider that you hold the doctrine of infallibility, which requires implicit faith in the decisions of your church."

In this passage you are kind enough equivalently to declare that you do not charge our priests with perjury. This, Sir, is exceedingly charitable; but I am at a loss how it shall be reconciled with the following passage in page v.

"They not only declare upon oath, that at the time of swearing, they believe the creed of Pope Pius, but that they will never deviate from it. Of course they swear, that they will shut their eyes against all arguments, however strong and conclusive, that they may be offered against the absurdities of that creed. They also swear, that they will teach the people that they cannot be saved, unless they believe all its gross, contradictory, and palpably false articles. Therefore, every priest who is true to this oath, must necessarily blind himself to the glaring absurdities of the papacy. Such bigots I do not accuse of wilful fraud in recommending their system to the world—but I can, by no means, exempt those from the heavy charge, who have studied the Scriptures, the fathers, history and general councils; neither can I acquit any of them from wilful fraud and corrupt perjury, who deny any of their doctrines, which they are sworn to confess till the last breath of their lives. How awfully, then, do the general body of the Papal priests trifle with their consciences, whenever they are assailed with inquiry, and find it necessary to deny their doctrines! In these fraudful artifices they succeed amazingly in perverting the weak and ignorant, and in keeping their deluded people from ever knowing the blessed doctrines of the glorious Gospel; or even their own creed, which they are sworn to teach them. Surely the Papal clergy are the most complete tools Satan has in this world; and the Papal system, besides being the most pernicious, is the most degrading to the human mind, that Satan has ever contrived—but it is to be hoped its end is fast approaching, and that its votaries will shortly be aroused to a spirit of inquiry."

How will you reconcile it to your assertion in page iv, when you state of the priests whom you designate as "emissaries of the man of sin"—that respecting their own doctrines "These things they know to be arrant falsehoods," and this other extract from page 43.

"Is it not then evident you have leagued together to deny your doctrines, when it can be done, that you may impose your false system upon the world by the lump; to entrap the desultory, ignorant and unstable; and to keep your own poor sons of delusion within your pale? The Church of Rome is like a ship on sea, in which there

are smuggled goods. When she is pursued and in danger of being searched, those contraband goods are sometimes thrown overboard to save the ship and cargo from being taken and confiscated. So in your bark of various wares, when she is assailed by inquiry; some of her absurdities must be sacrificed at the shrine of falsehood and deception, to save the whole cause from destruction by the rays of light.

"And now gentlemen, what are intelligent Protestants to think of yourselves and your great cause? When we see it deserted and denied in the time of need by its most able advocates, who propose to maintain it, and publish a weekly paper for the purpose, can we imagine for a moment, it can be the cause of God and truth? Blush gentlemen, if you are capable of blushing; for once own that you have acted criminally, and away for the future with such disingenuous artifices. Avow your doctrines unreservedly and fairly, like honest men, and defend them if you can; and if you cannot, let them go to destruction.

"The noble work of B. C. on this subject, has served no other purpose than to deceive the poor stupid subjects of the triple crown; to show that the work is indispensably necessary, but impracticable; and to pour contempt and ridicule upon the great cause. Priest Hughes of Philadelphia, has lately found fault with the editors of the *Church Register*, for representing the Romanish clergy as knaves, and their people as fools. If they have ever said any thing to that amount, have you not illustrated their remark? Have you not shown yourselves to be knaves in a public paper, by attempting to palm such a flat denial of your doctrines upon the world?—And have you not treated your readers as the silliest fools, by showing that you could impose such a palpable fraud upon their ignorance and credulity?"

We have it stated by him in page v, that every priest at his ordination takes an oath to keep, to profess and to confess unto the last breath of his life, constantly whole and inviolate, the true Catholic faith, of course, if at any period, he shall willingly and knowingly deny that faith, he is a perjurer. You say, you do not accuse them of perjury. Will you reconcile that assertion with this charge in page 55.

"It is no wonder, indeed, that her priests oppose, with all their might and influence, a book so admirably calculated as the Bible is to lay the axe to the root of all her pernicious absurdities—no wonder that priest Hughes inadvertently classes it amongst the books that are circulated against Popery—with Blanco White, Father Clement, and Andrew Dunn. To keep off this light they must raise an outcry of slander and misrepresentation against Protestants, and like B. C., with his quondam brethren, deny her doctrines when fairly stated by them. By these unfair means, and by aspersing the characters of the Reformers and modern writers, and by telling thousands of palpable falsehoods, sufficient to make a devil blush, they get their pernicious ends too well accomplished, in deceiving the ignorant of their own and many of the unwary of other persuasions. But the time is coming, and now is, when your much injured people, will read, and hear, and think for themselves: and when the Lord shall 'consume the man of sin with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy him with the brightness of his coming.'

"If, moreover, you cheat your readers by pretending to explain and maintain your doctrines, while you slyly keep some of them in the back ground, and even deny them when others happen to bring them forward; and above all, if you wilfully and knowingly make false statements of your doctrines, with a view to deceive the whole

country, you cannot surely think that all your neighbors are so totally destitute of charity and regard for the truth, as to suffer such pious frauds to pass unnoticed in broad day-light.''

And with this in pages 64 and 66.

''That 'you make false statements of your doctrine,' is, indeed, an offensive charge and one of a very heavy nature; and I confess it shows very clearly, to you at least, that no benefit to your cause could result from a controversy with me, but rather much hurt and damage; for you know very well that I could substantiate this charge very hastily!''

I am tired, and so probably are my readers. As I have not given to them all your beauties, I shall now insert a few to edify them, and to gratify yourself.

I have in every extract from your production given sufficient specimens of your vituperation, but the following extract from your 52d page is too curious to be overlooked. I do not believe the letters which appear to the American reader so unintelligible, are either Greek, Hebrew or Arabic, I am told that they are wretchedly spelled Irish, in every polysyllable of which there is a palpable violation of the first rule of orthography which has been thus furnished to me; *Leathan le leathan's ceal le ceal.*

''Now that Priests do expect and receive this cringing submission from their flocks, very far more than any other description of clergymen do, is a fact that meets the eye of daily observation, in every place where they can have their people wrapt in tenfold night, and had exercise this absolute despotism. Therefore are their people so foolishly afraid of their curses on the one hand, (which they so frequently thunder out against them,) and so superstitiously fond of their blessings, which they must have upon every occasion. And so far from discouraging this baseness of mind, this intoxicating superstition, the Priests promote it with all their power, from tender years up to gray hairs; so that the people, they who fear so little to break the decalogue on every hand, and under the Priests' very eye; yet look up with fear and awe to them, as if they were little Gods upon earth. Their common saying is, 'Who has such virtue as the Priest?' *Se far Innoid Iosa Croisda aguinn er a taliv e.* 'He is the man whom we have in the place of Jesus Christ on earth.' This the Pope always claims to be, 'Christ's Vicar on earth,' and every Priest is a little Pope in his own parish.

''This was exactly the error of the Jews. They hated a rejected Christ and his Gospel, and thus cleaved to their Priests who taught them for doctrines the traditions of men, till God's wrath came on them to the full. A sad warning to all!''

I assure you, Sir, that to us in this quarter of the Union it is quite a novelty to be informed that the Catholic priests thunder out curses; though it is a fact that we like to partake of their blessings and their prayers. They possess our esteem and affection; but we neither know of their being Popes, nor of their having parishes.

A specimen or two of your boasting will perhaps edify those who have

read these letters, and are thus qualified to estimate the foundation on which it rests. I make the extract from pages 53, 54, and 55.

"Now, as by these false and fraudful doctrine, the people have been the trembling dupes and slaves of the Papal clergy, and the world troubled; so by the simple inquiry of the people, when they shall once be roused to it, will the whole body of them fall into instant annihilation. This I prove to demonstration intelligible to the meanest capacity, thus:

"Let any inquirer approach the next Priest or Bishop, Do you allow there is a canon, which insists upon the necessity of intention in the minister, in order to the integrity of a sacrament? If he shall say 'there is no such canon,' he is then confronted by the canon itself, and the rubric of his own Missal; but if he admit it, yet says, 'it is frivolous and not binding,' he then destroys his own foundation, and ruins himself for if a canon be foolish and false, then the infallibility which in two councils decreed it, and the church founded on it, which for three centuries back has taught it, are foolish and false, and so drop headlong with it; but if he allow 'there is such a canon, and it is true,' then he is in a labyrinth of difficulties, out of which he can never extricate himself, without a magic wand; for the next question will be, 'How can you possibly know whether you are a Priest, or whether you are a Christian at all?' At this question he is startled! He is amazed! He trembles! He can't answer, or if he will answer at all, he stammers out, 'Indeed, I confess, it is a very difficult business; I must own, according to our Church, it is a thing impossible to be known whether I am truly baptized, or truly ordained at all!' "

" 'And if you don't know, and if none of you know, how alarming must be the situation of all those to whom you have ministered; not knowing but we have been receiving false sacraments, and worshipping false hosts, all our lives! How came you to be guilty of so great wickedness as to assume the office at all, to bring destruction upon yourselves, upon us, and our little ones? You tell us your infallibility is a safe guide to Heaven: if so, why does if not lead yourselves out of these difficulties that so press you, and defend you and us from the risk of that damnation which is consequent on receiving a false sacrament, and worshipping a false host as you own? If it will give us no help, no relief; it is good for nothing. How then can it be a sure guide to Heaven, or from God? Then we must turn away from you forever to the Scriptures, nor suffer ourselves or our little ones to be deceived any longer.' Inquiry thus spreading through the land, nay, through the world; and being pressed upon the Massmen, they cannot stand before it, they must fly and hide themselves; so 'our chases a thousand, and two puts ten thousand to flight.' "

"Thus are they overthrown to a man, from the Pope on his throne to the meanest ecclesiastic. Thus the whole Papal Church, with all its apparatus, goes to ruin at once; even as the mill-stone which the mighty angel cast into the sea. Thus Babylon will sink, to rise again no more forever. Thus will the world be rid in a moment of this great mother and mistress of all churches, as she arrogantly styles herself. This haughty and furious disturber—this prolific parent of deceits and artifices! who filled the world with pernicious superstitions, grievous contentions, confusion, intolerance and blood! None who know history, can deny this. O Lord, hasten the time, and stir up the people quickly to this so necessary and salutary inquiry.

"And now methinks the ingenious edifice of the Papal building, put together with such care and industry, for so many ages, of which its partisans have so mightily

boasted, crying out, 'What church is like unto it, or can make war with it!' is like a curious piece of mechanism, called a puzzling stick, brought forth by children, which, with great triumph, they exhibit to the ignorant, who stand gazing at it with great wonder and delight, praising the wonderful hand that formed it. But while they are in this rapture of admiration, behold! an unsuspected hand takes it to look on, pulls out the little key peg, and lo! instantly it falls to pieces. Their joy is turned into mortification, their little show is over; they hang down their heads and retire. So it fares with your cunning disputants, when the key peg is pulled out of their sophistry by the hand of fair inquiry.

"Having thus battered down your strong fortress, and damaged some of your inner works, by your own canon of Intention, I intend, if God permit, after perhaps doing a little more damage, to examine the foundation upon which this ideal fortress was built by the proud sons of imposture, as well as the materials and curious construction of the work, which has for ages been the eighth wonder of the Papal world: and I think when strictly examined, it will be found to have been the baseless fabric of a vision!"

The following from page 60 is a specimen of combined virulence, boasting and self-contradiction:

"Upon these creatures you could impose very easily; for if you could say any thing at all, they would clap it and shout applause. I will not say, however, that all your readers are such simpletons; for there are no doubt, a few amongst them who are men of some penetration: but these again are as easily satisfied as the others. Should you deceive the multitude, you would please them; for they are so much in love with the great cause, that they like to see it supported and advanced by any means, right or wrong; as they are as great knaves as yourselves. But should you once bring this subject on the carpet, and then not be able to say one word upon it to invalidate the obvious consequences, which I have pointed out, you would be in a hobble; for the knaves, would be offended with you for betraying the secret; and the simpletons would then perhaps see that your church is not only fallible, but foolish, and far from being invincible.

"There is also another reason why you cannot with safety, or even a good grace, bring this subject now before your readers. You remember well that you had it before them once, some time ago, and that you had (O wretched case!) to deny it, even to a Bishop: should you, therefore, bring it on the carpet now again, and acknowledge it to be your doctrine, fairly stated, how would it look? All men would then see your knavery, who would read your paper with any degree of attention; even perhaps your own poor admirers; your knavery would perhaps be exposed to the world, and would reflect such infamy on your wretched cause, which, it would be found, is maintained by such pious frauds, that your fond hopes of promoting it, and of gaining blind converts in this part of the world, would perhaps be blasted for ever.

"It is indeed impossible to conceive the amount of damage that might accrue to your Diana should you thus lay this doctrine before your Ephesians, and acknowledge it after your shameful denial; and therefore you do well not to lay it before them in the way in which I have proposed. I acknowledge indeed that this doctrine is taught to the common people in their catechisms and other books of instruction; but they read it over without ever perceiving its consequences, and afterwards deny, and even forget, that they have heard of any such doctrine."

One more extract is all which I shall produce, it is so characteristic. It is found in page 41.

"This shameful practice, the disavowal and concealment of your doctrines, is the main point in your controversy. By this blessed expedient you keep millions of miserable stupid souls fast locked in the thraldom of Popery in all parts of the world where you cannot use compulsion, and then boast of these poor deluded millions, as a conclusive argument for your great cause. We can see by this trick very clearly, what this large argument fairly amounts to, and how far the testimony of such deceived stupid witnesses, though millions in number, ought to go in important matters in all soul concerns. By this cunning policy I was once deceived myself into a belief that you were an injured, misrepresented people, and was brought into difficulties and perplexities by your plausible arguments; but when I afterwards obtained from your own best writers and standard books a correct knowledge of your system, and learned to see through their sophistry, my doubts and difficulties soon vanished, and I saw clearly the cloven foot of Popery: and the mean artifices by which it is maintained served no other purpose than to stamp eternal infamy on a cause which needs such deceitful support. In this way thousands of ignorant persons are imposed upon by your Machiavelians, and deluded into the pale of Popery. Their specious arguments easily go down with them, when they hear of your promises of life upon the performance of easy conditions, while they are permitted to walk after the lusts of their hearts, and to retain their idols—their venial sins, from the temporary punishment of which you can afterwards easily deliver them by your holy, or rather unholy water, your extreme unction, masses, indulgences and other impositions. O Syren song! surely Satan himself was the author and promoter of such pious frauds."

Permit me, Mr. Waddell, to take my leave, and to cherish the hope that the readers of the *Miscellany* will, in the statements which I have made, feel that I was justified in asserting that our doctrine of Intention is misrepresented by Protestant writers; also, that from the extracts which have been made from your production, they will see that the editors of the *Miscellany* would have been wanting in self-respect and have failed in the duty which they owe to their patrons, had they descended to a contest with you; and Sir, allow me to add the expression of my trust, that no circumstance shall again require of me to be engaged as I have lately been. I remain, Sir, with sentiments becoming the occasion,

Yours, and so forth,

B. C.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION AND CONSUBSTANTIATION

[The following Letter, which contains in itself an explanation of its occasion, and the circumstances under which it was written, appeared in Volume VII of the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, for 1827.]

86 Wentworth Street, Nov. 27, 1827.

To Miss . . .

My Dear Madam,—Our friend, . . . to whom you sent the treatise of Bickersteth on the Lord's Supper, with notes by the Rev. Gregory T. Bedell, A. M., has asked me for an explanation of the following passage which you marked for her consideration, and my solution.

"These terms, transubstantiation, and consubstantiation, though they may be understood by the great majority of the readers of this work, are not properly understood by all, and it is therefore hoped that a definition of them may not be considered out of place, or unimportant. By transubstantiation, is meant that immediately on the act of consecration, the elements of bread and wine, become actually the body and blood of Christ, so as no longer to be bread and wine. It is easy for any one who will calmly reflect on the subject, to see the monstrous absurdity of this dogma of the Roman Catholic Church. It is attempted to defend this doctrine, upon the principle that it is a great mystery; and I once heard Bishop England remark, that the miracle is still more extraordinary, because that while to the senses there appears nothing but bread and wine, there was, in fact and essence, no bread and wine present, but the real body and blood of Christ. A mystery, as correctly understood, is something which transcends the limited powers of reason, but which has nothing in it contrary to reason. In the doctrine of transubstantiation, however, there is a palpable contradiction; for the evidence of our senses cannot mislead us as to the reality of the thing submitted to examination. If the consecrated bread appears like bread, feels like bread, smells like bread, and tastes like bread, it is utterly impossible to conceive that it should all the while, be real flesh and blood, of which, to the senses, it has not one appearance or attribute. One great error of this kind generally paves the way for another equal-

ly or still more monstrous. On the idea that the consecrated wafer is the real body and blood of Christ, is founded the denial of the cup to the laity; for the wafer being changed into the body of Christ, and the body being composed of flesh and blood, so whoever eats the wafer, does of necessity eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of God. Thus much for the absurd and most unaccountable doctrine of transubstantiation with its concomitants.

"Consubstantiation, a kindred doctrine, was held by many of the early Lutherans. I do not know that it is held by the modern Lutherans, and though I am not prepared to say, I am rather of opinion that it is not, but that they agree in sentiment with our own Church. There is some doubt, however, on this point. The doctrine does not vary very materially from transubstantiation when critically examined; and there seems to be rather a nominal distinction between the terms than a real difference. By consubstantiation is to be understood, that after the consecration of the elements, the body and blood of Christ are really present, though the bread and wine remain the same in their nature and qualities.

"In contradistinction of these enormous opinions, our Church holds the doctrine that the bread and wine are simply the emblems or symbols of the body and blood of Christ, and the 28th article declares, that 'the body of Christ is given, taken and eaten in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith.' "—G. T. B.

I was not aware until I read this note that I had the honor of being introduced to the readers of the work. I have, however, little reason to complain of having been misrepresented, because I have frequently testified that in the holy Eucharist, although to the senses it appears to be bread and wine, there is not in reality either bread or wine; but the reverend note-maker has mistaken my meaning if he believed me to say that this was "still a more extraordinary miracle than transubstantiation," because transubstantiation means that at the consecration, the bread and wine are substantially, though not visibly changed into the body and blood of Christ, so that the latter substance retains the appearance of the former. I therefore must say that it is one and the same miracle and not two, one of which is less and another more extraordinary.

I am one who has calmly reflected on the subject, and must avow that I do not find it easy to see any monstrous absurdity in this dogma; neither have I ever known an attempt made to defend the doctrine upon

the ground of its mystery, which would indeed be a silly effort, and no proof; but I have always known it to be defended upon the ground of its being within the power of God to effect such a change, and declared by Christ that God would make it. If the Reverend gentleman has not learned those grounds before, I trust he may now become acquainted with them, and I regret my inability to convey my ideas intelligibly to my auditors; for when the reverend gentleman heard me make the statement which he gives, I certainly must have attempted to urge those grounds, and not the flimsy one which he adduces, for I always gave the two above stated and never gave the last.

Admitting his definition of the mystery: when he proceeds to apply his fact to that principle, the gentleman is quite too hasty; the term of comparison which he assumes in the definition is the phrase "contrary to reason:" in fair argument this same term is what should be used in his application of the fact: instead of this, however, he gives us the phrase "contradiction to the senses." This is a looseness of language which I should not have expected from a gentleman who finds it so "easy to see the monstrous absurdity of a dogma" held to be reasonable and true by the most learned men whom Christendom has produced. I shall not remark upon the plain logical distinction between "contrary propositions" and "contradictory propositions," which shows me that two of the former may be together false, which can never occur as regards two of the latter; but I will remark that the gentleman must have been very hasty indeed, in making the thoughtless assertion that senses and reason mean the same. In opposition to this doctrine several examples might be easily furnished, but I shall defer adducing one until we examine his next expression, which is put forward in semblance of proof for this position.

He says that "the evidence of the senses cannot mislead us to the reality of the thing submitted for examination." I really do not understand the meaning of this, unless it be merely to assert that the evidence of the sense is sufficient to prove to us the reality, that is the real existence of the object. I am not disposed to quarrel with him upon this, though a learned Bishop of the Irish Protestant Church, Berkley of Cloyne, would never admit his proposition, and would contend that is was impossible to defend the Christian religion against infidels, except by denying the truth: however, I differ from this learned prelate, and I avow to the Rev. Mr. Bedell, that the evidence of my senses testifies to me the real existence of a body or substance, or thing. But a subsequent question is, what is the nature of that substance or thing; and with all deference I will assert that the evidence of the senses alone

will in several instances, grossly mislead us as to the nature of the substance whose reality they testify: and if I can establish a single case in which the nature of the substance is widely different from its appearance to the senses, "contrary to the senses," will not be "contrary to reason," and the entire of Mr. Bedell's illusive fortress will vanish. I could exhibit several instances in the mineral kingdom and other departments of nature, as well as in its more unusual phenomena, not to mention the works of art, that would bear powerfully upon the case; but no one of these would answer my present purpose with equal fitness as an instance taken from the Bible, and that, like the mystery of which we treat, is above reason, but not contradictory to it. The reverend gentleman will not ask me to refer to chapter and verse, for what he so well knows to have frequently occurred; the appearance of angels in the human form; where the substance was of one nature and the appearance, of which alone the senses could take cognizance, was of a nature altogether different. Surely the spiritualized body of the Saviour in the Sacrament differs not more from bread, than the spiritual substance of an angel does from a human body. Would the Rev. gentleman allow the following to be good argument for an infidel in such a case. "If it appears like a human body, feels like a human body, smells like a human body, and tastes like a human body, it is utterly impossible it should be all the while real, angel," therefore I will not believe that it is an angel but a human being? Would it not be more congenial to your Bible and to your common sense, to argue thus? "The appearance indeed is that of bread; but God who can clothe one substance with the appearance of another, and who has clothed the angelic substance with the human appearance, has declared to me that at the consecration he changes the substance, continuing the former appearance unchanged: what his power can effect his word can testify: my senses have frequently deceived me, but the word of God is true, nor am I deceived, for my senses testify truly that there is some real thing here bearing the appearance of bread, but God testifies that its nature, is now the body and blood of Jesus Christ; thus my senses which testify only to the appearances, but not to the nature of things, testify truly, for the appearance exists; but this does not contradict reason, which testifies that God can clothe one substanse with the appearance of another; nor the declaration of Christ, who says of the substance, "this is my body, this is my blood."

Do not then, my dear madam, I entreat you, despise my intellect, nor reproach me, as the reverend note-maker does, with believing a monstrous absurdity, a palpable contradiction and a great error; I

should rather hope you would believe that the spiritual critic was guilty of an oversight, which a little study of his metaphysics, his logic, and his Bible, together with the testimony of millions of wiser and more learned men than either he or I can assume to be, would correct; especially if joined to a little of that humility which is so bright a gem in the decoration of a Christian pastor.

The reverend gentleman makes another mistake in assigning the reason for what he is pleased to call "the denial of the cup to the laity." It is not true that communion under both kinds is throughout the Roman Catholic Church restricted to the clergy, though it is true that in the great Western Patriarch of which we form a portion, the ancient discipline has been and still continues of giving communion only under one kind. The grounds for this discipline are principally, that it is a convenient usage which has always existed more or less extensively from the days of the Apostles; and that there is good reason to believe not only that it was frequently so administered by the Apostles, but probably once, if not oftener, by our blessed Lord himself, who declared that, "whosoever eateth me, the same shall live by me," (*John* vi, 57), and, "I am the living bread which came down from heaven. If any man eat of this bread he shall live forever: and the bread which I will give is my flesh for the life of the world," (*John* vi, 51). But the reason which the gentleman assigns is like one of the answers given to the inquiry, whether we do not thereby leave those persons bereft of the blood of Christ; we say, "no, because whosoever receives the living body of Christ receives also his blood from which it is inseparable." We are as far from saying that "whosoever eats the wafer, of necessity eats the flesh and drinks the blood of the Son of God," as we are from saying that he who bears false witness, is at that moment stating the truth. Indeed, if our doctrine was what the Reverend gentleman makes us assert, it would be a monstrous error. If Mr. Bedell has thought proper deliberately to write contradictory nonsense, we are not therefore obliged to adopt his absurd expressions. His expression of wafer is used, probably without reflecting that the bread which the Saviour used was of that description, as it was unlawful to use leavened bread at the Passover. But if this was "changed into the body of Christ, and the body being composed of flesh and blood," how in the name of common sense could that which had by the change become flesh and blood be yet what it was previous to the change, a wafer. If it was changed, it was no longer a wafer, if it was no longer a wafer how will the gentleman use the expression "whosoever eats the wafer"—when there is no wafer to be eaten, but flesh and blood under the appearance of a wafer?

We say if there is no change there is but bread, and we do not eat the body of Christ which is not there: but if there is a change we do eat the body of Christ which is there. I shall show, I trust, that the absurdity belongs to Mr. Bedell and not to me. Whether our doctrine be true or false then, though the reason assigned be like ours, it is not ours, for we do not believe that any person who eats a wafer, thereby drinks blood.

I have to inform you that the Lutherans at Ebenezer in Georgia, and several of them in Savannah do believe, not as the Protestant Episcopal Church believes, but as several of their Churches in Europe do, the doctrine of consubstantiation. I regret to find the reverend note maker so egregiously mistaken as to publish that "this doctrine does not vary materially from transubstantiation, when critically examined." I beg leave to inform you that there is a real difference and not merely a nominal distinction between the terms. By our doctrine, there is a change of substance, by the Lutheran doctrine there is no change, for the substance of bread still remains: by our doctrine, there is only one substance present, and that is the substance of Jesus Christ; by the Lutheran doctrine, there are two substances occupying the same space, viz. the substance of the bread and the substance of the Saviour. The Lutheran says, "the body of Christ is really here together with the bread:" we say "the body of Christ is really here, without any bread, but having its appearance." By the Lutheran doctrine there are two distinct substances occupying the self-same space, both having the appearance of only one which is then present; in ours only one substance occuies the space, but it has not its own appearance but that of one which is not now present, but had been previously there. Mr. Bedell must have written very hastily, for he I presume knew those real differences. The Saviour according to the Lutheran doctrine could not with strict truth say of the sacrament "This is my body" as he could by our doctrine, but his accurate expression should be, "My body is herewith."

I must now avow, that without meaning any thing offensive by the expression, I could never find common sense to my apprehension, in the doctrine given by the reverend gentleman as that of his Church. I shall in a few words mention my difficulty. To eat means to take solid, as to drink is to take liquid sustenance by the mouth; now the sacrament is eaten; that is, taken by the mouth for sustenance, whether spiritual or corporal, matters not. I ask a communicant who has eaten the sacrament; "Have you eaten the body of Christ?" he says, "Yes." I remark, "Then that body was really presented and taken into your mouth." He answers, "No." Did you then eat what was not really

present, and received into your mouth?" He answers me, "Yes, but it was eaten only by Faith." I remark that faith is belief, and belief is not eating. I can understand what it is to believe by faith, and what it is to eat by the mouth; but I never could understand what eating by believing meant, and I never found any person who could explain what it meant. I easily conceive that God can change the bread into the body of Christ, leaving still the appearance of bread to the new substance: when I receive that sacrament, I eat the body of Christ. I can conceive the Lutheran doctrine which requires also the power of God to place the body of Christ together with the bread: the Lutheran can say that he eats the body of Christ together with bread. I can conceive the Zuinglian doctrine which says that there is no change, and therefore that I eat only bread, but recollect that Christ died, and believe that he will save me by his death, but that I do not eat the body of Christ, because it is not there. But I cannot understand Mr. Bedell's assertion that I eat a body which is not there: neither can I understand how I can eat by faith, nor can I understand how by eating a symbol, I eat the reality: nor can I understand that eating and believing mean the same thing: all this is perhaps very intelligible to the Rev. gentleman and to you; and, but that I feel a distrust in my own philosophy, and could not bring myself to use an expression [as] to what I am told you believe, and of course understand, I should be incliued to rank it with believing that by eating a wafer a person drank blood, and be tempted to give it the epithet which Mr. Bedell very properly gives to that product of his fancy, substituted by him for an article of Catholic belief.

My Dear Madam, I am perfectly aware of the power which early impressions, affectionate attachments, the appearance of consistency, and public opinion exercise over a strong and discriminating judgment, and a desire to know with certainty "what is truth." But I felt that I owed it to my own consciousness of that truth, and in some degree to the character with which I am invested, to rescue the doctrines of my Church from obloquy, and if possible my own name from being exhibited to my fellow citizens identified with the terms monstrous absurdity, palpable contradiction, more monstrous error, absurd and most unaccountable doctrine; and the call was if possible more imperative, when I was led into the closets of the most pious and virtuous portion of our community, to be made the object of their contempt or pity, at the moment of their most serious intercourse with our common Creator.

Though the Rev. Mr. Bedell's character as a philosopher or a divine, has not risen in my estimation, I assure you, madam, that I con-

sider your loan of the book to our friend was suggested by the best motives, and that I still hold you in kind and respectful consideration, and remain

With esteem, yours,

JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

A PROTESTANT CATECHISM

PART I—OF THE RULE OF FAITH AND THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE CHURCH.

"Do you not therefore err, because you know not the Scriptures?"—*St. Mark* xii. 14.

1. Q. Are you a Christian?

A. Yes, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

2. Q. What do you understand by a Christian?

A. One who professeth to believe in Christ, and to obey him.

3. Q. To what church, or society of Christians, do you belong?

A. I thank God, I am a Protestant.

4. Q. What do you mean by a Protestant?

A. One who protests against the errors of the Roman Catholic Religion, and admits no rule of faith and practice but the holy Scriptures.

5. Q. What do you understand by a Roman Catholic?

A. One who acknowledges the Pope to be supreme head of the Church, and besides the Scriptures, receives whatever the church of Rome directs, as the rule of faith and practice.

6. Q. Are the Scriptures a full and sufficient rule of faith and practice?

A. Yes; the Scriptures being the word of God, cannot but be a sufficient and perfect rule, and "able to make us wise to salvation." (*I Tim.* iii. 15). "Ye are clean through the word which I have spoken to you." (*John* xv. 3).

7. Q. May all people read the Scriptures?

A. They not only may, but it is their duty to read them, or, as they have opportunity to hear them read; for our Saviour has expressly commanded to search the Scriptures (*John* v. 39); and St. Paul ordered his epistle to be read to all the brethren (*I. Thess.* v. 27); that is, to all Christians: and the Bereans are commended for searching the Scriptures. (*Acts* xvii. 11).

8. Q. Doth the Church of Rome allow the free use of the Scriptures to the people?

A. No; which is not only very unreasonable, as they are the law by which all men are to be governed and judged, but exceedingly

wicked, as Christ and his Apostles have commanded us to read them.

9. Q. Why are the Scriptures kept from the people?

A. The professed reason is the incompetency of the mass of the people to the right understanding of the Scriptures. The effect is, their not discovering how contrary their religion is to the word of God.

10. Q. Are not the Scriptures obscure and hard to be understood?

A. As to whatever is necessary to salvation, they are plain and easy to those who read them with due care, and suitable dispositions. "If the Gospel be hid, it is hid to those that are lost, in whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not." (*II Cor.* iv. 3).

11. Q. What are those suitable dispositions?

A. An humble desire for instruction, and a resolution to practice what we find to be our duty. "Receive with meekness the engrafted word, which is able to save your souls. But be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only." (*James* i, 21, 22).

12. Q. Do the Roman Catholics allow the Scriptures to be the word of God, and rule of faith?

A. They allow them to be the word of God, but not the entire rule of faith, except as explained by their unwritten traditions, and the authority of their church.

13. Q. On what do they found this doctrine?

A. On the pretended infallibility of their church.

14. Q. Where do they suppose this infallibility to be placed?

A. In that point they are not agreed among themselves. Some place it in the pope; others in general councils approved by the pope; and others in general councils, whether approved by the pope or not.

15. Q. How do you prove that none of these are infallible?

A. From many great errors into which several popes and councils have fallen, and from the contradiction of their decrees: one pope condemning what his predecessor had approved, and one council rejecting the decrees of another council.

16. Q. Does it seem to have been the intention of Almighty God, that there should be an infallible judge among men?

A. No; for if an infallible judge had been intended, he would certainly have been declared in Scripture; but there, on the contrary, we are commanded to examine and judge for ourselves. "Believe not every spirit; but try the spirits whether they be of God." (*I John* iv. 1). "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good." (*I Thess.* v. 21).

PART II—OF THE POPE'S SUPREMACY AND TREATMENT OF HERETICS.

"But he turned, and said unto Peter, Get thee behind me, Satan; for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men."—*St. Matt.* xvi. 23.

17. Q. On what pretence does the pope claim to be supreme head of the church?[36]

A. As successor to St. Peter, whom their new creed asserts to have been bishop of Rome.

18. Q. Was St. Peter bishop of Rome?

A. It does not appear from Scripture that he was, and it is very doubtful from other history whether he was or not.

19. Q. Has St. Peter any supremacy or power over all the rest of the apostles?

A. None at all. The apostles at Jerusalem appointed Peter to go to Samaria (*Acts* viii. 14): they likewise call him to account for his behaviour, which they could not have done if he had been their superior. (*Acts* xi. 2.) And St. Paul, speaking of himself, says, "he was nothing behind the very chieftest of the apostles; and that he withstood Peter to his face, because he was to be blamed." (*II Cor.* xii. 11; *Gal.* ii. 11.) And in the council of the apostles held at Jerusalem, it was not St. Peter, but St. James that presided. (*Acts* xv. 19.)

20. Q. What do you understand by the Catholic church?

A. Not the Roman, or any other church in particular, but the whole church of Christ, that is, the society of all Christian people in every part of the world.

21. Q. How can people who differ so much from one another, as many Christians do, be part of the same church?

A. As a flourishing and withered branch may be part of the same tree.[37]

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[36] During 600 years, the bishops of Rome did not claim jurisdiction over the Christian world. For a long time their authority was bounded by the suburban cities of Italy. In process of time, it reached over the western parts of Europe; in which they were only co-ordinate with the Bishops of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, in their respective spheres. To this day, their authority is disallowed in the widely extended churches of the East.—I. A. R.

[37] In order to be satisfied of the vast variety of opinion in the church of Rome, it is but to read any history of the Council of Trent. On many important questions, the jarring sentiments were not of any two parties, but of subdivisions without end. Had all this ceased with the rising of the council; yet, what an immensity of error must have been afloat, previously to the bringing of the jarring opinions into contact! But did the discrepancy cease with the determinations of the council? Far from it; while they were yet sitting, the opposing parties in some instances, continued their contentions; each side construing the decisions in its favour. Neither has this been put a stop to since. For instance, the question of the divine decrees has been as

22. Q. Is the Church of Rome a sound and uncorrupt part of the Catholic church?

A. No; it is extremely corrupt, in doctrine, worship, and practice.

23. Q. May salvation be had in the Church of Rome?

A. They who live in that communion, and cannot get better information, we doubt not will be accepted by our all-gracious God; but they who can and yet will not make use of it, are most assuredly in great hazard of their souls.

24. Q. Do the Roman Catholics allow salvation in the Protestant church?

A. No: but that gives them no advantage over us. It only proves their own presumption and uncharitableness.

25. Q. Is the Protestant church a sound and uncorrupt part of the Catholic church?

A. Yes; for it is a certian mark of a sound church, to teach no doctrines but such as are agreeable to the word of God.

26. Q. Was not the Protestant church founded by Luther and Calvin and King Henry the Eighth?

A. No; "Jesus Christ himself is the author and finisher of our faith" (*Heb.* xii. 2). The reformers set up no new religion, but restored the old one to the purity and perfection it had before it was corrupted by the peculiar doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion.

27. Q. Where was the Protestant religion before the Reformation?

A. In the Bible; where it is now, and where alone all true religion is to be found. But we have more reason to ask, where the Roman Catholic religion was for several hundred years after Christ: the Church of Rome being very different now from what it was in those days.

28. Q. Which then is the most ancient church?

A. The Protestant: for, instead of being founded lately, as the Roman Catholics pretend, it is in fact much more ancient than their own: being a true, primitive, apostolical church, "built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone."[38] (*Eph.* ii. 20).

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keenly argued between the Jesuits and the Dominicans, as between the Calvinists and the Arminians among Protestants.—I. A. R.

[38] In order to establish the papal claim of jurisdiction over the Church of England, there has been urged the propagation of the Christian religion in that country by Augustine and his associates, under the auspices of Pope Gregory the First, in the beginning of the seventh century. The submission of the English church at that period, was to Gregory not as universal bishop, but as exercising jurisdiction in a particular portion of Christendom. Besides, it was not to the Roman missionaries that the whole kingdom was indebted for the gift of the gospel, the population of Wales being confessedly already Christian; Northumberland, and some other king-

29. Q. Why do the Roman Catholics call us heretics?

A. It is a bold and groundless charge, which we justly despise and protest against; for "after the way which they call heresy, we worship the God of our fathers, believing all things which are written in his holy word." (*Acts* xxiv. 14).

30. Q. In what manner do the Roman Catholics treat those whom they call heretics?

A. It has been maintained and acted on by popes in their official proceedings, and the position has not been withdrawn by any of them, that faith is not to be kept with heretics; but that they should be persecuted and destroyed; and that the Pope can absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance to Protestant princes.

31. Q. Hath the Pope power to absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance?

A. No: for that would encourage subjects to rebel against their lawful sovereigns, and is contrary to the express command of Scripture. "Let every soul be subject to the highest powers. The powers that be are ordained by God." (*Rom.* xiii. 1).

32. Q. Hath the Pope ever exerted such a power?

A. He hath exerted it frequently, particularly in England.

33. Q. Have Christians a right to persecute and destroy one another on account of religion?

A. No: the religion of Christ is a religion of peace and charity. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another." (*John* xiii. 35).

34. Q. How have the Roman Catholics been guilty in this respect?

A. It is well known that liberty of conscience is denied in all the Roman Catholic countries, and that generally wherever the Roman Catholic religion prevails, they endeavour to root out all who differ from them by fire and sword.

35. Q. What instances can you give of this?

A. The murder of many godly bishops and others in England, in the reign of the bloody Queen Mary, and the cruel massacre of an immense number of Protestants in Ireland, in the year 1641, besides many severe persecutions in France and other countries.

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doms of the heptarchy, receiving instruction from Scotch divines under the episcopacy of three successive bishops of the old British church; there being an attachment in the mass of the population of all those kingdoms; who, although in subjection to the idolatrous Anglo-Saxons, could not have entirely forgotten the faith of their ancestors. In addition to all these considerations, it should be remembered that some of the worst of the errors of the Roman Catholic church were as yet unknown in her.—I. A. R.

36. Q. What then do you think of a religion that commands and countenances such a practice?

A. It is in this respect not only contrary to true religion, but must be abhorred by all good men.

PART III—OF ERRORS IN THE WORSHIP OF GOD.

"I am the Lord, that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another, nor my praise to graven images."—*Isaiah* xlii. 8.

37. Q. Do the Roman Catholics pray to any other being besides Almighty God?

A. They pray to angels and saints, to intercede for them, and save them by their merits.

38. Q. Is this doctrine contrary to Scripture?

A. Yes: "There is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all." (*I Tim.* ii. 5, 6). "Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved." (*Acts* iv. 12).

39. Q. In what does the sin of this practice consist?

A. In dishonouring Christ our only mediator, and giving to creatures the worship due to God alone; which is direct idolatry.

40. Q. Are there any cautions in Scripture against the worship of angels?

A. There are several; St. Paul expressly forbids the practice. "Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels?" (*Col.* ii. 16). "See thou do it not (saith the angel to St. John); I am thy fellow-servant: worship God." (*Rev.* xix 10).

41. Q. Are there any cautions in Scripture against the worship of saints?

A. Yes; St. Peter forbad Cornelius to worship him; saying," Stand up; I myself also am a man." (*Acts* x. 26). And St. Paul and Barnabas said to the people of Lystra, "Sirs, why do ye these things? We also are men of like passions with you." (*Acts* xiv 15).

42. Q. May we not worship the blessed Virgin, the mother of our Lord?

A. Although the Roman Catholics address prayers to her, yet there is neither command nor example to support such worship in the word of God, and (as she is but a creature) it is downright idolatry.

43. Q. Did our Saviour's behaviour to his mother, when he was upon earth, encourage the worship of her?

A. Far otherwise: for though he was subject to her in his youth, (as he was also to Joseph,) and doubtless treated her at all times with due respect, yet he allowed her no authority in any thing that related to his ministry (*Luke* ii. 51). Much less can we imagine that she hath any power or influence over him now, that he is at the right hand of God in heaven exalted above every name that is named in heaven and earth. [39]

44. Q. If the worship of the Virgin Mary and other saints be unlawful, what pretence can there be for worshipping their images or pictures?

A. None, certainly. It is moreover expressly forbidden in the second commandment: "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them" (*Exod.* xx. 45). Yet all this Roman Catholics do without scruple.

45. Q. Are not the Roman Catholics sensible that such a practice is contrary to this commandment?

A. They seem to be so; for in several of their catechisms they leave out the second commandment, and to make up the number they split the tenth into two.

46. Q. Do they not declare, that they do not direct their worship to the images themselves, but pray to Christ and his saints, through the images?

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[39] The following instances of our Saviour's behaviour to the blessed Virgin, seem to have been providentially recorded in the New Testament, on purpose to discourage the idolatry, which God foresaw the Church of Rome would fall into by worshipping her. Being told, as he was preaching to the people, that his mother and his brethren were desirous to speak with him, he answered, without taking further notice of them, "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren? Whosoever shall do the will of my father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother." (*Matt.* xii. 46-50). In like manner, when a woman, in admiration of his doctrine, cried out, "Blessed is the womb that bare three, and the paps which thou hast sucked:" he said "Yea, rather blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it." (*Luke* xi. 27, 28.) And his answer to his mother at the marriage feast is very remarkable: "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" (*John* ii. 4.) As also when she found him disputing with the doctors, and told him, that Joseph, his reputed father, and she "had sought him sorrowing." "How is it," said he, "that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be about my (heavenly) father's business?" (*Luke* ii. 49.) All which passages are so many plain proofs, that she had no authority or influence over him in any thing that regarded the business of his ministry, or the salvation of mankind.

Neither doth St. John, (to whose immediate care she was recommended by Christ upon the cross,) nor any other of the apostles, mention her with any extraordinary respect; nay, so far were they from giving her the title of *Queen of Heaven*, and worshipping her (as the Church of Rome doth) that even her name is not to be found in any of the epistles.

A. That, indeed, is said by some of them, but it is no more than the heathens said for themselves, and cannot excuse them from the sin of idolatry: for the word of God is express, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image. Thou shalt not bow down to them. Neither shalt thou set thee up any image, which the Lord thy God hateth." (*Deut.* xvi. 22).

47. Q. What do you think of the veneration that is paid by the Church of Rome to relics?

A. It is at best a groundless superstition, and has given occasion to much fraud and imposture; many of the pretended relics having never belonged to the persons whose names they bear.

48. Q. What do you think of the frequent crossings upon which the Roman Catholics lay so great stress in their divine offices, and for security against sickness and ill accidents?

A. They are vain and superstitious. The worship of the crucifix, or figure of Christ upon the cross, is idolatrous; and the adoring and praying to the cross itself, is, of all the corruptions of the Roman Catholic worship, the most gross and intolerable.

49. Q. Is not praying for the dead another Roman Catholic error?

A. Yes: the Scriptures give no countenance to that practice, and it is inconsistent with reason, to think that they can be helped by our prayers. For, "we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad." (*II Cor.* v. 10).

50. Q. Is it agreeable to the word of God, to offer up public prayers in Latin, where that language is not generally understood by the people?

A. That practice is expressly forbidden. "If I pray in an unknown tongue, my understanding is untruthful. How shall the unlearned say, *Amen*, if he understand not what thou sayest? If there come in those that are unlearned or unbelievers, will they not say, Ye are mad?" (*I Cor.* xiv. 14, 16, 23).

51. Q. Is that practice consistent with reason?

A. No: the duty of prayer is ordained for the improvement of our souls, and increase of grace: but repeating a set of words by rote, without understanding what we say, cannot possibly answer that end.

PART IV—OF THE SACRAMENTS, AND OTHER POINTS OF DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE IN THE CHURCH OF ROME.

"I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious."—*Acts* xvii. 22.

52. Q. How is baptism administered in the Church of Rome.

A. With many superstitious ceremonies.

53. Q. Do the Roman Catholics administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to Christ's command?

A. No: they withhold the cup from the laity; though Christ expressly said, when he instituted that sacrament, "Drink ye all of this." (*Matt.* xxvi. 27).

54. Q. Doth the consecrated bread, which the Roman Catholics assert to be the body of Christ, contain also his blood, as they pretend?

A. No: but if it did, the wine would be as unnecessary to the priest as to the people; but our Saviour appointed both kinds to be received; and St. Paul, who wrote to laity as well as to the clergy, saith, "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup." (*I Cor.* xi. 28).

55. Q. What is the sacrifice of the mass?

A. The Church of Rome calls the celebration of the Lord's Supper the mass; and pretends that therein Christ is continually offered up a sacrifice for the living and the dead.

56. Q. Is this doctrine agreeable to Scripture?

A. No: we are told there, that "Christ hath once suffered for sins. Not that he should offer himself often, but now once hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself." And that "without shedding of blood there is no remission." (*I Pet.* iii 18; *Heb.* ix. 25, 26, 22).

57. Q. What do you infer from these passages?

A. That since there is no shedding of blood in the mass, and our Saviour Christ doth not suffer anew, there cannot be any sacrifice or remission of sins in the mass.

58. Q. Is the real and true body and blood of Christ in the mass?

A. No: the body of Christ is "at the right hand of God in heaven;" which both Protestants and Roman Catholics profess to believe, when they say the creed.

59. Q. What, then, do the Protestants mean, when they say in their catechism, "The body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper?"

A. They only mean, that such persons as worthily partake of the Lord's Supper, do spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his

blood; and do actually receive those spiritual benefits which Christ purchased for mankind, when he gave his body to be broken, and his blood to be shed upon the cross.

60. Q. What do the Roman Catholics mean by transubstantiation?

A. They believe that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the bread and wine, immediately after the consecration, are turned into the very body and blood, soul and divinity of Christ.

61. Q. Is this doctrine supported by Scripture?

A. No: for Christ himself, after consecration, calls the wine the "Fruit of the vine" (*Matt.* xxvi. 29); and St. Paul calls what each communicant receives, by the same name as before consecration: "As often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he do come." (*I Cor.* xi 23).

62. Q. How do you understand these words, 'This is my body?'

A. In the same sense as circumcision is called the covenant, and the Lamb is called the passover, although they are not the passover and covenant, but the signs of them. (*Gen.* xvii. 10, 11; *Exod.* xii. 11). So likewise the bread and wine in the sacrament do but represent Christ's body, and are a memorial of it to us. For which reason he adds, "do this in remembrance of me." (*Luke* xxii. 19).

63. Q. Doth the doctrine of transubstantiation contradict the evidence of our senses?

A. Our sight, our taste, and our smell, all inform us, that the bread and wine remain after consecration exactly what they were before.

64. Q. What will be the consequence if our senses constantly deceive us in the plainest cases?

A. The consequence will be very bad. For our Saviour proved his doctrine by the miracles which he wrought before men's eyes. But if men's senses may deceive them in the plainest cases, there is an end of all miracles at once, and this great proof of the truth of Christianity is quite taken away.

65. Q. Doth the doctrine of transubstantiation contradict our reason?

A. Yes; for our reason assures us, that it is impossible for the same body to be in different places at the same time.

66. Q. Doth not that doctrine betray men into idolatry?

A. Yes; for as there is no change made by consecration in the nature of the bread or the wine, the worship that is paid to them is the grossest idolatry?

67. Q. Are the people always sure that the elements are duly consecrated?

A. They cannot be sure of it; because they cannot know whether the priest intended to consecrate them or not.

68. Q. What if the priest do not intend to consecrate the elements?

A. Then according to the doctrine of the Church of Rome, there is no consecration, and of course no transubstantiation; and the people who think they worship Christ, "do (even upon their own principles) worship nothing but mere bread and wine; for want of the intention of the priest."

69. Q. Do the Roman Catholics carry this doctrine of intention to other articles?

A. Yes, to every one of their sacraments; so that without the intention of the priest no baptism is administered, or child made a Christian; without the intention of the bishop, no orders are conferred, no priest is made; and consequently all his ministration of baptism, masses, absolutions, marriages, and so forth, are of no effect.

70. Q. Of what consequence is this doctrine of intention to the people?

A. It makes the salvation of the people depend on the care and honesty of the priest, and at best, leaves them in a state of doubt and anxiety.—Nay, by this doctrine, the Pope himself cannot be sure that he ever received holy orders, or was so much as baptized.

71. Q. How do you prove that the five Roman Catholic sacraments are not sacraments of the Christian church?

A. They are not of the nature of a sacrament; for they have either no outward and visible signs appointed by Christ, to convey to us inward and spiritual grace, or they are not generally necessary to salvation.

72. Q. Is confirmation a sacrament?

A. No: it is a very useful and ancient ceremony, begun by the apostles; but not being ordained by Christ himself is no sacrament.

73. Q. Is penance a sacrament?

A. No: it is not appointed by Christ.

74. Q. Is the absolution of a priest necessary?

A. No: for in Scripture forgiveness of sins is promised without any other condition than sincere repentance and amendment: "Repent and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out." (*Acts* iii. 19).

75. Q. On what principles do the Roman Catholics found the doctrine of penance?

A. They suppose that every sinner, by way of satisfaction to God for his sin, must suffer some temporal punishment, both in this world by penance, and in the next by purgatory, even though he has sincerely repented and forsaken his sins, and received absolution.

76. Q. Is penance a satisfaction to God for sin?

A. There is no other satisfaction for sin, but that which Christ hath made, "Who gave himself a ransom for all, and by one offering hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." (*I Tim.* ii. 6; *Heb.* x. 14).

77. Q. What then is the true end of penance?

A. The correction of the sinner, and the admonition of others.

78. Q. Is that end answered by the practice of the church of Rome?

A. No: the sinner is allowed to get another person to do the penance for him, and the Pope grants indulgences, whereby he remits all penances, not only of sins past, but sometimes of such as shall be committed for a great number of years to come, or during a man's whole life. And these indulgences are by many considered as licenses for sin, which are publicly sold for money.

79. Q. Is extreme unction a sacrament?

A. It is so far from being a sacrament, that it is not once mentioned in the New Testament: the anointing there recommended being for the recovery of a sick person (*James* v. 14); whereas extreme unction is applied with quite a different design; viz., to prepare him for the other world.

80. Q. Are holy orders a sacrament?

A. Holy orders are the solemn appointment of certain persons to the ministry; which, though according to Christ's command, is not a sacrament; not being necessary for all to receive.

81. Q. Is matrimony a sacrament?

A. Matrimony is a holy and honourable state of life; and was ordained by God between our first parents, in the time of our innocency: but being so long before Christ, cannot be deemed a sacrament of his church.

82. Q. What do you think of the obligation which the clergy, and all the nuns and friars, and others of the Church of Rome, are under not to marry?

A. It is so far from being commanded by God, that forbidding to marry (*I Tim.* iv. 3) is set down as one [mark] of them who depart from the faith; and it is often found to be a dreadful snare to the conscience, and an inlet to the most abominable wickedness.

83. Q. Why is the distinction of meats, as practised in the Church of Rome, unlawful and superstitious?

A. To abstain from meats is another of the marks of them that depart from the faith. (*I Tim.* iv. 3). The practice hath in fact destroyed the moral use of fasting, by teaching that luxury and drunkenness are consistent with fasting, provided particular meats are abstained from.

84. Q. Why are pilgrimages unlawful?

A. Because they promote superstition and idolatry, the worship of saints, and the unlawful veneration of images and relics.

85. Q. What doth the Church of Rome teach concerning purgatory?

A. That the departed souls of the faithful, in order to be cleansed from their sins before they can enter into heaven, must suffer the torment of fire in a place which they call purgatory; from whence however, they may be delivered by the prayers of the church; which are sold for money.

86. Q. Is there such a place?

A. No: the Scriptures tell us of no such place; but, on the contrary, that, "The blood of Christ cleanseth us from all sin. Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them." (*John* i. 7; *Rev.* xiv. 13).

87. Q. What do they mean by supererogation?

A. They suppose that some men may have more virtue and merit than is necessary for their own salvation, which may be spared for the benefit of others. This they call the treasure of the church, and pretend that the Pope can dispose of it.

88. Q. How do you prove this doctrine to be false?

A. Our Saviour bids men, "When they have done all things which are commanded them, to say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which was our duty to do. In many things we offend all." (*Luke* xvii. 10; *James* iii. 2).

89. Q. How do you prove that one man cannot share in the merit of another?

A. St. Paul says, "Let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another; for every man shall bear his own burden." (*Gal.* vi. 4, 5).

90. Q. What is the ill consequence of that doctrine of supererogation?

A. It offends the purity and holiness of God, by supposing that sinners can have any merit in his sight.

It dishonours Christ, by supposing that others besides him can make satisfaction for sin.

And it nourisheth spiritual pride in some, and encourageth all manner of vice in others.

91. Q. Can you name any other errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome?

A. Several others might be named, but those already mentioned are abundantly sufficient to show that the Church of Rome hath, in a great measure, changed the pure and holy religion of Christ into a most wretched and dangerous superstition.

92. Q. What think you of those who live in the communion of so corrupt a church?

A. That they are under a most grievous bondage; and therefore I heartily pity them, and pray for their conversion.

93. Q. What do you think then of those who separate themselves from the Church of Rome? May they do it lawfully?

A. They not only may, but are indispensably obliged by God's commands to renounce all such idolatrous worship and sinful practices, and may rest assured of his favour in so doing. "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." (*II Cor.* vi. 17).

94. Q. What then is your design?

A. I am resolved, with God's help, to live and die in the Protestant faith, as it is contained in the wholesome word of God. And I beseech Him to give me his grace, that I may make a public and constant profession of the true religion, and add to that profession the practice of a godly, righteous, and sober life, through Jesus Christ, our only Saviour and Redeemer. *Amen.*

LETTER I.

CHARLESTON, S. C., July 14, 1828.

To the Right Rev. Doctor Bowen, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of South Carolina, and so forth.

Right Reverend Sir:—The station which you hold in our community, and your own deportment, demand and receive my respect. It might, however, happen that in the course of a few letters which I have thought proper to address to you, some expression would escape, that a jealous scrutiny could interpret as wanting in that deference and courtesy which you have a right to expect. Let me beseech you not

to attribute such expressions, if they should appear, to any unkind or disrespectful feeling; let them be put to the account of inadvertence.

I desire now to state upon what grounds I have selected you as the person to whom I should address these letters. I am a Roman Catholic citizen of South Carolina, and amongst a number of publications that issue from the Protestant press, which I sometimes read, is the *Gospel Messenger and Southern Episcopal Register, by members of the P. E. Church,* printed in this city. I observed on the last page covering the number for this month, an enumeration of *Tracts kept for sale on account of the Charleston Female Episcopal, Bible, Prayer-book, and Tract Society, by Edwin Gibbes, No.* 48 *Broad Street.* The first book on the list was a *Protestant Catechism, shewing the principal errors of the Church of Rome.* I purchased a few copies, one of which now lies before me. I was shocked when I read it. I have read some of the most blasphemous publications of all sorts of unbelievers, but I do not recollect to have ever found more objectionable matter in so small a compass, as in the 16 pages of this *Protestant Catechism.* I next succeeded in procuring *The First Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Female Episcopal Bible, Prayer-book, and Tract Society of Charleston, made at the Anniversary, May* 27th, 1828, (*being Tuesday in Whitsun week,*) *together with the Constitution and By-laws of the Society, and a list of the Members.—Charleston, printed by E. A. Miller, No.* 4, *Broad Street, 1828,* as the Catechism was sold for account of this Society. I found the list of members to contain the names of several of the most amiable, respectable, and benevolent ladies in our community. I looked at the Catechism, and then again at the names. I reflected whether it was possible that those ladies believed the truth of the contents of that book. If they did, how could they associate with Roman Catholics? If they did not, how could they exert themselves to disseminate what they did not believe to be true, and that of the most defamatory nature, and the most insulting and degrading to the great majority of the Christians now in the universe? I looked again over the pages of the Catechism. I found that it entered into topics of such a kind as I imagined those good ladies were not accustomed to discuss; such as the nature of the formula subscribed by Pope Liberius; the disputes between the Arminians and the strict Calvinists, and those stated to have existed between the Jesuits and the Dominicans. I looked at the list of managers, and must avow that I was perfectly astonished at the discovery of their competency to decide upon such topics. But when, on looking over the list of "members for life," I discovered your name, together with that of two clergymen, and an honourable lay-gentleman who has swept

through the whole literature of ancient and modern times, I was led to believe that the managers sought for more than pecuniary aid from you and your associates. I therefore looked to the Constitution, and the perusal of the first article convinced me of the modest diffidence and correct judgment of the ladies, and pointed out the individual who made himself responsible for their publications.

Article 1. This Society shall be called the *Female Episcopal Bible, Prayer-book, and Tract Society.* Its object shall be the distribution of the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and such tracts as shall be *approved of by the Bishop.*

In the lisf of tracts circulated I find the twenty-first item to be "71 of the *Protestant Catechism,* showing the errors of the Church of Rome. pp. 16."

As my object is to complain of that publication, Right Reverend Sir, I naturally address myself to you. And I do so in the hope, that you have never read the production of which I complain, but given to it the sanction of your name and office, and approbation, upon the general principle that it was a Protestant Catechism, or because of the report of some person upon whose judgment you placed incautious and too easy reliance. I do so in the hope that if I should succeed in showing you that this Catechism contains several untruths, and a multitude of libellous charges upon innocent persons, together with the most opprobrious, injurious and uncharitable expressions, illiberal in their own nature, and contumeliously insulting to a large portion of your fellow-citizens, you will have the candour and magnanimity to disapprove of the publication, and thus induce those good ladies to withdraw it from their agent.

My intention, Right Reverend Sir, is not to enter with you upon a polemical disquisition to prove the Roman Catholics in the right and Protestants in the wrong. I go farther, and state, that even if you or any friend of yours should endeavour to give such an issue to my effort, I am at present disposed to leave the field without even placing my lance in its rest. I seek not controversy upon the doctrinal differences of the two churches. Neither is it my object or intention to insult or to vilify the Protestant church, or any of its institutions or members. I have so frequently felt the pain which is inflicted by similar conduct, that I should deeply regret my being its cause to another. My object is, to show that the church of which I am a member has been misrepresented, vilified, and insulted, and to call upon you, not as the person who has done the injury, but as the officer who can afford the redress,

to heal those wounds, by arresting, as far as you have power, the progress of the evil.

I shall now proceed, Right Reverend Sir, to exhibit to you some of the misrepresentations of our doctrine, which this Tract or Catechism contains. That you may the more easily discover where the propositions which I lay down are contained in the Catechism, I beg leave to inform you that I have numbered all its questions, and I shall refer to the number of the page and the number of the question, commencing at and continuing from the beginning. The whole number of questions is 94.

Misrepresentations of Roman Catholic Doctrine and Practice.

1. page 7. Q. 37 and 38. That Roman Catholics pray to angels and saints to save them by their merits, making those angels and saints mediators with Christ, or in his stead.
2. page 8. Q. 39. That Roman Catholics dishonour Christ our only mediator.
3. page 8. Q. 39. That Roman Catholics give to creatures the worship due to God alone; and are thus guilty of direct idolatry.
4. page 8. Q. 42. That Roman Catholics worship the blessed Virgin, mother of our Lord, in such a way as to commit a downright idolatry.
5. page 9. Q. 44. That Roman Catholics worship the images or pictures of the Virgin Mary and of other saints.
6. page 9. Q. 44. That Roman Catholics violate the second of God's commandments without scruple.
7. page 9. Q. 45. That notwithstanding such violation without scruple, Roman Catholics seem to be sensible that their practice is contrary to the said second commandment.
8. page 9. Q. 45. That therefore in several of their catechisms, the Roman Catholics leave out the second commandment, and to make up the number, split the tenth into two.
9. pages 9 and 10. Q. 46. That Roman Catholics, in excusing themselves from ilodatry in their image worship, say no more for their exculpation than the heathens said for themselves, and therefore,
10. page 10. Q. 46. That Roman Catholics are equally idolatrous as the heathens are or were.
11. page 10. Q. 48. That Roman Catholics worship the crucifix, or figure of Christ upon the cross, which is idolatrous.
12. page 10. Q. 48. That Roman Catholics adore and pray to the cross, which of all the corruptions of the Roman Catholic worship is the most gross and intolerable.

13. page 13. Q. 66. That Roman Catholics worship bread and wine in the eucharist.
14. page 13. Q. 66. That by such worship of the eucharist they are betrayed into the grossest idolatry.
15. page 14. Q. 75. That Roman Catholics suppose that every sinner, by way of satisfaction to God for his sins, must suffer some temporal punishment, both in this world by penance, and in the next by purgatory, even though he has sincerely repented and forsaken his sins, and received absolution.
16. page 14. Q. 75. That Roman Catholics found the doctrine of penance upon the aforesaid supposition.
17. page 15. Q. 77 and 78. That the correction of the sinner, and the admonition of others, although the true end of penance, is not answered by the practice of the Church of Rome.
18. page 15. Q. 78. That by the practice of Roman Catholics, the sinner is allowed to get another person to do the penance for him.
19. page 15. Q. 78. That the Pope grants indulgences, whereby he sometimes remits all penances of such sins as shall be committed for a great number of years to come.
20. page 15. Q. 78. That the Pope grants indulgences, whereby he sometimes remits all penances of such sins as shall be committed during a man's whole life.
21. page 15. Q. 78. That those indulgences are considered by many Roman Catholics as licenses to commit sin.
22. page 15. Q. 78. That the public sale of those licenses to commit sin is practised by the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, or of the Pope.
23. page 16. Q. 83. That to observe days of abstinence, as the Roman Catholics do, is that mark of a departure from the faith which is given in *I Timothy* iv. 3; and is unlawful.
24. page 16. Q. 83. That the practice of observing days of abstinence, as the Roman Catholics do, hath in fact destroyed the moral use of fasting.
25. page 16. Q. 83. That Roman Catholics teach that luxury and drunkenness are consistant with fasting, provided particular meats be abstained from.
26. page 16. Q. 85. That the Church of Rome teaches, that the departed souls of the faithful, in order to be cleansed from their sins, before they can enter into heaven, must suffer in a place which they call purgatory.

27. page 16. Q. 85. That the Church of Rome teaches that the suffering in purgatory is by the torment of fire.
28. page 16. Q. 85. That the prayers of the church, by which those souls may be delivered, may be lawfully sold for money, according to the teaching of the Church of Rome.

I have here, Right Reverend Sir, given to you my first list, but as I have divided the contents of the little book into various classes, I have in those twenty-eight propositions only laid down the misrepresentations of our tenets upon some points of doctrine and of practice. Of course, Right Reverend Sir, as you protest against the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, and instruct others in the reasons for your protest, it is but a reasonable supposition of mine to assume that you are very accurately informed upon the nature of those doctrines, and can easily and at once discern a doctrine which the church teaches to have been revealed by God, and the full belief of which she insists upon as absolutely necessary for being in her communion, from an opinion which, though considered as well founded by a very numerous class of her children, yet does not regard a subject upon which it was ascertained that God ever made a revelation and regarding which her members may freely differ, since God has left them free. Now I need scarcely observe to you, that amongst the above propositions there is one which is false, because it asserts an opinion of only a portion, to be the doctrine of the whole church. I must add what I trust is also over caution, that in stating practices which are charged against the church, I have of course added that they were sanctioned either by the doctrine or by the authority of the church, for it is obvious, and your candour will admit that no practice could be imputed to the church which she did not so sanction. I have also in the present list considered the Church of Rome and the Roman Catholic Church to be intended in the Catechism to mean the same body, and that body the Roman Catholic Church; though of course I need not inform you that they differ as much in their true meaning as do the Church of Canterbury and the Protestant Episcopal Church. I now, Right Reverend Sir, will take the liberty of asserting, that each and every one of the above twenty-eight propositions is found in the Protestant Catechism, which is published and sold and distributed as by your sanction, authority and *approbation*, and that no one of the said propositions is true; they are each and every one of them utterly void of truth; and yet the clergymen in your churches, the teachers of your Sunday schools, and the good ladies who form the Tract Society, disseminate them to your children as the *truth of God*, exhibiting to them, at the time of life when they are most confiding and susceptible,

and from that authority which they are taught to identify with the truth of God, that not only the Roman Catholics, but also the separated Greeks, the Muscovites, and Armenians, and so many others, are all idolaters, having no better excuse than the heathens. These bodies of Christians, Right Reverend Sir, might be fairly computed at least to contain considerably upwards of two hundred millions of souls, whereas the remainder comprise in truth less than forty millions. Thus, Right Reverend Sir, you will observe what an argument you create against the Christian system, if you consent to uphold the assertion that five-sixths at least of the Christian people through the world are guilty of downright, direct, gross, and intolerable idolatry. You do not yourself believe such to be the fact; at least, I should hope you do not; it would be mortifying to me to suspect you did: and since you do not yourself believe it, I surely do not expect too much, when I hope you will vindicate your name by forbidding falsehood to be taught in the temples of the living God, and to those children for whom you must so seriously answer before the tribunal of your God and theirs. As I understand from those who have the honour of your more intimate acquaintance, that you are anxious to be considered a firm supporter of what they call the pure, sterling, orthodox doctrine of the good old Church of England, and by no means as being a new light or evangelical. And as I desire to conform to your own wishes upon this point, I suppose you have no objection to be classed with such men as the reverend prebendary of Westminster, and I expect to hear you address those good ladies in his words: "Do not lead the people by the nose, to believe you can prove the papists to be idolaters, when you cannot." [40]

Am I in error, when I assert my conviction that the respectable Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of South Carolina does not believe that a Roman Catholic indulgence is a license to commit sin? I think too highly of his intellect, I appreciate the extent of his reading too much, and look upon him to be too prudent and too dispassionate to allow him to fall into the egregious mistake which this little book maintains, under the apparent sanction of that prelate's authority. No, Sir! I will not easily suppose you have yielded to this unfounded delusion; and suerly if you did believe that Roman Catholics could purchase those licenses, as this book asserts by your apparent authority, you are bound to exert yourself for the public welfare of the state. There can be no security in the city of Charleston for life, liberty, property, or peace, if one-sixth of its inhabitants may be thus licensed to commit

[40] Thorndike's *Just Weights and Measures.*

every crime for a trifling pecuniary compensation. Your duty would be, if you believed the statement of the book, to denounce those destroyers of society to the legislature, and to cause them to be excluded from our state; their existence amongst you would be a greater curse than a Haytien importation. Did you believe the truth of the charge, you would be a criminal for not having used more strenuous efforts, though I believe that you can not be accused of lack of industry, and more open denunciation to keep Roman Catholics out of the state. Your comparative apathy is then to me evidence of your disbelief of the charge, and leads me to hope that you will vindicate your name and fame from what I must call a libel upon more than two-thirds of Christendom.

It is generally, and I would say correctly, thought that a gentleman of your rank, station, character, and information would upon the discovery of a single falsehood in a book for the instruction of children in the truth of God and the way to Heaven, have the error corrected or withdraw his sanction, and endeavour to repair the injury that had been done. I am led to hope that you think thus also. But if there be a case which above all others calls for such conduct it is the present, in which a number of the most amiable, virtuous, and dignified ladies of one of our most polished states, have, through reliance upon your judgment and integrity and honour and delicacy of feeling, given their names to the public as the disseminators of the book which in the places referred to contains, I would say, twenty-eight distinct untruths, which are not only offensive to five-sixths of the Christian world, but injurious to the cause of Christianity. Suppose, Right Reverend Sir, that my enumeration were fastidious or incorrect, you will at least I trust acknowledge that the little book contains more untruths than one, where I have exhibited twenty-eight. And I shall lay before you several others in my next.

I remain, Right Reverend Sir,

Your humble servant, B. C.

LETTER II.

CHARLESTON, S. C., July 22, 1828.

To the Right Reverend Doctor Bowen, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of South Carolina, and so forth.

Right Reverend Sir:—In my former letter I brought under your observation twenty-eight propositions from the *Protestant Catechism*, which are so many misrepresentations of the belief and practice of the

Roman Catholic Church. I shall now exhibit some of a similar description, but whose phraseology is generally so constructed in the little work itself as to render occasional explanation proper, in order to have a distinct and accurate notion of each proposition. I am one of those persons who think that we cannot be too precise in our modes of expression regarding science or religion, if we desire to have a knowledge of things and not merely a show of words; hence you will, I trust, excuse me if I sometimes dwell perhaps tediously and with apparent fastidiousness upon what, though plain to you, might require some farther development for persons not so well accustomed to theological inquiries, and several of whom will read these letters.

I shall proceed to refer to the book upon the system laid down by me already.

Misrepresentations of Roman Catholic Doctrine and Practices.

1, page 2. Q. 5. That Roman Catholics acknowledge the Pope to be supreme head of the church.

It is a principle amongst Christians to which the Roman Catholics have at all times most religiously adhered, that Christ, and he alone is the supreme head of the church, which consists of the whole body of faithful believers, whether in Heaven, on earth, or in Purgatory; that is, whether triumphant, militant, or suffering: as they believe the church divided. Now Christ is not only according to them the supreme head of the entire, but of each portion: that portion on earth is to us a visible society duly organized, and having a visible head on earth, besides its invisible head in Heaven. And, since the charge generally urged by many Protestant writers against Roman Catholics is, that the Pope usurps the place of Christ, dethrones Christ, sets himself above God, and a variety of such phrases; teaching Protestant children in their *Catechism*, that Roman Catholics acknowledge the Pope to be the supreme head of the church, without any qualifications or explanation, is greatly misleading them: and if done with the intention of causing them to believe that Roman Catholics substitute the headship of the Pope for that of Christ, is an artifice to which I trust nothing could induce you to stoop. The Catechism obviously imputes this substitution of headship to Roman Catholics, and therefore I note it a misrepresentation, equally great as if a person was to insinuate that your flock dethroned Christ by calling you the head of the Protestant Episcopal Church of South Carolina.

2. page 2. Q. 5. Roman Catholics teach that besides the Scriptures, they are bound to receive as the rule of Faith whatever the Church of Rome directs.

I might at once without any explanation state this to be plainly untrue; but since in my former letter I admitted that I looked upon the phrases "Church of Rome," and "Roman Catholic Church," to have been indiscriminately used in the little book, it might be urged here, that by the phrase used, the Roman Catholic Church was intended. You know, Right Reverend Sir, that, properly speaking, the Church of Rome is only the Diocess of that city, and does not cover one-twentieth as large a space as does the Diocess over which you preside, whereas the "Roman Catholic Church" is spread through all the civilized nations of the earth, as also through a majority of the barbarous tribes: the Church of Rome does not contain one million of souls; the Roman Catholic Church contains upwards of one hundred and fifty millions of souls; however high the place of that principal church might be, it is a *particular* Church, it is not the entire church; Roman Catholics look upon the Church of Rome to be the See of the Chief Bishop, they consider the Roman Catholic Church, to be the *universal* Church. This notorious and palpable distinction is generally evaded by those who wish to create a confusion of ideas by which both expressions would appear to mean the same thing, and thus give rise to the notion that when we say, we learn anything from the universal church, or from the Roman Catholic Church, we mean that we learn it from the particular church of Rome, which would be an evident misrepresentation of our meaning. This proposition is then untrue, inasmuch as it insinuates that the authority of the particular See of Rome, and not that of the universal Church of Christ is a rule of Faith for Roman Catholics. We might just as reasonably call the whole federation of our Union, the federal city of Washington.

The proposition is again incorrect in the verb which is used, directs: this word implies a power and latitude which the church has not. Her authority is to preserve and teach what was originally given to her charge, and to judge in doubtful cases, and to inform us by her decision, of what God has revealed, and thus to give testimony by which we might be always brought to know the communications of Heaven, to which she has no power to add, from which she has no power to detract, and which alone we are by faith bound to believe.

3. page 2. Q. 5. Roman Catholics believe themselves bound to receive whatever the Church of Rome directs as a rule of practice. This is altogether untrue.
4. page 2. Q. 8. The Roman Catholic Church does not allow the free use of the Scriptures to the people.

The body mentioned in the little book is the Church of Rome, but I have in my previous explanation shown why I give the phrase which

designates the only body which we look to as having authority, viz., the Roman Catholic Church. But as regards either body, the particular division or universal church, the proposition is untrue. The free use of the Scriptures is allowed. But in the first place, Right Reverend Sir, you know that every book distributed as the Scriptures is not admitted to be such. For instance, suppose I give the books of Tobias and of Maccabees, you will probably say, I do not distribute the Scriptures, and if another person gives the mutilated portion of an Epistle of St. John, unfaithfully translated from a Greek copy received from Arians, I will deny it to be the Scriptures. Thus to call a book the Bible, is not evidence of its being what it is styled: and the free use of the Scriptures might be allowed by the church, whilst she prohibited her children from taking, or keeping, or using, notoriously defective, or very doubtful copies of the sacred work.

In the second place the use of the Scriptures is founded upon a knowledge of its meaning, that meaning is not varying from age to age, but is now the same that it has always been; it was as well known in the days of the apostles as it could be, and the perfection of interpretation was to preserve that meaning unchanged: to make new conjectures, and to exert ingenuity in explaining the sacred book in new ways, would not be to use it, but to abuse it. The church, whilst she prevents this abuse, consecrates the use. The Roman Catholic Church forbids her children to take, keep, or use copies or versions upon private or insufficient authority; and also forbids them to make any new interpretations which would contradict those derived from the same source as the book itself, and testified by the voice of ages and nations. To call this forbidding the free use of the book is a misrepresentation.

5. page 3. Q. 9. The Roman Catholic Church keeps the Scriptures from the people.

This is notoriously untrue. Any Roman Catholic or Protestant who chooses to purchase Catholic versions of the Bible, may procure them as easily as he can any other book of the same value.

6. page 3. Q. 9. The pretence under which the Scriptures are withheld is the incompetency of the people to understand them.

There needs no pretence to justify what does not occur.

7. page. 3. Q. 9. The effect is that the Roman Catholic people do not discover how contrary their religion is to the word of God.

In this place, Right Reverend Sir, the little book begs the question, by assuming what is not the fact, viz., that our religion is contrary to the word of God, and in the next place it is a fact that Roman Catholics do very studiously in several instances search the Scriptures and dis-

cover, not contrariety, but conformity between the contents of the book and their religion, and finally, I would hazard the assertion that Roman Catholics have twenty writers who have elaborately compared and published the result of their comparison, showing that uniformity, for every one Protestant Episcopal writer who has attempted any similar work; so that this seventh proposition is in every way untrue. I might add, were I disposed to swell my catalogue of enumeration, that this passage contains an untrue and uncharitable insinuation, which is frequently directly made, viz.,

8. That the object of the Roman Catholic Church is to keep the people in this state of supposed ignorance.

But I am inclined to believe that you will not be very ready to make this assertion. There are other learned and liberal gentlemen in Charleston who have occasionally made it; the good sense and discernment of the public, however, have so well appreciated their acquirements and dispositions, that farther comment is unnecessary.

9. page 3. Q. 12. Roman Catholics do not allow the Scriptures to be the entire rule of faith, except as explained by their unwritten traditions, and the authority of their church.

I must confess, Right Reverend Sir, that this is to me one of the most extraordinary propositions in the whole production. And so it must appear to you, or to any other intelligent person, who is acquainted with our principles. Of course you know our assertion, viz., that the Scripture itself as well as the most ancient witnesses testify that the principal revelations of our Saviour were made in the interval between his resurrection and his ascension, of which revelations we have no record in the Scriptures. I am at a loss to conceive how a tradition, written or unwritten, can explain that which does not exist, viz., the Scriptures containing these revelations. How can the authority of the church explain it? Roman Catholics indeed state, that tradition supplies what has not been written in the sacred volume, and that the authority of the universal church, upon which alone we can at this time ordinarily know what is an inspired record, can also supply by enabling us, in like manner, to know what is a correct, authentic tradition. And surely, you will not assert, that Roman Catholics would consider the tradition useless or insufficient if it was written! But this I look upon to be of a piece with the other unbecoming cunning displayed through all the pages of the Catechism. Roman Catholics distinguish the word of God, which alone is the basis of faith, into "the written word," viz., the holy Scripture, which is by pre-eminence *the writing*, and "the unwritten word," or the evidence of revelation which, though sufficiently strong

and full, is not written in the sacred volume by inspired penmen, yet has been put in a thousand other ways upon the record of writing by various good witnesses. But the object being to weaken the force of this evidence, by insinuating that it was mere traditionary hearsay, the phrase "unwritten tradition," was used, to make the erroneous impression upon the youthful mind, and the above proposition is not only incorrect and imperfect, but insiduous; for it is calculated to create confusion of ideas, to suppress truth and to suggest falsehood, and as such could not meet your support. I would here make a passing remark, that the compiler of the Catechism in Q. 8, asks, "Does the Church of Rome allow the free use of the Scriptures, and so forth," and in Q. 12, "Do Roman Catholics allow the Scriptures, and so forth," which is that deceitful shifting of terms that I previously noted, but shall no more advert to.

10. page 3. 13. Roman Catholics found their doctrine, that the Scriptures, though being the word of God, are not the entire rule of faith, except as explained by their unwritten traditions, and the authority of the church, on the pretended infallibility of their church.

This proposition is untrue, because Roman Catholics do not hold the doctrine there laid down, and therefore cannot found it upon any basis. Again, it is untrue because the doctrine which they do hold, and instead of which the above misrepresentation is given, is not founded upon the infallibility of the church, whether real or pretended, but upon the declarations of our blessed Saviour, upon the facts recorded in the Scriptures, upon the common sense of mankind, upon the peculiar circumstances of the case, and upon the uniform testimony of the first Christians.

11. page 4. Q. 17. The Pope claims to be supreme head of the church, on the pretence that he is successor to St. Peter, whom Roman Catholics assert to have been Bishop of Rome.

This I must also beg leave to call a misrepresentation, for it omits the original, principal, and indeed the only essential ground of the claim; which is that Christ established the office of head Pastor of the church, which was to continue as long as the church on earth should last; this is altogether suppressed, and without this, and the fact that St. Peter did hold this office, the facts adduced, viz., that he was Bishop of Rome, and that the Pope is his successor, would be valueless. You will acknowledge, Right Reverend Sir, that the suppression of the true ground of any tenet, is not the way in which a candid man would exhibit that doctrine, especially when undertaking to state that ground, though he

might call it a pretence. I think Bishop Bowen has too much honour and delicacy and love of truth, to approve of such conduct.

12. page 6 and 7. Q. 30. Popes have maintained the position that faith is not to be kept with heretics.

The meaning of this as laid down in the Catechism, I take to be, that the head of the Roman Catholic Church has taught, with the consent of that Church, and in accordance with its principles, that Roman Catholics are not bound by the same moral obligation to fulfil their contracts, or adhere to their promises with persons who differed from them in religion, as with those who were members of their own church. This, Right Reverend Sir, is one of the most serious accusations that could be made, and therefore ought not to be made without proof. I believe I might safely assert, that you never saw any proof of its truth; if you did, you are bound to publish it, if you did not, can you approve of the publication of so atrocious a libel? The part regarding persecution will come under our view at another time. It is not in the class for to-day.

13. page 6 and 7. Q. 30. Popes have maintained the position that the Pope can absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance to Protestant princes.

The venerable Bishop White of Pennsylvania, maintained the position, that the subjects of a Protestant prince could absolve themselves from their oath of allegiance to that Protestant prince, and he acted upon this position, and did encourage such subjects both by word and by example, and by his ministry, to rebel against their lawful sovereign, contrary, as the little book says to the express command of Scripture. "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. The powers that are ordained of God." (*Rom.* xiii. 1.) But to be brief. You are too well acquainted with history to be misled by the wretched sophistry which would argue, that because a person held a particular office, all the acts he did were done in virtue of that office. The Popes governed the church as successors of St. Peter, the first chief pastor, and some of them absolved the subjects of Catholic and Protestant princes from their oblagation of allegiance, not by virtue of their spiritual supremacy, but as delegates of the Congress of European Potentates, when those cases existed, for which the laws of those conventions had provided. Doctor Bowen has too great a regard for logic to commit the outrage of drawing universal conclusions from special premises, and those specialties very few and very peculiarly marked. Doctor Bowen is too well acquainted with the principles of general law, to deny that long disuse, and a universal contradiction notoriously, practically and actively ad-

hered to, and not resisted, form a most perfect abrogation of any law, which it is in man's power to enact. Hence, he knows the Popes neither have nor claim to have, during centuries, any power or right to absolve subjects from their allegiance to Protestant princes. And even the compiler of the Catechism, appeared to be so fully convinced of the bad ground on which he stood, that he did not venture to set this forth as a doctrine of the church, but with a grovelling cunning, which is not very enviable, he contrives to throw in the matter to mislead the big and little children, who might be provided with the religious tract. Surely, the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of South Carolina will not lend himself to countenance such practices as this.

14. page 7. Q. 34. That the Roman Catholic religion countenances
35. and commands, persecution, massacre, and
36. murder.

In order to support either of the six propositions to which this compound should be reduced, for the purpose of precision, it would be necessary to take each verb separately with each attribute, and to find that the truth of the assertion was undoubted in that special expression. I shall take that which would appear the most easily maintained, viz. "The Roman Catholic religion countenances persecution," and I ask the Bishop, whether he thinks its truth can be proved. I tell him it cannot; because that religion does not countenance persecution. Should he be disposed to enter upon the investigation of this topic, I have no reluctance to meet him, and probe it to the bottom, and shall stipulate for only one condition; that he shall allow me, after having vindicated the Roman Catholic religion, to try his own or his parent church, or any other Protestant Church by the same ordeal. I do not mean to evade the array made in this place, but my time for this part of the examination has not yet arrived. There are in truth, six very serious misrepresentations in this place. I shall now consider them as only one, and therefore have charged the entire as only No. 14, of the second division.

15. page 11. Q. 53. Roman Catholics do not administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to Christ's command, for they withhold the cup from the laity; though Christ at the institution commanded that all the laity who communicated, should drink of the cup.

This is assuming as decided in their favour the very question upon which Roman Catholics say that Protestants commit a very serious mistake, viz.: that the words of Christ, "Drink ye all this," were such a command as is described. Secondly, it is so assuming against what we believe to be a Scriptural fact, viz. that Christ did give communion only

under one kind: thirdly, it charges as criminal upon Catholics, what the regulation of most, if not all the Protestant churches themselves permits in certain cases: and fourthly, it charges upon the entire Roman Catholic church the discipline of only a part. Hence there are serious mistakes in both principle and fact.

16. page 11. Q. 54. Although the consecrated bread which is pretended to be the body of Christ, should also contain his blood, the wine would be as necessary for the priest as it is said to be for the people.

The principle of this reasoning is correct, and the conclusion is fully legitimate, so far as the Eucharist is only considered to be a Sacrament, and hence when a Bishop or Priest does not celebrate, but only communicates, he does so in the same manner as do the laity, and in those places where the discipline regulates to take communion only under one kind he receives only under that kind. But Christ commanded both kinds to be consecrated and consumed at the sacrifice, which is offered by the Priest and not by the people; and the misrepresentation of our doctrine and practice consists in suppressing this explanation, viz. That when the priest celebrates Mass he offers the Eucharistic sacrifice, for doing which, it is requisite that he should consecrate and communicate under both appearances of bread and wine.

17. page 12. Q. 57. That Roman Catholics if they believe that Christ is offered as a sacrifice in the Mass, must believe his blood to be shed therein.

This position is not correct, because although blood might be shed in the slaying of the victim, yet that victim so slain, might be subsequently offered in sacrifice to God without a renewal of bloodshed.

18. page 12. Q. 57. That if Roman Catholics believe that Christ is offered in the Mass, they must believe he suffers again.

Neither is this correct, for they might believe as they do, that although he is now incapable of suffering, yet he has power to offer that body in which he did before suffer, so as to have his merits now applied to those present at that offering, and this would be a real sacrifice as they believe, though not a real suffering.

19. page 12. Q. 57. That if Roman Catholics believe sin to be taken away by the Mass, they must contradict the declaration of St. Paul and of St. Peter. (*I Pet.* iii. 18; *Heb.* ix. 25, 26, 22).

The question in each case here is whether the doctrine of Roman Catholics is correctly given. It is not so given in this place, for they do believe that remission is truly had only by virtue of the shedding

of the blood of Christ on Calvary; but that the merits of the blood then shed might now be applied, as they believe it is, by the several institutions of our Saviour, of which the Mass is one.

20. page 12. Q. 60. Roman Catholics by transubstantiation, mean to say that the bread and wine are turned into the body and blood of Christ.

This is an improper use of words, by which a misrepresentation is effected; whether intentionally or not, I do not undertake to assert. But it is a perpetual and well-founded cause of complaint which we have, that in place of using our own words, our opponents use expressions not ours, and which we would not use, but which, they assert, convey our meanig. The phrase turn into, as usually understood, does not convey our meaning of transubstantiation, because to turn anything into another, generally imports that the same substance which was originally present continues still to be present, though under a different appearance, or in a different mode of existence; and this is a complete contradiction to our doctrinal expression. We say the bread and wine are changed in substance, though not in appearance, and we use the very word transubstantiation to guard against the mistake or misrepresentation of which I here complain. The substance of the bread is not turned into the substance of the body, but there is a change of substance, by which one substance comes in place of another, and retains the appearance of the first. I do not notice what I call gross mistakes in the explanation of the passages of Scripture in the succeeding questions and answers, because you are aware, Right Reverend Sir, that I do not enter upon controversy; I only exhibit misrepresentations.

21. pages 13, 14. Q. 67, 68, 69, 70. Roman Catholics cannot be certain that the Eucharist is duly consecrated, neither can they be certain of receiving any sacrament, and must at best be in a state of doubt and anxiety about all their Sacraments, as the effect depends upon the private and concealed intention of the priest.

This is a very serious misrepresentation of our doctrine of *Intention*. I should scarcely believe it possible that is was an innocent mistake, but that I have lately discovered that the mode in which the general body of Protestant writers learn what Roman Catholics teach, is not by reading the works of Catholic authors. Hence I do not admit that even you, Right Reverend Sir, might possibly, notwithstanding the station which you occupy, be yourself under a serious mistake upon this head, and that you perhaps do not know our theological meaning of the word "Intention;" at all events, your little Tract is egregiously incorrect upon this head.

22. page 16. Q. 87. Roman Catholics suppose some men may have more virtue and merit than is necessary for their own salvation.

They do not suppose that any man has as much virtue or merit as is necessary for his salvation, for they do not suppose that men are saved through their own virtues or merits, but through the merits of Christ.

23. page 16. Q. 87. Roman Catholics suppose that they who have more virtue and merit than is necessary for their own salvation, can spare it for the benefit of others; and this they call the treasure of the church.

If this were her only treasure, Right Reverend Sir, it would be indeed a very poor and a very empty one. But there is a fundamental mistake, and your little book not only misrepresents our doctrine of supererogation, but gives to the Pope a sinecure.

24. page 17. Q. 90. The doctrine of supererogation dishonours Christ by supposing that others beside him can make satisfaction for sin.

Indeed it does not hishonour him, nor does it suppose any such doctrine.

25. page 17. Q. 90. It nourishes spiritual pride in some, and encourages all manner of vice in others.

Will the good prelate be pleased to descend to particulars. I deny that it does either, and I state that if Bishop Bowen believes the truth of this proposition, he does not understand the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church upon this subject.

It is time for me to close this letter, Right Reverend Sir. But I do intreat of you to look over those twenty-five mistakes, which added to the preceding twenty-eight, will make at present fifty-three. Look at the list of the good ladies who have, under your guidance, published to the world those fifty-three untruths; and say whether you do not owe it to their feelings, as well as to your own character, to suppress this Tract. I shall proceed to take up another class of propositions in my next; and believe me when I assure you that I cannot contemplate without serious pain, the possibility of your having approved of such propositions as several that yet remain to be exhibited.

I have the honour to remain,

Right Reverend Sir,

Yours and so forth,

B. C.

LETTER III.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Aug. 2, 1828.

To the Right Reverend Doctor Bowen, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of South Carolina, and so forth.

Right Reverend Sir:—I have in my two previous letters exhibited several misrepresentations and mistakes regarding the doctrine and practices of Roman Catholics, which are to be found in the Protestant Catechism of which you appear to have approved; and which I had hoped was not sanctioned by you. Amongst my grounds for that hope was the difficulty of imagining that you could have adopted them yourself; or if you had not, that you would approve of teaching them contrary to your conviction. Another ground was the difficulty of imagining that you could have sanctioned the teaching of what was inconsistent with itself; and I found this little Catechism to contain much of what I looked upon as self-contradiction, and much of what appeared to me incompatible with your other teaching, and much which appeared to me to be in contradiction to that version of the Bible which is used in your church.

I shall endeavor to exhibit some of those inconsistencies, but in doing so, I beg to remind you that my object is not to create controversy; it is merely to bring your attention to the question, whether you ought not to disapprove of this book, as being inconsistent with itself, with your principles, and as I understand it, with the Holy Bible.

Inconsistencies of the Protestant Catechism.

1. page 2. Q. 4. A Protestant is one who protests against the errors of the Roman Catholic religion.

It is plain, if this definition be correct, that the Roman Catholic religion must be in existence before a Protestant could exist; since a man cannot, except by prophecy, make a protest or declaration against that which has not yet appeared, and it would indeed be folly to assert, that a Protestant Church existed before there were Protestants; for the church as defined by the exposition of the Catechism recommended by the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocess of South Carolina, second enition, printed by Sebring, in this city in 1826, page 16, is the whole congregation of the faithful; all that profess and call themselves Christians. Of course the "Protestant Church," is the whole congregation of all who profess or call themselves Protestants; and a Protestant being one who protests against the errors of the Roman Catholic religion, the errors of that religion must be in actual existence before the existence of the Protestant individual or church, unless, what I do not believe you will

assert, all the early Protestants were prophets. Now, Right Reverend Sir, we have in

2. page 6. Q. 28. Which is the most ancient church? A. The Protestant: for, instead of being founded lately, as the Roman Catholics pretended, it is, in fact, much more ancient than their own: being a true, primitive, apostolical church, "built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." (*Eph.* ii. 20).

The article xix. of your church confirms your first definition of a church in the exposition.

"Of the Church: The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly administered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same."

But I am at a loss how this is reconcilable to the second part of the definition in the exposition, which is all that profess and call themselves Christians, unless you will allow that in every congregation that professes and calls itself Christian, the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments are duly administered according to God's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same; and that all those are congregations of faithful men, provided they profess and call themselves Christians; and if such be the case, how can there be erroneous sects in Christianity? Probably some persons whose minds are more clear and acute than is mine, could explain and reconcile those positions.

Upon this point, too, if the definition in Q. 4 of the little book be correct, it will be necessary for us to have new histories written, because all those that exist, whether whitten by Catholics or Protestants, state that the name Protestants was first given in the year 1529 to the disciples of Martin Luther, who with six princes of the empire at their head, protested against the decree of the Emperor at the Diet of Spires, and appealed to a general council; and gradually the other separatists from the Roman Catholic Church in the West got the same name, from acting upon the same principle.

Now in page 5, q. 26, I find it asserted, that the Protestant church was not founded by Luther. I believe, sir, you know at least, as well as I do, the origin of the name, and indeed it is natural to suppose that no one knows it better than you. If the origin be as I described, and as all our historians state, is it not a third inconsistency to deny to Martin Luther the honour which he so frequently receives from his own followers, of being the founder of the Protestant church? Indeen Calvin

only followed where others led; he was too young to appear in sufficient time to be, properly speaking, a founder of the Protestant church. It was only in 1536 he received his first appointment at Geneva. But if he who gave a renovating impulse to a sinking cause, who gave to chaos something like form, and whose disciples had more or less to do in regulating Protestantism wherever found, deserves to be called a founder of that church, then indeed Calvin is pre-eminently entitled to the appellation; and as yours, sir, may be considered a daughter of the English Protestant church, and as the doctrine of that church was principally regulated under the influence of Calvin, it would appear to me inconsistent for those who teach that doctrine, to deny his proper title to the teacher of their teachers. Again, Right Reverend Sir, though it be fashionable in these latter days, at this side of the Atlantic, to deny that King Henry VIII. had any share in the foundation of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and to assert that he was more a Roman Catholic than a Protestant, I scarcely thought that you would be led away from the principles to which I understand you firmly adhere: and from the credit given in the English and the American Protestant Episcopal Churches to the Books of Homilies, I naturally inferred that you respected their contents. I quote from the New York edition of 1815, which is the first American from the last Oxford edition.

"Honour be to God, who did put light in the heart of his faithful and true minister of most famous memory, King Henry VIII., and gave him the knowledge of his word, and an earnest affection to seek his glory, and to put away all such superstitious and pharisaical sects, by Anti-Christ invented, and set up against the true word of God, and the glory of his most blessed name, as he gave the like spirit unto the most noble and famous Princes, Josophat, Josias, and Ezechias." page 47.

I scarcely expected that those great leaders of the Protestant religion would, with your approbation, be treated thus.

3. page 5, Q. 26. Was not the Protestant Church founded by Luther and Calvin and King Henry the Eighth?

A. No: "Jesus Christ himself is the author and finisher of our faith." (*Heb.* xii. 2). The reformers set up no new religion, but restored the old one to the purity and perfection it had before it was corrupted by the peculiar doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion.

I was aware, sir, that you knew the difference between a church, which is a congregation of persons, and a religion, which is a collection of doctrines and practices: and I believed that neither the soundness of your logic, nor the candour of your disposition, would permit you to sanction the dishonest shuffling which questions concerning church and answers concerning religion. It is an evident fact that Martin Luther,

John Calvin, King Henry VIII., and others, were the founders of the Protestant church: but it is altogether a different question whether the religion of that Protestant church was the ancient doctrine and discipline restored, instead of Roman Catholic corruption; or novelty and error, unwarrantably substituted for Roman Catholic, primitive truth. Upon this question I do not mean to enter; but you will, I am sure, allow that whatever might be said as to religion, the Protestant church did not exist before the year 1529: and thus I had another ground for hoping you had not given your sanction to disseminating this deceitful little work.

4. page 2, Q. 4. A Protestant is one who, besides protesting against the errors of the Roman Catholic religion, admits no rule of faith and practice but the Holy Scriptures.

This, Right Reverend Sir, I admit to be an excellent definition when taken in its plain, obvious, and unrestricted meaning, and that meaning ascertained by what is acknowledged to be the great principle which distinguishes a Protestant from a Roman Catholic. That principle is, that in explaining the holy Scriptures, or in ascertaining the meaning of any passage in this sacred collection, the Protestant is to be guided solely by his private judgment, and is authorized to follow his own individual opinion, though he should stand alone; whereas the Roman Catholic is bound to be guided by the judgment of the universal church, and must yield his private opinion to the testimony of the great body of Christians, informing him of the fact upon the questions, what has always been held as the meaning of that passage, and what is the doctrine that it has always been known to contain. This definition would also agree fully with that given of the church, in the *Familiar Exposition*, page 16. "By the church, I mean the whole congregation of *the faithful*; all that profess to call themselves Christians;" for thus, Right Reverend Sir, *all* that profess and call themselves Christians, and the faithful, are identified. And upon the Protestant principle it cannot be otherwise. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Moravians, Unitarians, Socinians, Arians, Congregationalists, Universalists, Nestorians, Eutychians, Quakers, Swedenborgians, and hundreds of others, whom it is unnecessary to enumerate, all profess and call themselves Christians, all admit no rule of faith and practice but the Holy Scriptures; therefore they are faithful Protestants; for besides the above qualifications, they all protest against the errors of the Roman Catholic religion, as well indeed as against the errors of each other. All this is legitimate reasoning; but I feared to assert, and yet scarce-

ly knew how to deny that you held the principle, and of course the grounds of my hesitating to assert that you held the principle.

In Article xx. of your church, it is asserted "that the church hath authority in controversies of faith;" that is, if I know the meaning of words, power to terminate the controversy by an authoritative decision. It is true that this power is limited by the subsequent part of the article. I shall enumerate the several limitations. 1. It has no power to decide contrary to the written word of God. 2. Nor so as to make one part of God's word contradict another, or be repugnant thereto. These are in fact the only two limiting clauses strictly taken, and to these the Roman Catholic Church fully subscribes, and the full force of those clauses every Roman Catholic is ready to maintain. But there is at the end of the article a clause which no Roman Catholic will admit. 3. That the church should not require anything to be believed for necessity of salvation, besides what the Holy Scripture contains. Now I suppose a case which every day occurs. A controversy has arisen upon the questions of faith, "Is there any difference of order between a Bishop and a Presbyter, or are they only different names for the same order?" and, "Is Episcopal ordination necessary to create a valid ministry, or will Presbyterial ordination suffice?" Your church claims the power by this article to give an authoritative decision, which she says ought to terminate the controversy. 1. Because this decision would not be contrary to the written word of God, but according to it. 2. Because it does not expound one place of Scripture, so as to make it repugnant to another. And 3. Because it is not besides the Holy Writ, but is contained therein, and is moreover essential to the integrity of the ministry as therein described. I am at present under the impression that such is your view of the authority of your church; and since this is totally inconsistent with admitting the principle of private judgment, and totally inconsistent with admitting that all who deny this power to your church are not faithful, and admitting to others the right of private judgment would be totally inconsistent with the fact of your claim to a valid ministry, whilst you deny it to the other divisions of Protestants; I did hesitate.

Again, I was confirmed in this hesitation by the following passage in *The Familiar Exposition*, page 16.

Q. Why is the church of Christ called Catholic?

A. The church of Christ is so called, because it is not confined to any one place or country, but takes in every nation upon earth. "The holy church throughout all the world." (Te Deum.)—(Which certainly is not Holy writ.)

Q. Is there not another sense in which the church is called catholic?

A. Yes; the church is called catholic, because it ought not to admit any new and particular opinions, which occasion sects or parties in religion; but to hold fast the form of sound works, after the common faith, (*II Tim.* i. 13), and to adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things, (*Titus* ii, 10), whole and entire, according to the truth of the gospel. (*Gal.* ii. 14).

I found such an inconsistency between the definition of a Protestant who makes up his particular opinion, which is often a new one, upon his private authority, and which occasions sects and parties in religion, and this definition of Catholic, to which you appear desirous of adhering, that I did hesitate to believe you could patronise inconsistencies.

But this hesitation was confirmed by the conclusion that if the definition of the little catechism was adopted by you, you must necessarily hold that there could be no such thing as heresy in Christianity, or else that every Christian was a heretic. I need not inform you that the word αἱρετικος, is derived from the verb αἱρεω, "I choose," so that a heretic means one who chooses, according to his own private opinion, the doctrines which he will believe; in contradistinction to one of the faithful, who placing his faith or trust upon the authority of the universal church, to testify truly what God has taught, faithfully receives her whole testimony: being fully convinced by sufficient evidence, that God has made that church an unerring witness of his revelation, and thus clothed her with full authority to decide controversies of faith. I could not bring myself to suspect that you would call every Christian a heretic: and I had what I looked upon as evidence that you believed there was such a thing as heresy, for in your litany I find the following petition:—

"From all sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion; from all false doctrine, heresy and schism; from hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandment, *Good Lord, deliver us.*"

Indeed, Sir, scarcely your own declaration would convince me that you were capable of addressing a solemn mockery to your Creator; I cannot believe it: you then know that there do exist false doctrine, heresy and schism, and you look upon them as enormous evils, which you class with sedition, rebellion, hardness of heart, and contempt of God; from which in your solemn supplication, you beseech our good Lord to deliver you. False doctrine and heresy cannot exist amongst the faithful; nor schism amongst those who are not Christians, for these latter reject all Christ's doctrine, and they are called infidels: a schismatic receives the whole doctrine, but refuses obedience to the lawful authority. I

must then seek for heretics and schismatics only within the pale of Christianity, and if all who profess and call themselves Christians, are the faithful, why even Roman Catholics are comprised in the class of the faithful; and is it possible that the heretics and schismatics, and the teachers of false doctrine, are all numbered amongst the faithful? I avow myself to be in a labyrinth; perhaps, Right Reverend Sir, you could furnish me with a clue of extrication; for you declared on the day of your consecration, that you were ready, the Lord being your helper, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away from the church, all erroneous and strange doctrine, contrary to God's word; and both privately and openly to call upon and encourage others to the same. What I look upon to be the inconsistency, is the admission that the interpretation of the Scriptures by the individual judgment, is the rule of faith, and yet that the individual who strictly follows and acts upon that rule can hold false doctrine, or be a heretic or a schismatic. I do not advert to what I look upon as a palpable absurdity, viz. that two individuals who contradict each other in their statements of the doctrine contained in the book, can both hold the doctrine of Christ, the God of truth.

5. page 2. Q. 6. The Scriptures being the word of God cannot but be a sufficient and perfect rule and a full rule of faith and practice.

I might have marked this in another class for its shuffling of terms, but I only place it here for its palpable inconsistency with the first principles of logic or reasoning. The first text is quoted from a wrong book, but that is, I suppose, the printer's error, and even if it arose from the compiler's ignorance, it would not make the argument worse. The second text I apprehend makes nothing in support of the conclusion, if it did, the argument would be thus. "Christ spoke to his disciples, and his oral instruction gave them knowledge of eternal life. Therefore the Scripture, being the word of God, is a sufficient and perfect and full rule for faith and practice." To make this argument perfect and conclusive, it would be necessary to establish two facts, which are altogether omitted, viz. That the Scriptures which we have, do contain all the oral instruction which Christ gave, and that we can by reading it, understand our duty as clearly as did the disciples who heard the instruction from his lips. Suppose again that by the word which he spoke, was not meant the doctrine which he taught, but the baptism, conferred by his word, which washed away sin? What if by the word that he spoke, was meant the sentence of absolution from sins, pronounced upon their

repentance, and which made them clean from sin before they received the Eucharist?

I now come to the other text: St. Paul means Scriptures which Timothy had known from his childhood, of course these were only the Old Testament, for no book of the New Testament was then written: if then we are to be bound by the words quoted to conclude that what St. Paul adverts to, was a sufficient, full, and perfect rule of faith; the Scriptures of the Old Testament only are that rule.

Now, as the Christian doctrine is not contained in them except by prophecy in part, and in part also by record of the doctrines common to the Jew and the Christian, the Catechism-maker would not say that his conclusion was contained in that text; so that neither of the texts supports his position. I now come to the logical deficiency where it is most palpable. The principle of the argument in the little book is, "that whatever is the word of God cannot but be a full, sufficient, and perfect rule of faith and practice." The fact stated is, "that the Scriptures are the word of God," and from those premises the conclusion is drawn. Now, Right Reverend Sir, you will admit that if by the substitution of another undoubted fact for the one which is here, I can draw from the same principle a glaringly false conclusion, the principle itself must, according to every maxim of sound reasoning, be egregiously false. To that same principle I apply this substituted fact whose truth you will not question. "The prophecy of Joel is the word of God." The conclusion will be obviously, "That the book of Joel cannot but be a full, sufficient, and perfect rule of faith and practice," and of course that having in this book all that is necessary, we may dispense with the rest. You and I will agree in the falsehood of this conclusion, but the fact being undoubtedly true, and the conclusion perfectly legitimate, the source of the error must be found in the principle. Therefore it is untrue that whatever is the word of God, cannot but be a full, sufficient, and perfect rule of faith and practice. In what part of this does the error lie?—Evidently in drawing a universal conclusion from particular premises. If I make that part which is apparently indefinite, but really particular, become universal, the reasoning will be good: or if I confine the extent of the latter to that of the former part, the principle will be true. Thus it is true to say, that whatever is the entire word of God is a full, and perfect, and sufficient rule of faith and practice; but in this case another question would arise upon the fact, whether the book given to us by any particular Church is the entire word of God; which question I do not examine. But you will agree with me, Right Reverend Sir, that this very flippant mode of dashing through texts

of Scripture, great maxims of religion and reason, and important facts, is very often the cause not only of great inaccuracy, but even of gross inconsistency, and a sure mode of producing the wreck of reason and religion.

6. page 2 and 3. Q. 7 and 8. Christ and his Apostles have commanded us to read the Scriptures.

Now, Right Reverend Sir, I could never have suspected you would have drawn from the premises here laid down, such a conclusion as that placed before us.

Let us view the grounds of this assertion. First. Our Saviour has expressly commanded to search the Scriptures (*John* v. 39). The fact is not so. For there is there no command; the appeal is not made to Christians for the purpose of showing them where to find the law by which all men are to be governed and judged; nor is there a reference direct, indirect, express or implied, to the New Testament, not a syllable of which was yet written. But it is one amongst many arguments used by our Saviour to the unbelieving Jews to show that they ought to receive him as the son of God, equal to his Father. His first argument was from his miracles, his second was from his own prophecies, some of which would be accomplished in their lifetime; his third was from the testimony of John the Baptist, whom they believed to be a true messenger of Heaven; his fourth was from the voice of his Father; his fifth from the writings of Moses, to which he refers them in these words of that verse: "search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me:" and verse 46 explains his meaning more fully, "For if ye had believed Moses, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?" Surely, Right Reverend Sir, you have too much respect for truth to assert, as the Catechism does, that this argument to convince the Jews from the writings of Moses that he was the Messiah is an express command to us Christians to search writings which were not then penned, as the ordinary mode of discovering what from the commencement of Christianity has been otherwise ordinarily discovered. I would leave it to the honour and candour of Bishop Bowen to declare if he believes that it is from the unaided search of the Scriptures, the great bulk of his flock have come to the conclusion of being members of his church.

St. Paul does indeed charge in the Lord that an Epistle which he and Silvanus and Timotheus wrote to the Church of the Thessalonians should be read to all the holy brethren, and what could be more natural than that the letter should be read to all those to whom it was directed?

But what kind of logic would infer that because a letter written by you to the congregation of St. Michael's church was ordered by you to be read to them all, therefore every Protestant Episcopalian through the world in all time to come, was commanded to read that and all other letters and documents sent by you and by the other Bishops of your church now in the United States, as the ordinary way of learning the law by which they were to be governed and judged? This is the usual logic of the little book: doubly universal conclusions from extremely limited premises!!

The Bereans are commended, surely you will not therefore conclude that all are commanded. I would also commend [to] any person who was asked, as were the Bereans, to leave one church and to go to another, to search diligently every day the sacred documents to which a reference was made for facts, to see if the facts were so. But an examination for the record of a fact is not a power to decide upon a doctrine, and the Bereans searched the Old Scriptures, not the New Testament, which had not yet been written, and the object of their search was to know if the statement of the fact made by him who called upon them to join the Christian Church, was recorded upon the ancient document to which he referred; but they learned the doctrines of Christianity not from the Scriptures of the old law, in which they could not be found, but from the testimony of the Christian Church through the preaching of its Apostle and his associates. I could not bring myself to believe that you would approve of bad logic and unsupported inferences such as these, and trust that I shall not be under the necessity of coupling the name of Bishop Bowen with such a publication. My work increases under my hand—meantime I have the honour to remain, Right Reverend Sir,

Your humble servant, B. C.

LETTER IV.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Aug. 9, 1828.

To the Right Reverend Doctor Bowen, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of South Carolina, and so forth.

Right Reverend Sir:—I shall in this letter continue to enumerate some of the inconsistencies of the little Catechism, the discovery of which led me to hope that you did not approve of its distribution. In my last letter I stated six of them, I now proceed.

7. page 3. Q. 10. Are not the Scriptures obscure and hard to be understood?

A. As to whatever is necessary to salvation, they are plain and easy to those who read them with due care, and suitable dispositions. "If the Gospel be hid, it is hid to those that are lost, in whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds of them that believe not." (*II Cor.* iv. 3).

Q. 11. What are those suitable dispositions?

A. An humble desire of instruction, and a resolution to practise what we find to be our duty. "Receive with meekness the engrafted word, which is able to save your souls. But be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only." (*James* i. 21, 22).

The statement here made, I take to be evidently the following: "That all persons who read the Scriptures with due care and an humble desire of instruction, and a resolution to practise what they find to be their duty, will [find] the Scriptures plain and easy as to whatever is necessary for salvation." What I understand by "plain and easy as to whatever is necessary for salvation," is that they will plainly see and easily avoid whatever is "extremely corrupt in doctrine, worship, and practice." Now the little book states in page 5, Q. 22, that the Church of Rome, so far from being a sound and uncorrupt part of the Catholic Church, is extremely corrupt, in doctrine, worship, and practice. Of course the position in Q. 10 and 11, must be abandoned, or else it must be asserted that no Roman Catholic reads the Scriptures with the dispositions above mentioned: and I could scarcely feel myself prepared to believe that Bishop Bowen would venture to assert that every Roman Catholic, Archbishop Fenelon for instance, read the Scriptures without those dispositions. Indeed I was rather disposed to believe that you thought more charitably of Unitarians and Universalists, and others who hold what I believe you consider most destructive doctrinal errors, than to assert that in reading the Bible, they all read without due care, without an humble desire of instruction, without a resolution of practising what they find to be their duty. I was almost led to hope that you held on this point more in conformity with what the Roman Catholic Church teaches, viz. "That the difficulty exists in the book itself, which though written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, was evidently a miscellaneous collection of pieces, not intended as the code which alone was to form the source of Christian knowledge; but whose contents were to be explained by that authority which Christ had established, and sent to teach previously to the existence of the book itself, and which authority was not to be deprived of the power with which he had invested it, during all days to the end of the world, because before the arrival of that period, the portions of this book should be written, and

would become known to Christians as inspired works, only by the testimony of the same constituted and recognised authority, itself." I was in hope that you viewed the aberrations of the ignorant and the unstable as the result of their rejection of that authority which is thus vested in the whole body of the pastors of the church who succeed to the Apostles: I look upon the difficulty to be in the book itself; because, also, I read in the Protestant version of the Bible,

"Even as our beloved brother Paul also according to the wisdom given unto him hath written unto you: as also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures unto their destruction." (*II Pet.* iii. 15, 16.)

Of course I need not remark to you that the difficulty of being understood is by the inspired writer declared to be in the Scripture itself: and a consequence is, that certain persons "wrest" or pervert the sacred writings to their own destruction; now I will not insult your understanding by supposing it possible for you to suspect that when the misinterpretation or misunderstanding of a writing causes destruction, the correct interpretation or understanding would not be necessary to salvation: and I was very reluctant to set you and St. Peter in direct opposition to each other.

Next I thought it inconsistent with your Article xx., and indeed with the necessity of a body of teachers of religion, because men want no more religious knowledge than is necessary to salvation, and if the Scriptures be plain and easy and sufficient for this purpose, there can exist no controversy of faith for the church to decide between well-disposed persons, and no others would look or care for her judgment; to support a body of teachers for them would be useless, and nothing could be a more palpable waste of money and time than to establish Theological Seminaries. Bible Societies, and they alone would, properly speaking, be necessary. Yet if I be correctly informed, you think upon this subject as does your brother of North Carolina, and more fully maintain the necessity of a living expositor of the Bible, even for the well disposed, in an authorized ministry, than does even your brother Hobart of New York.

My notions of you were confirmed by the *Book of Homilies*, in several places, of which I shall merely adduce one or two.

"And if you be afraid of falling into error by reading the Holy Scripture, I shall show you how you shall read without danger of error. Read it humbly, with a meek and lowly heart, to the intent you may glorify God, and not yourself, with the knowledge of it; and read it not without daily praying to God that he would direct your reading to good effect; and take upon you to expound it no farther than you

can plainly understand it. For as St. Augustine saith, the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures is a great, large, and high place; but the door is very low, so that the high and arrogant man cannot run in; but he must stoop low, and humble himself that he shall enter into it. Presumption and arrogancy are the mother of all error; and humility needeth to fear no error. For humility will only search to know the truth; it will search and bring together one place with another, and where it cannot find out the meaning, it will pray, it will ask of others that know, and will not presumptuously and rashly define anything which it knoweth not. Therefore the humble man may search any truth boldly in the Scriptures, without any danger of error.'' Pages 5 and 6.

''And concerning the hardness of Scripture; he that is so weak that he is not able to brook strong meat, yet he may suck the sweet and tender milk, and defer the rest until he wax stronger, and come to more knowledge. For God receiveth the learned and the unlearned, and casteth away none, but is indifferent unto all. And Scripture is full, as well of low valleys, plain ways, and easy for every man to use and to walk in; as also of high hills and mountains, which few men can climb unto. And whosoever giveth his mind to Holy Scriptures with diligent study and burning desire, it cannot be, saith St. Chrysostom, that he should be left without help. For either God Almighty will send him some godly doctor to teach him, as he did to instruct the eunuch, a nobleman of Ethiopia, and treasurer unto Queen Candace, who having affection to read the Scriptures (although he understood it not) yet, for the desire he had unto God's word, God sent his Apostle Philip to declare unto him the true sense of the Scripture that he read; or else if we lack a learned man to instruct or teach us, yet God himself from above will give light unto our minds, and teach us those things which are necessary for us, and wherein we be ignorant.'' Page 6.

Now, Right Reverend Sir, omitting a great variety of other considerations: upon those grounds I was of opinion that you thought the ordinary mode of understanding the true sense of the sacred writings, which are hard to be understood was, besides reading and praying, to ask of those that know, and that they were godly doctors sent by the Almighty, as he sent the deacon Philip, for I am of the opinion, notwithstanding the authority of the Homilies, that it was not Philip the Apostle, and I form this notion, not upon my own conjecture, but from the testimony of that church which has preserved and presented to me the book of the Acts of the Apostles; also that those godly doctors so sent, must be men learned in those things: and therefore I looked upon it to be extremely improbable that you could approve of the position laid down in Q. 10 and 11, by which all this teaching is set aside.

One other consideration forcibly presented itself to me in the maxim held latterly by several of your brethren in Great Britain and Ireland as well as in America, and which maxim is the more prized I understand, for having been the more dearly bought, and is also much cherished by yourself, or I am deceived. Bible Societies were greatly encouraged at first by those prelates of the English and Irish Protestant Church, in order to open the eyes of the ''poor deluded papists;'' and in order

to give them nothing but the pure word of God, they proceeded on the principle laid down in Q. 10 and 11. However, it was discovered that for one papist who opened his eyes by reading the Bible without note or comment, one hundred Protestant Episcopalians strayed, as it was described, into the corrupt pastures of the secretaries, and to obviate this evil a modification took place, which is gradually extending itself, not to distribute the Bible without the prayer-book, and latterly tracts are added. So that besides good dispositions, good teachers, whether in print or by speaking, are now considered necessary by your church. You will excuse me for having dwelt so long on this topic; my only apology is, that to me it is indeed a very rich mine, from which I have merely produced a specimen.

8. page 3. Q. 14. Roman Catholics are not agreed amongst themselves in the supposition of where infallibility exists. Some place it in the Pope; others in general councils approved by the Pope; and others in general councils, whether approved by the Pope or not.

I do not now examine this statement, for its want of truth, though it is untrue in its leading proposition: for though I should adduce no other reason, the very explanation therein given of particulars contradicts the general proposition. I examine it to show its inconsistency, and for this purpose I shall show its contradiction. Its first proposition is, "Roman Catholics *are not agreed* where they shall look for infallibility."

I say that it also asserts "Roman Catholics *are agreed* where they shall find infallibility." If I can make this appear, then the statement is self-contradictory. According to this, Roman Catholics are divided into three classes, and in those three classes they are all embraced.

First, they who admit the infallibility of the Pope and Council united, know where infallibility is lodged.

Secondly, they who believe infallibility to be in the Pope, will find it in the Pope with a council, and will of course agree to all that is decided by that tribunal acknowledged by the first division.

Thirdly, they who believe it to be in the Council without the Pope, state that it continues equally in the same body when united with the Pope. Therefore every Roman Catholic believes the decision of a general council concerning faith or morals, approved of by the Pope to be infallibly correct. Thus all Roman Catholics are agreed, according to the little book, where they shall find infallibility, and according to the same, they are not agreed where they shall find it: I should be very

reluctant to believe that you approved of such contradictions; but this shall be farther considered in another place.

Again, in Q. 4, in defining a Roman Catholic, he was described to be a person who "receives whatever the Church of Rome directs as the rule of faith and practice." Now he professes to be directed only by an infallible tribunal, according to Q. 13, and yet in Q. 14, we are told that he does not know where to find this infallibility which is pointed out in the very definition Q. 4. I would merely observe that if they are believers in the infallibility of their church, to say that they know not where that infallibility exists, is to say that they know not where their church exists: and will Bishop Bowen approve of this mass of inconsistency?

Upon the fifteenth question and answer we shall, with God's help, probably have much more to do. At present I can only offer to you, Right Reverend Sir, my immediate abandonment of the Roman Catholic Church; and the Rev. J. F. O'Neill, the publisher of the *Miscellany*, will give you my name in the circumstance referred to, of which you may then make any use you please, when you shall have proved the truth of that answer as understood in connexion with my preceding remarks, which is explicitly this, "that one General Council approved by a Pope rejected or contradicted, or dissented from any decree concerning doctrine of any other general council approved by the same or by any other Pope." I cannot believe, sir, that you would undertake such a task, and this led me to hope that you had not approved the publication. I might be mistaken, and I solemnly assure you that the exhibition of one such contradiction as I have above stated will be with me decisive. Let me find but a single flaw in the vase, and I shall acknowledge that it is not that which Christ has formed. I shall waive every speculative or other argument. I meet you upon a plain matter of fact. Publish the decree, and that decree which contradicts it, and then command me as you please. But, Right Reverend Sir, if you cannot do this, can you as an honourable man, and a conscientious prelate, approve the publication of what cannot be upheld by evidence? Do, sir, be good enough also to look to the formularies of Rimini and of Sirmium, and say which was signed by Liberius, and in what expression did the heresy consist?

9. page 4. Q. 16. If God intended that there should be an infallible judge amongst men, he would have declared it in the Scripture, which he did not.

Now, sir, suppose I assert that he did declare it in the Scriptures, as I do, and you deny my assertion without proof, and found your

argument upon that denial, is not this palpably "begging the question?" And when it is assumed that those two texts mean that there is no such judge, when for centuries, and from the beginning, and in the great body they were stated to have no such meaning, is not this also more than "begging the question?" And if every individual is by these texts authorized to make his own system of faith by his private judgment, will it not be inconsistent with your Article xx. that the church is a judge in controversies of faith? Will it not be inconsistent with saying that heresy can exist? Or, how will you condemn as erroneous those persons, who, not believing neither your spirit or form to be of God, prove a variety of others, and hold fast to Unitarianism or Universalism, which they believe to be as good?

10. page 5. Q. 20. What do you understand by the Catholic Church?

A. Not the Roman, or any other church in particular, but the whole Church of Christ, that is, the society of all Christian people in every part of the world.

Q. 21. How can people who differ so much from one another, as many Christians do, be part of the same church?

A. As a flourishing and withered branch may be part of the same tree.

You must excuse me, Right Reverend Sir, if I venture to suggest that a withered branch will not long adhere to the tree; and as soon as it falls off, it is no longer a part thereof, it has then a separate existence; the old schoolmen would very significantly inform us that there were now two *supposita*, to wit, the growing tree and the withering branch; the branch might be burned without any effect upon the tree, and the tree might be carried away without affecting the branch: in short, they are as separate and distinct as if they never had been united. History says, sir, that your predecessors left the Roman Catholic Church because of her alleged errors—upon the principles expressed in page 17.

Q. 93. What do you think then of those who separate themselves from the Church of Rome?

A. They not only may, but are indispensably obliged by God's commands to renounce all such idolatrous worship and sinful practices, and may rest assured of his favour in so doing. "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and ye shall be my sons and my daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." (*II Cor.* vi. 17).

I do not like to use unkind or offensive expressions, or I might refer to the comparison of the tree and its branch, and ask: "Was it we that fell off from you, or you that fell off from us?" I might refer

to page 16 of your Diocesan Exposition, where you define the church to be "the whole congregation of the faithful," and ask, if we are faithful, could you leave us without your incurring the guilt of schism? I might go to your Article xix., and ask if we are part of the visible Church of Christ, are we not a portion of the congregation of faithful men? If so, is not the pure word of God preached amongst us? Are not the sacraments duly administered according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same? If these things be so, why did you separate from us? Why do you now call upon others to leave us as an unclean thing? Why do you tell them that they are indispensably obliged by God's commands to renounce our worship? Can this be the case, and we still be in the church, in the congregation of the faithful men? Can contradictions be true? Surely you would not have me believe you approved of both sides of this array.

11. page 5. Q. 23. May salvation be had in the Church of Rome?

A. They who live in that communion, and cannot get better information, we doubt not will be accepted by our all-gracious God; but they who can, and yet will not make use of it, are most assuredly in great hazard of their souls.

Q. 24. Do the Roman Catholics allow salvation in the Protestant Church?

A. No: but that gives them no advantage over us. It only proves their own presumption and uncharitableness.

In your twenty-third answer, you allow that God in his infinite mercy might extend salvation to those Roman Catholics who are in a state of invincible ignorance; and however you may qualify the expression by substituting "great hazard of their souls," for any other phrase, the meaning is, that they who can, but will not be enlightened, are not in the way of salvation; you there state that persons who are invincibly ignorant of the true church have a chance of salvation, and all others who might know the true church and doctrine of Christ, but care not to konw them, are not in the way of salvation. We agree with you fully in your principle, but we differ with you regarding your fact: you say that we are in error, we assert that error is on your side. Now, if we are presumptuous and uncharitable in holding the principle, how comes it that you who hold the very same principle, do not deserve the same characteristic? Can you be humble and charitable, in acting in a manner which in us would be presumption and want of charity?—But your Catechism states that we do not allow salvation to any person in a Protestant church. If you do not qualify this assertion by the preceding principle, you do not state our doctrine correctly; if you do

so restrain it, then we admit the principle, which saves you from the charge of presumption and want of charity. I can scarcely think it possible that you were not aware of the distinction which Roman Catholics always make between voluntary or careless perseverance in error, which is heresy, and involuntary and inculpable error, which might possibly exist after a person had unsuccessfully used the best exertions for the discovery of truth. My impression is, that even in this very state of South Carolina, there are several Protestants who innocently believe that the Roman Catholic Church is an abomination, and who never have had the opportunity of knowing either her tenets or practices, or the evidence upon which her exclusive claims are based. God forbid that I should say that they were all shut out from God's mercy, though I believe they greatly err in their notions of the doctrine of our Saviour! Now, sir, you might possibly have seen the Catechism which is used by us, which substantially agrees with that of every other Catholic church in the world, and which has been examined at Rome, to ascertain that conformity. Allow me to draw your attention to a few of its passages, which bear upon this topic: I quote from the stereotype edition, which is sold at the Seminary.

page 33. Q. What is faith?

A. A divine virtue, by which we firmly believe what God has taught.

page 35. Q. How does a man sin against faith?

A. By not endeavouring to know what God has taught; by not believing what God has taught; and by not professing his belief in what God has taught.

page 36. Q. Am I to consider those persons who are opposed to the true religion as my neighbours?

A. Yes, undoubtedly: to punish for voluntary error, is the prerogative of God; to show mercy and kindness to his fellow mortals, is the duty of man.

Perhaps, sir, the best comment I could make would be the relation of a fact. I regret much that I have not by me the Irish newspaper which contains it; had I preserved it, you should have the copy in all its racy excellence, which it is impossible for me to imitate. I shall, however, faithfully give its substance.

There are several large and extremely well conducted schools in Ireland for the gratuitous education of the poor; and they are in many instances under the care of monks and nuns, of whom the little Catechism uses language in Q. 82, which I am sure you would now blush to read, and of which we shall have more to say at another time. The

city of Cork has a splendid school for boys, raised by the subscriptions of Catholics and of some of the liberal Protestants of the city: in this school upwards of one thousand poor children receive a perfect English education, from the alphabet to the most abstruse calculations of algebra and the highest speculative and practical operations of mathematics, from about six monks, who by their own industry maintain themselves: and this school which costs the public far less than the free schools in which one hundred children could be educated in our States, is looked upon by persons of all religious denominations as a model of excellence. By the by, the Marquis Wellesley when he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, refused to give the most trifling donation towards its support, out of a fund which Parliament had placed at his discretion for the aid of schools, though he was petitioned for that purpose by a highly respectable body of citizens. When the King of England appointed commissioners, about three years since, to examine into the state of education in Ireland, Mr. Leslie Foster, who is nearly related to some of the chief dignitaries of the Protestant Church in Ireland, and who is the most efficient and erudite Parliamentary lay defender of that church, was one of the commissioners: upon his visit to the South he proceeded to the inspection of this Presentation Monastery School, in which all the children being those of Roman Catholics, though others would be received if they presented themselves, learn the Catechism of their church, which is carefully and copiously explained by the teachers. A number of highly respectable gentlemen of different religions accompanied him to the school; and after having gone to a very considerable length in the examination of the higher classes, a poor ragged urchin of about six or seven years of age, in one of the junior classes, was elevated upon a form to answer the commissioner: the Catechism was produced, and the answers very flippantly given. Mr. Foster is one of those gentlemen who sometimes in Parliament, when arguments grow scarce, can substitute assertions, and amongst other statements, did more than once marshal forth the declaration that the uncharitable papists consigned to his Satanic majesty's attention every one who died out of their external communion. Now an opportunity offered, as he thought, of proving the correctness of his position: he proceeded to question the half naked child.

Q. Who are they who do not believe what God has taught?

A. Heretics and infidels.

Q. Is it a grievous crime to fall into heresy, and thus to disbelieve God?

A. I believe so, sir; it is a mortal sin.

Q. Will persons who die in mortal sin go to Hell?

A. Yes; all who die in mortal sin without repentance and forgiveness will be condemned to Hell, for all eternity.

Q. Little boy do you know that I am a Protestant? Shall I be sent to Hell unless I become a Roman Catholic?

Here was a dead silence. After a considerable pause the question was repeated—and the boy answered that no such question was in the Catechism. Mr. Foster stated that he had answered other questions which were not in the book, and begged he would state what his belief was. The teacher desired him to speak out fearlessly, and after a repetition of the question by Mr. Foster, the little fellow answered. "I do not know, sir, where you will go to: I know our Saviour established only the Roman Catholic Church; but, sir, it may be that you are in invincible ignorance." Mr. Foster closed the examination.

Thus, Right Reverend Sir, we may fix the measure of charity to be the same on each side. I shall not examine on which side the greater measure of reason exists. But one fact is undeniable, that it is a great inconsistency to say that when two persons profess to hold the same principles, one of them is presumptuous and uncharitable and the other is not.

I had hoped, sir, to exhaust much more of my subject to-day, but I find myself at the very verge of my limit, and must subscribe myself,

Right Reverend Sir,

Yours, and so forth, B. C.

LETTER V.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Aug. 18. 1828.

To the Right Reverend Doctor Bowen, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of South Carolina, and so forth.

Right Reverend Sir:—I proceed in this letter to follow up the exhibition of contradictions and inconsistencies of "A Protestant Catechism." I have concluded this species of Review of Part I. But surely you will not assert that St. Peter is the Devil! I am aware of your protest that when Christ asked Peter whether he loved him more than any of the other Apostles did, [41] and in recompence of that greater love, told him to feed not only his lambs but also his sheep, that he did not intend to give to him any precedence amongst his fellows. I know you protest that the declaration of Christ, [42] "And the Lord said, Simon,

[41] *John* xxi. 15, 16, 17.
[42] *Luke* xxii. 31, 32.

Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you; that he might sift you as wheat: But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and when thou art converted, *strengthen thy brethren,*" means not that Simon Peter was to have any superiority over his brethren. I am also aware of your protest that the text in Matthew [43] wherein the name Simon is changed to Peter or Rock, by the Saviour, who declares, that upon that rock he will build his church and that the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, and that to Peter he will give the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, and that what he shall bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven, and what he shall loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven, does not draw any distinction between Peter and the other Apostles as favourable to his power or pre-eminence: yet though conscious of all this, and believing that you, like many other gentlemen, whom I have known in similar circumstances, had no extravagant affection for the memory of the Apostle Peter; I knew that you acknowledged him to have been a most faithful servant of our Redeemer, after he had risen from that single weakness, recorded in *Matthew* xxvi. 6, 9, and so forth, and had his faith, which never failed, secured more than ever by the experience of his imperfection; I knew you could not but perceive that even so early as before the day of Pentecost he did confirm his brethren [44] by his address, by his explanation, and by his directing them to proceed to fulfil their duty: I knew that you say another instance of it [45] in his coming forth to address the multitudes whom the noise of the divine descent had collected together; and other instances in several parts of the sacred writings, as in his performing the first Apostolic miracle, [46] in his address to the people, [47] in his vindication of the Christian doctrine, and mission before the Sanhedrim. [48] Upon this ground I did expect that an impression of respect would exist in your mind for the Apostle St. Peter, whom the Historian Eusebius calls the first amongst the Apostles, though I should even admit as genuine the interpolation as some call it, "for courage;" yes, I did imagine that a Christian Bishop would teach children to respect the character of that most courageous of those Apostles to whom he claims succession: but I was totally unable to reconcile this with the garbled text which introduces Part II. of this wretched little production.

[43] *Matt.* xvi. 18, 19.
[44] *Acts* i. 15, 16, and so forth.
[45] *Acts* ii. 14, and so forth.
[46] *Acts* iii. 6, and so forth.
[47] *Acts* iii. 12, and so forth.
[48] *Acts* iv. 8, and so forth.

"But he turned, and said unto Peter, get thee behind me, Satan; for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men." (*Matt.* xvi. 23.)

Now, sir, I put it to your candour, to your honour, to your conscience. Has not this text so garbled and so put forward, the appearance of making our Saviour style this very Peter, a Devil, who was opposed to the law of God? Is this the true meaning of that text? And, is it not so put, to make upon the minds of children an impression of the worst kind regarding that Apostle's character, for the purpose of creating a direct prejudice against his successors the Bishops of Rome and their adherents?

I need not inform you, that you can produce a garbled text from the Bible to mean anything you please; a remarkable instance of which was, the undertaking to prove by a plain positive text that there was no God, and to support which, reference was made to the first verse of what you number as the *Psalm* xiv. we as xiii., where indeed the following words are plainly and fully found: "*There is no God.*" The isolated proposition announces the doctrine of atheists, if I may give to mere negative a positive character. But the whole system is destroyed by reading what preceds and follows: "The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. They are corrupt, they have done abominably," and so forth. Now, suppose I supply the suppressed context to the garbled extract above. (*Matt.* xvi). Simon had made a declaration of his belief that Christ was the son of the living God, whereupon his name was changed to Peter, and the promise therewith recited was made to him, after a declaration that he was Blessed made by the Saviour himself; it is plain therefore that at this moment he was not a Devil. In verse 21, the Evangelist proceeds,—I quote from your own version all through:

"From that time forth Jesus began to shew his disciples how that he must go up to Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day. Then Peter took him, and began to rebuke him, saying, be it far from thee Lord: this shall not be unto thee."

This is the record of Peter's crime, if crime it was; that is, he loved Jesus so that he was afflicted at hearing him declare that he must suffer, and would prevent the calamity if he could. What was the crime in this? Look to chapter xxvi, the same Evangelist, verse 39. "And he (Jesus) went a little farther, and fell on his face, and prayed, saying, 'Oh my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt.'" I need not multiply passages, this one will suffice. Was it then a grievous crime in Peter, whom Christ declared Blessed, to be led by his affection for Jesus, to intreat of him to prevent an occurrence which would be extremely afflicting, and which

Jesus himself prayed, without sin, to have prevented, if possible? Peter was not yet aware "that thus it behoved Christ to suffer,"[49] and the reason is given in the very place where Jesus "opened their understanding." Of course, sir, you know that the meaning of the word rebuke in this place, especially when you take its force from the original, is not chide, or reprove, or correct, but earnestly urge and intreat. Thus in the act of Peter we can discover no moral turpitude, no want of faith, but an unrestrained affection, and an uncalculating haste and warmth, earnestly opposed to the affliction of the Son of God.

I now examine the answer of Jesus. The Saviour tells Peter to "get behind him," calls him "Satan," and tells him that his spirit is according to human principles, not according to those of God. The first phrase we are told by one class of our ancient witnesses means literally, not to come forward to speak with him upon this subject, but to go back and walk after him, patiently waiting until the fulness of time should explain what Peter did not as yet comprehend. Another class say that it meant an admonition to Peter, to go after Christ in learning the lessons of doctrine which the Saviour was to teach at his own good time, and not be prematurely urging difficulties or creating impediments; whilst others give it a more mystic explanation in addition to the former, similar to that in *John* xxi. 18, 19, viz., not only that Christ should die, but that even Peter should follow him in martyrdom. "Follow me." Suppose, sir, we omit this last and adopt only the others, there will be no inconsistency between Christ declaring him blessed, and giving him this admonition. As to the word Satan, I need not inform you that it cannot create a difficulty for a second, as you know the meaning of the word is adversary, or opponent, and is only used to designate the Devil as the principal opponent or adversary of God. The salvation of man was to be procured by the death of the Redeemer; and the Apostle, in his ignorance of the ways of God, became, by his importunity, an adversary or an opponent to the regulation of Providence, but not criminally so, however injudiciously. In doing this he did not savour or know the regulations of Heaven, but spoke from the affection and according to the wisdom of man. Thus, Right Reverend Sir, the ancient commentators, Chrysostom, Hilary, Jerome, Augustin and others, for whom you profess great esteem, declared that they received from their predecessors this explanation, which is indeed expounding holy writ so as to avoid making one place thereof repugnant to another; neither is it contrary to God's word written, nor is it besides

[49] *Luke* xxiv. 46.

the same. I could scarcely imagine that after concluding that you would be guided by the early fathers in the exposition of this passage, you could approve of so exhibiting it as to impress upon the minds of the children, that the most courageous amongst the Apostles, for this much you will admit with the interpolated Eusebius, as I am led to believe, was called a devil, and declared blessed by our Saviour in the same chapter of the gospel, and was rewarded for his noble declaration of faith which had not been revealed to him by flesh and blood, but by the Eternal God, and then rejected as an enemy to God's doctrine. I should have calculated upon your displeasure if I were to impute those inconsistencies to you. I may, I believe, make this No. 12 of inconsistency, and so forth.

13. page 5. Q. 25. Is the Protestant Church a sound and uncorrupt part of the Catholic Church?

A. Yes; for it is a certain mark of a sound church, to teach no doctrines but such as are agreeable to the word of God.

Now, sir, according to the definition Q. 4, every one who professes to found his religious belief upon the Bible as the sole rule of faith and practice, provided he be not a Roman Catholic, is a Protestant. According to your *Familiar Exposition*, page 16, sect. viii. Q. 3., all that profess themselves Christians are members of the church. According to the little book, Q. 20, the church is the society of all Christian people in every part of the world. By a necessary consequence all who belong to that society, and who protest against the errors of the Roman Catholic religion, and who admit no rule of faith and practice but the Scriptures, from the Protestant Church. Of course the Protestant Church so formed, contains Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Baptists, Unitarians, Universalists, and upwards of three hundred other denominations, each of whom has unquestionably all the characteristics of the definition. By Q. 25, this church so composed is declared to be a sound and uncorrupt part of the Catholic Church, because it teaches no doctrines but such as are agreeable to the word of God. And is it possible that you, Right Reverend Sir, can approve of this answer? Then it is agreeable to the word of God that there will be no everlasting punishment, and it is agreeable to the same word of God that there will be such punishment: it is agreeable to the same word that baptism is useful and necessary for dying infants, and also that baptism is neither useful nor necessary for them: it is agreeable to the same, that Christ is truly God, and that he is not truly God: it is agreeable thereto, that he is really present in the eucharist by consubstantiation, and that he is not so present. Why, sir, I can proceed in the enumeration of such

contradictions until I should fill my sheet; and surely you will not tell me that those contradictions are all agreeable to the word of God? What notion could I have, sir, of the nature of this word, if it were such as must be characterized by the consequences of this answer? Surely Bishop Bowen never could have told the respectable ladies of South Carolina to distribute such a compilation as this? And yet is it possible that, in violation of the very first article of their constitution, they have circulated it without his approbation? This embarrasses me.

14. page 6. Q. 27. Where was the Protestant religion before the reformation?

A. In the Bible; where it is now, and where alone all true religion is to be found. But we have more reason to ask, where the Roman Catholic religion was for several hundred years after Christ: the Church of Rome being very different now from what it was in those days.

I shall not enter into the controversial examination of this answer. I merely adduce it at present for its inconsistency. The Protestant principle in Q. 10 and 11, makes each individual a competent judge of the meaning of the sacred text; and all individuals being thus placed upon an equal footing, no one has a right to charge another with error, or mistake, as he has no certain rule to exhibit at which side the error exists: and thus, no person can with certainty know the true meaning of any text concerning which two opinions can be formed. To tell me that the true religion is in the Bible, is in such a case like telling me that the fish I want to take is in the sea. I may fish as long as I please and catch a great variety; but by what mark shall I know this one which I seek for the first time? Is it not then great inconsistency for the Protestant who holds this principle, to tell the Catholic, who says that he finds the doctrine of his church in a particular text, that he errs and does not know the meaning of that text? I look upon such language to mean this: "Here is a book which contains truth; each of us is equally competent to understand its contents, neither of us has any claim beyond the other; but since we differ in our explanation, I must be right and you must we wrong." How different, sir, is the language of the Catholic? "Christ established a tribunal to teach his doctrine to mankind during all ages; and promised to guide that tribunal in the preservation of truth for the world. That tribunal consisted of the Apostles at first; they were to associate others to them upon the formation of the church, according to the necessities that would arise; the associates were to enter fully into the commission, and by continued association, this body, though consisting of dying members, was to be

perpetuated to the end of ages; and during its existence was to teach all nations, not contradictory opinions, but that single series of doctrines taught by the consistent God of truth: centuries have passed away, kingdoms have arisen and been destroyed, empires have been created and perished, nations have been formed and depopulated, the sword of war, the breath of pestilence, the scourge of famine, have desolated the earth, the most timid animals have taken refuge amidst the ruins which once were the great theatres of a busy population, whilst the ferocious beast against which every hand was armed, has burrowed his den in the rubbish of the palace, and couched upon the mouldered monument of a forgotten dynasty; the virulence of persecution, equally as the allurement of wealth and power, has tried the durability of that tribunal, which has existed in every age, and now subsists by the very means by which it was at first enlarged; it has been at every moment an object to attract the eye and to fix the attention of its friends and of its foes through every region where civilized man has stamped the impress of his foot: that same tribunal is this day in existence, is this day in commission: it has never suffered lapse nor been superseded. Several of the doctrines which it was commissioned to teach have been committed to writing, and the books which contain them have been, together with others, [from] an early period, disseminated. This tribunal separated some books from the rest, and declared that they were written under the influence of the inspiring Spirit of truth: those so selected and ratified form the Bible; the rest, though more numerous, are considered of no account, though many of them were held formerly and in the very first and second ages, in considerable estimation. In this Book of the *Holy Bible*, many of its passages are obscure and hard to be understood; truth cannot contradict itself: what it was from the beginning it must be now. I might err in my notions, so might another individual, but that tribunal has been appointed to explain, to expound, to testify, to teach: it has been so appointed, not by man, but by Christ. Let me then hold as it teaches, and I am certain of being right."

In this, Right Reverend Sir, there is neither arrogance nor inconsistency, though you might protest that there is error. The Roman Catholic says that his tenet is testified by the text which he adduces. The Protestant asks him if he is more learned than himself, or if he arrogates to himself more of the spirit of God, so that he should be right whilst the Protestant is wrong. The Catholic does not rest upon the ground of his individual superiority, but of the authority of that tribunal, which, though spread through every nation and every age, still, whilst collecting its evidence from every part, can discharge it

upon any given point. Thus I submit that there is palpable inconsistency in the answer of the *Protestant Catechism*, which asserts with certainty that the religion of Protestants is found in the Bible, and thus insinuates that the religion of the Roman Catholic is at variance with this sacred book. The first has only his own private opinion; the second has, in addition to his own judgment, an unbroken host of authorized witnesses.

15, page 6, Q. 28. Which, then, is the most ancient church?

A. The Protestant: for instead of being founded lately, as the Roman Catholics pretend, it is in fact much more ancient than their own: being a true primitive, apostolic church, "built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone." (*Eph.* ii. 20).

Allow me to ask, whether the approval of this answer does not necessarily imply that every division which enters into the formation of the Protestant church is a true, primitive, and apostolical portion? I was under the impression, indeed, hitherto, that your church claimed to be primitive and apostolical, but that she did not admit the existence of those characteristics in what she calls the sectaries; such for instance as Presbyterians, Unitarians, and Baptists. Is it intended to give them a primitive and apostolical character? Or, have we again a shuffling of terms, in defiance of all honesty and logic, by which the Protestant church in this place means only the Protestant Episcopal church? Take it either way, I am under the impression that it will involve you in a contradiction if you approve of the answer.

16, page 7, Q. 33. Have Christians a right to persecute and destroy one another on account of religion?

A. No; the religion of Christ is a religion of peace and charity. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another." (*John* xiii. 35).

I must own that to me this was the most extraordinary evidence of fatuity on the part of the English compiler, that ever came under my observation. Could it be possible that this little work was written by some hypocrite, who, still attached to the Roman Catholic religion, but loving the good things which are shared by the saints in London, pretended, like the bacon-bought new reformation beggars in Ireland, to conform to the Protestant church for the sake of his appetite? If so, he has most ingeniously given to the English Protestant church a most base and assassin-like stab. I like not this disreputable mode of warfare; give me the man who meets me manfully and armed in the open field, and though he should wound me, I respect him; but I know not

words to express my horror, contempt, and destestation of the wretch who affects to embrace me that he might use his poniard.

There is not a more notorious fact in existence, than that the English Protestant church, from the moment of its formation to the present, has always been the most unrelenting, embittered, and cold-blooded of any other in her persecution. Whilst she had power in the old colonies, she used it for the purpose of persecution, and at this day she is the only church in Europe whose religious teachers declare, and whose lay-advocates maintain, that persecution is essentially necessary for her existence. Have you read the speech of the present Lord Chancellor, upon the Catholic debate on the 10th of June? Have you examined how your mitred brethren voted? Have you looked over the long list of parsons of that church, who got up petitions amongst their people to have the persecutions continued? Formerly, in those days when most of the English people belonged to the Episcopal or established church, it might astonish you, but the evidence of the fact is complete; this enlightened people were kept up to fever heat in support of persecution, through the dread of wooden shoes from France, tails of wild men from Ireland, the Pope's horns, the scarlet colour of his lady's mantle, of slavery, of which they had a holy horror, and the beheading of their good kings by sectaries; all duly inculcated from the pulpit. But this topic has another place. Could there be greater inconsistency than with this notorious fact before the world, to publish the above answer, unless it was intended as a biting and corroding sarcasm, against a church which has never yet ceased to admonish her head, who is also the head of the state, of his duty of persecution; for he is gravely told, that to relax the persecution will be to violate his coronation oath?

17, page 11, Q. 50. Is it agreeable to the word of God, to offer up public prayers in Latin, where that language is not generally understood by the people?

A. That practice is expressly forbidden. "If I pray in an unknown tongue, my understanding is unfruitful. How shall the unlearned say Amen, if he understand not what thou sayest? If there come in those that are unlearned or unbelievers, will they not say, ye are mad?" (*I Cor.* xiv. 14, 16, 23).

When I looked on this garbled and disingenuous quotation, it reminded me of another nearly similar juxtaposition of texts, whereby a man undertook to prove to another that he ought by God's word to hang himself immediately. "Open your Bible at *Matthew*, xxvii. 5." He did so, and read as follows: "And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself."

"Read *Luke*, x. 37, the latter clause." "Jesus said unto him, go and do thou likewise." "Read *John*, xiii. 27, latter clause." "Then said Jesus unto him, That thou doest, do quickly." This is indeed one way of quoting Scripture. Allow me to exhibit an analogous instance. I begin at *I Cor.* xiv. 13. I shall mark in *italics* the omitted words, in SMALL CAPITALS those not in the original, and in Roman letters the words which, being in the original, are produced to form the above garbled quotations. I copy your own version of the Bible.

Wherefore let him that speaketh in an UNKNOWN *tongue pray that he may interpret*

For if I pray in an UNKNOWN tongue, *my spirit prayeth, but* my understanding is unfruitful. *What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also: I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also. Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit,* how shall *he that occupieth the room of* the unlearned say Amen *at thy giving of thanks, seeing* (IF) he *understandeth* (understand) not what thou sayest? *For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. I thank my God, I speak with more tongues than ye all: yet in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that* BY MY VOICE *I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an* UNKNOWN *tongue. Brethren, be not children, but in understanding be men. In the law it is written, With* MEN *of other tongues, and other lips I will speak unto this people; and yet for all that will they not hear me, saith the Lord. Wherefore tongues are for a sign not to them that believe, but to them that believe not: Prophesying* SERVETH *not for them that believe not, but for them which believe. If therefore the whole church be come together into one place, and all speak with tongues, and* there come in THOSE THAT ARE unlearned, or unbelievers, will they not say that ye are mad?

I could not easily believe, Right Reverend Sir, that you would approve of such garbling and culling as I have here exhibited; so as to make the Scripture say in the Catechism what it does not say in the original. I do not presume, sir, to teach you, but I shall state what the Roman Catholic Church understands to be the meaning of this portion of the sacred record. In chap. ii of the Acts of the Apostles, we are informed in v. 4, "And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." We can thus clearly see that the spirit which gave to speak in other tongues was the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. St. Paul tells us that the object was to be a sign to the unbelievers, exhibiting to them evidence of inspiration, which evidence was not necessary for those who already were believers; for such prophecy or instruction of men who, led by the influence of Heaven, taught them how to practise their duties, was more necessary. This gift of tongues was at first rather extensively diffused amongst the believers, as evidence of which I might refer to *Acts*, x. 46, and several other places. It sometimes occurred that one person

under the influence of the Spirit spoke or prayed, but could not interpret his own words for those present; and others who were previously ignorant were able to give the interpretation, though they were not inspired to speak the language, as St. Paul testifies in chapter xii. of the Epistle which we consider, v. 10: "To another divers kinds of tongues: to another the interpretation of tongues." In this chapter the Apostle draws a marked distinction in verses 28, 29, 30, between apostles, prophets, teachers, and those who, though not in the ministry, still exhibited the influence of the Spirit in divers tongues, and so forth, as well as the interpreters, so that this speaking and interpretation were not the public services. After an exhortation to charity in chapter xiii., he proceeds in chapter xiv. to inform us that the person who speaks in this other tongue, speaks to God, though men should not understand him; but he who prophesieth, or instructs, speaks to men to edify, to exhort, to comfort (v. 2, 3). It was usual at the assemblies of Christians in Corinth, as well as in other places, that they who received the gifts of the Holy Ghost should occasionally manifest or exhibit them: and an abuse was becoming pretty general, that the gift of tongues was exhibited for ostentation, and without the presence of an interpreter. The Apostle's object is then to correct or remove this, and for that purpose he states that instruction or prophecy is better, unless where there is an interpreter: yet even this he does not command, nor does he forbid expressly even the prayer in this tongue; on the contrary he says, volume 14, "If I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful." That is, when the very person who prays uses words which he does not himself understand, his spirit prays, his soul is lifted up to God in aspiration, adoration, desire, and affection, and it is good; though certainly he prefers adding to this a knowledge of what is said. Now the Roman Catholic Church holds this very principle, and acts upon it: and perhaps, Right Reverend Sir, it will be news to you to learn that the English Protestant Church has ordered and acted upon the order, to have her liturgy read in English for people who understand only Irish, and that in such a case she desired it might be read even in Latin for the Irish peasantry, but not in Irish, as the object was to destroy what she pleased to call a barbarous dialect.

Now, sir, the eminent divines of the English Protestant Church understand this part of the writings of St. Paul in the same sense as does the Roman Catholic Church, so that the miserable garbling is not in accordance with their exposition.

In the Roman Catholic Church, when they come together, "*all*" do not "speak with unknown tongues; therefore, even unbelievers could

not say "to them, are ye *all* mad?" but suppose an unbeliever went into an assembly of the Corinthians, where all were speaking aloud in different languages, he might be tempted to make the remark; and a similar one was made upon the conduct of a more sacred assembly. (*Acts* ii. 1.) After the enumeration of the various congregated nations, volume 11, and so forth: "We do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God. And they were all amazed, and were in doubt, saying one to another, what meaneth this? others mocking, said, These men are full of new wine." In the Roman Catholic Church only the clergyman uses the common well-known language in the church; and from their childhood, the faithful have it interpreted, translated, and explained: and they pray not only with the spirit, but with the understanding also. Their assembly is not such as the Apostle describes. The text in the answer, even garbled as it is, does not then bear upon the case of Roman Catholics, as put in the question: and I hoped that you knew too well the meaning of the Apostle, to suppose it did. The succeeding question will oblige me to continue this topic in my text.

I remain, Right Reverend Sir,

Your humble servant, B. C.

LETTER VI.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Aug. 25, 1828.

To the Right Reverend Doctor Bowen, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of South Carolina, and so forth.

Right Reverend Sir:—In my last, I examined whether the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church of using in her Liturgy, in some places, the "Latin, where that language is not generally understood by the people," was "expressly forbidden" by the Apostle St. Paul; and I concluded by stating, that in this letter I would examine the correctness and consistency of the succeeding assertion.

18, page 11, Q. 51. Is that practice consistent with reason?

A. No: the duty of prayer is ordained for the improvement of our souls, and increase of grace; but repeating a set of words by rote, without understanding what we say, cannot possibly answer that end.

Allow me, sir, to commence by stating that you, I believe, do not look upon a sermon or an exortation to be prayer: I am under the impression, that a man might preach and give instruction during an entire day, and still not have prayed. Roman Catholics define prayer to be a lifting up the heart or mind to God, to thank him for his favours, to

praise him for his perfections, to entreat his mercy, or to obtain his blessing. I have looked into the *Familiar Exposition of the Catechism*, for your definition; I could not find it: but in Part IV. p. 38, Q. 3, I found reference to the following question and answer of the *Catechism*, following the Lord's Prayer:

"Q. What desirest thou of God in this prayer?

"A. I desire my Lord God, our heavenly Father, who is the giver of all goodness, to send his grace unto me, and to all people; that we may worship him, serve him, and obey him, as we ought to do: And I pray unto God, that he will send us all things that are needful both for our souls and bodies; and that he will be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins; and that it will please him to save and defend us in all dangers both of soul and body; and that he will keep us from all sin and wickedness, and from our spiritual enemy, and from everlasting death: And this I trust he will do of his mercy and goodness, through our Lord Jesus Christ; and therefore I say, Amen. So be it."

This, sir, substantially agrees with the Roman Catholic definition, and calls prayer a desire. Prayer is a spiritual act: language is only an expression of the sentiment which is felt, or of the desire which is entertained. Instruction is generally conveyed by language, but not always, nor necessarily; for it might be, and has been communicated by painting, by signs, and by letters, which are the symbols of language.

Having now seen the palpable distinction between prayer and instruction, I come to the exhibition of the inconsistensy of the answer. It states the object of prayer to be the improvement of our souls. The phrase is ambiguous. Our souls may be improved by obtaining the grace of God, such improvement is indeed the object of prayer; they may be improved by receiving instruction; such is not the object of prayer, though such might be its accidental effect. When I repeat the Lord's Prayer, I do not increase my knowledge; yet I raise my heart to our Father who is in heaven, and I pray. I obtain an increase of grace, but no new instruction; such, too, will be the case, if I excite and indulge spiritual desires, without using any words to express them; and this fervid homage in the heart, whereby our spirits adore God, who is a Spirit, in spirit and in truth, is the best and most acceptable. If such sentiments can be excited in the minds of a congregation, the best mode of leading them to pray, will be that which best secures this subject. I submit, sir, that our mode is admirably calculated for this end.

Now, sir, I know not if you were ever present at our service, and cannot therefore appeal to your experience: but, if you were, you would have observed that the people do not "repeat by rote a set of words,

without understanding what they say." The celebrating clergy use a Latin *Liturgy*, which they repeat; and surely it will not be supposed that Bishop Bowen would venture to assert that the Roman Catholic clergy do not understand the Latin language! Why, even Blanco White acknowledged that they learned and preserved as much as enabled them to understand the *Liturgy*. Now, they who do read do understand; and therefore the assumed ground, that they "repeat a set of words by rote, without understanding what they say," is here untenable; and, as this was the basis of the conclusion, so far as regards the clergy, the position must be abandoned, which asserted that the practice is not consistent with reason. As regards the laity, some of them do understand the language: so far as they are concerned, it is not tenable. The others do not repeat Latin words by rote, but they have translations in their several vernacular tongues, and other books with appropriate prayers, which, if they can read, they do understand; the conclusion fails here too. Respecting those who cannot read, they have been carefully instructed in the meaning of what is said and done: so that when the *Liturgy* is performed, they also do understand; although probably a learned Protestant could not comprehend what he never was taught, and would not stoop to learn: those unlettered people recite, with understanding and with piety, certain forms of prayer which they have committed to memory: the paintings in the churches are their books; the beads which they use, are to them the intelligible indication of the order of the service; the ceremonial which they behold, and its various accompaniments, are equally eloquent monitions of instruction for the mind, and devotion for the heart, to the Chinese and the American, to the Italian and the Tartar, to the Egyptian and the Laplander; they are members of the same church, children of the same family, acquainted with the same rite, trained to the same ceremonial, using the same *Missal*, viewing the same vestments; and from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, their clean and holy oblation is offered in the same common language, beyond the frozen Arctic, and on the glowing banks of the Amazon. The preservatoion of our common language, in our common service, tends to preserve and to strengthen the extended union of our holy brotherhood; it enables our clergy to officiate at every altar, and makes our laity to find a home in every church of our communion: all tongues, and tribes, and nations are thus united together, and become one people, adoring one common Father, grateful to one common Redeemer, beseeching sanctification from one sacred Spirit; this wholesome discipline unites ages, as it binds nations; for the *Liturgy* which we use, has descended to us from the primitive days of our religion; the very words

and prayers, in which an Ambrose, an Augustin, a Basil, a Gregory, and a Chrysostom officiated, and whose substance they received from a Peter, from a Mark, from a James, are now repeated at our altars, in a language, the meaning of whose words, and phrases, and idioms, is now as unchanging as is that faith which they through this channel conveyed to us; thus the faithful are taught to understand and to value this most reasonable practice. The assumed inconvenience, or, as the *Catechism* calls it, inconsistency with reason, does not exist: but the most salutary effects practically follow from this most wholesome discipline.

I am fully aware that several very respectable Protestants, because of their want of information on those points, think as the *Catechism* expresses: I know that frequently they retire from beholding our service with the most strange and erroneous impressions; they reason, if reasoning I may call it, most injudiciously, that because they have intelligent minds and general information, and cannot comprehend what they never sought to learn, that those who have been brought up in its knowledge are as ignorant upon the subject as they are themselves. I recollect, sir, two highly educated and respectable ladies of my acquintance who had expended, where English was the common language, a large share of money, of pains, and of time, to learn the language of France; to which country they afterwards proceeded to perfect their education. Upon landing at Havre, one of them turned to her companion to remark with astonishment how fluently the fish-women and porters spoke French. Being reminded that she was now in France, she instantly remarked how thoughtless she had been in not adverting to the circumstance of these people having been familiar from their earliest moments of observation with what, because of the want of opportunity, it had cost her so much to acquire. Let, sir, the Protestants who do not know the grounds of our practices be more cautious in their decisions: some occasional opportunities are afforded of hearing their remarks, and it is with regret I state that there exists much less occasion of being by them reminded of the amiable lady to whom I alluded, than of the exceedingly wise personages who once crossed the British Channel and returned within the same week, and honestly declared that he was always prejudiced against the French, but now that he had seen and known the true state of the case he was confirmed in his dislike, for he found them so ignorant, so unreasonable and so obstinate, that they could not be induced even to call things by their right names; it was as bad to be amongst them as at Babel; for if you asked for a shovel they brought

you a horse, they called a hat *chopper*, and gave the nick-name of *ding dong* to turkeys.

Indeed, sir, it would be desirable that our separated brethren could be more generally induced to believe, that our common Creator gave to the members of our church an equal share of intellect as he gave to themselves; that we have had amongst us men of genius, men of learning, men of piety, and men of common sense; it does not raise our estimate of their investigating powers, of their impartiality, or of their judgment, when we find them superciliously pronouncing upon what they have never studied, and upon subjects which we know it is impossible they can, circumstanced as they are, even understand. This is a painful topic, sir, but it has been forced upon me. By your own definition of prayer, you perceive that though our *Liturgy*, for sufficient reasons, is in the Latin language, yet our clergy, our learned and our unlearned laity, can and do most devoutly pray with the spirit, with the tongue and with the understanding, and not only is the practice not forbidden, but it is more than lawful; it is productive of the most extensive benefits, some only of which I have enumerated. As this subject is one upon which as a matter of discipline there might be a change, and as all that the Roman Catholic Church requires is conformity with the general law until it shall be repealed by the constitutional authority, even her own children may freely though respectfully differ, and express that difference of opinion as to its expediency. Is it not then a little presumptuous for persons who perhaps have never viewed the subject as they ought, to condemn as "inconsistent with reason," a practice which millions of the most learned and pious men in all ages who were fully acquainted with it in all its bearings have approved, upheld, defended and recommended? Of course, sir, you know that there exists a vast difference between a society existing where only one or two languages, indeed I may say where only one language is spoken, and the Church of all nations, and tribes and tongues. When you deduct from the Protestant Episcopal Church all those who have and use the English liturgy, the remaining members are easily counted through. Not so with us. Do then avow with me that it is not unreasonable to have a common language for the professors of a common faith: and be assured that although some very thoughtless persons might imagine that we know as little of our service as do they who never inquired as they ought upon the subject, such is not the fact; we have no repetition of "a set of words by rote, without understanding what we say," and we do not act unreasonably because our separated brethren are uninformed, neither do we by our practice, act against the injunction of the Apostle, because

they who choose to condemn us know how to clip, to garble, and to fill up a text, until after this process it shall no longer mean what is originally was intended to convey.

19. page 10. Q. 49. Is not praying for the dead another Roman Catholic error?

A. Yes: the Scriptures give no countenance to that practice, and it is inconsistent with reason, to think they can be helped by our prayers. For, "we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad." (*II Cor.* v. 10).

This is like turning back upon my way; or as some people would call it "advancing backwards," however, I shall not detain you long with the subject itself. I do not intend to enter into the controversial question as to whether it be a useful and orthodox practice to pray for the dead. I merely wish to exhibit the logic of the answer. The words "inconsistent with reason" caught my eye, and I found the attraction irresistible; no poor fluttering little bird was ever more fascinated by the eye of a serpent than I am bewitched by such a phrase, especially in such a book. A philosophic historian who declares that it is "inconsistent with reason" to believe a manifest fact, because it does not agree with his theory, and a religious writer who protests that it is "inconsistent with reason" to believe a revealed truth which does not fall in with his metaphysical speculation, are, each in his own estimation, very great men. I like to study our common weakness in their exhibition. I do it by trying how the assertion can be shaped like an argument. I shall do so here.

Premises. **We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.**

Conclusion. **Therefore, "it is inconsistent with reason" to think that the dead can be helped by our prayers.**

I really cannot perceive that this conclusion is contained in these premises. I look upon the conclusion to be, that each person shall be judged and treated by the judge, according to his conduct on earth. Suppose a man appears before that awful tribunal guilty of a very trivial offence, and that for this bad thing done in the body he is sentenced to receive punishment, for a certain time, or to a certain amount, which punishment might be mitigated by the mercy of God in accordance with prayer offered through the merits of Christ on behalf of the sufferer: does the text say that this is "inconsistent with reason"? Does reason

say it is inconsistent? In fact such might not be the case; but even then the supposition would not be inconsistent with reason, for it is not absurd, but is perfectly reasonable. But it is said there is no Scripture to countenance the practice. Suppose that to be so, still it is not "inconsistent with reason." Now, sir, I will say, such in fact is the case, and the Scriptures of the old and of the new law do countenance the practice, and my assertion on one side is as good as that of the *Catechism* on the other. I have, sir, embodied the Scriptural argument, in a letter which has been published in the last volume of the *Miscellany*: so that the semblance of argument from this text for this position, resembles pretty nearly, I believe it was Friar Gerund's argument, to prove that there existed seven species of sins, for which he quoted verse 4, of what you number as *Psalm* xlv., we as xliv., *Specie tua et pulchritudine tua, intende, prospere, procede et regna.*

20. p. 10. Q. 48. What do you think of the frequent crossings upon which the Roman Catholics lay so great stress in their divine offices, and for security against sickness and ill accidents?

A. They are vain and superstitious. The worship of the crucifix, or figure of Christ upon the cross, is idolatrous; and the adoring and praying to the cross itself, is, of all the corruptions of Roman Catholic worship, the most gross and intolerable.

In this there are three assertions, first, that Roman Catholics use the sign of the cross; next, that they do so frequently; and, thirdly, that it is done for security against sickness and ill accidents. Now, sir, I could never suspect you of having approved of calling this a vain and superstitious practice, because I know that you could not do so without condemning yourself and your church. I write with certainty when I state that you have more than once made the sign of the cross upon persons whom you have baptized. I could name the persons. Your church has the following direction upon the subject in the ministration of public baptism of infants.

We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do[50] sign him with the sign of the cross; in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner, against sin, the world, and the devil; and to continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto life's end. *Amen.*

The same is said and done in the service of private baptism of children, and also in the baptism of those of riper years. The Church of England differs with you only in having the word Priest, for which you have substituted Minister, and leaving no discretion as to its omission,

[50] Here the minister shall make a cross upon the child's forehead.

whereas to conciliate such as do not love to use this symbol of man's redemption and the Saviour's love, you have adopted the following rule.

If those who present the infant shall desire the sign of the cross to be omitted, although the church knows of no worthy cause of scruple concerning the same, yet, in that case the minister may omit that part of the above which follows the immersion, or the pouring of water on the infant.

Thus, sir, I could not expect in your *Catechism* a declaration that the use of this sign was vain and superstitious. There is none, I presume, in its repetition. You know that Tertullian, about the year 250, informs us that Christians were at and before his day very fond of its use and repetition, whether they walked or rode, or eat or drank, on ordinary occasions, but specially at the divine offices. Now, sir, if the *Catechism* charges Roman Catholics with considering this sign as a security, like a charm, or with the same certain efficacy as a sacrament, to secure or protect them, it makes an untrue allegation: but if they use it, as they do, in token that they are not ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and as exciting their hope of a blessing from one God in three persons to aid them through the merits of Christ's death upon the cross to be his faithful soldiers and servants, protected by him in sickness against ill accidents, surely you will not call it vain and superstitious, or you must condemn your own prayer and ceremonial. Here, sir, is the Roman Catholic explanation.

Extract from Lesson X—*Of the Catechism of the Diocess of Charleston.*

Q. Why do we make the sign of the cross?

A. To beg that Jesus Christ, by his Cross and Passion, may bless and protect us.

Q. Should we frequently make the sign of the Cross?

A. Yes; particularly in all temptation and dangers, and before and after prayer; but always with great attention and devotion.

Q. What does the sign of the cross signify?

A. It signifies and brings to our minds, the principal mysteries of religion.

Q. What mysteries of religion does the sign of the cross recall to our minds?

A. The Unity and Trinity, and the incarnation and death of our Saviour.

Q. How does the sign of the cross remind us of the Unity and Trinity?

A. Because in making the sign of the cross, we invoke one God in

three divine Persons, saying, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Q. How does the sign of the cross bring to our minds the incarnation and death of our Soviour?

A. Because as he suffered death in human flesh on a cross, the sign of the cross must naturally remind all true Christians of his incarnation and death.

As regards the conclusion or indeed the main body of this answer, imputing to us the adoration of the crucifix; I have too much respect for you to suppose, even now, that you could possibly have given it your approbation, and I do sincerely assure you that when I look at the respectable list of amiable ladies which lies upon my desk, and view this wretched little production, I am bewildered. In plain words, I cannot conceive that it was possible for you to sanction it if you read it. Since I have commenced these letters, I have been informed through the *Miscellany* office, that Bishop White of Pennsylvania had previously approved the publication, and that in all probability you considered that what he sanctioned, did not need your review. It is useless to waste time upon conjectures. The publication has been made with *prima facie* evidence of having had your full approbation; you must see how its inconsistencies and contradictions are to be reconciled.

21. page 10. Q. 47. What do you think of the veneration that is paid by the Church of Rome to relics?

A. It is at best a groundless superstition, and has given occasion to much fraud and imposture; many of the pretended relics having never belonged to the persons whose names they bear.

Surely, Right Reverend Sir, religion is not to be cast away because it has given occasion to superstition. The healing art is not to be abandoned because it has facilitated the means of destroying by poison; the Bible is not to be sealed up because it has been garbled and abused; however, I have known a self-willed old gentleman who would not permit any of his children to learn how to write, because a neighbour's son had been hanged for forgery, and he had heard of a lady, who had by her correspondence, produced the defeat of her father's plans, and the success of her own in the regulation of her marriage. If the abuse and the imposture is all that is objected to, we shall readily unite with you to suppress the one, and to detect, expose, and punish the other. But is the use to be condemned because of abuse? You know, Right Reverend Sir, that this is called a sophism in every treatise of logic; it is equivalent to a syllogism of four terms, if such a monster could exist. And surely it is not upon this you would found the conclusion, "it is at best a

groundless superstition:" and if not upon this, where is its foundation? You could probably inform me. I suspect it will not be found in *Exodus* xiii. 19. "And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him: for he had straitly sworn the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you; and ye shall carry up my bones hence away with you." Neither would you refer me to *II Kings*, according to your version, *IV.* in ours, xiii. 21. "And it came to pass as they were burying a man, that, behold they spied a band of men; and they cast the man into the sepulchre of Elisha; and when the man was let down, and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived, and stood upon his feet." If I turn to chapter xxiii. of this book, I find that Josiah, who is called a good king, treated the bones of the false prophets in the manner that the predecessors of those who made the *Catechism*, treated the relics of the saints, and he treated the relics of the prophets of God in the manner that Roman Catholics do similar remains. St. Paul, in his *Epistle to the Hebrews*, ix. 3,4, informs us of the manner in which relics of another description were preserved by God's own direction. And in *Acts* xix. 11, 12, we find testimony and exemplification of what the compilers would call "at best a groundless superstition." I cannot, sir, with any propriety, use as an argument against you or any of your flock a custom of the Protestant Church of England, which you do not practise. However, sir, I put it to your candour whether it was not very thoughtless in the English compilers of this Protestant Catechism to use those topics, with the whole ceremonial before their eyes, in which the King of England is sent forth by his church, or goes with its consent by prayer and the touch of gold, to cure the king's evil? I have observed, sir, that although several of your publications deal largely in charges of superstitions, yet no book of your church, that has fallen into my hands, and they have not been few, contain as far as I can recollect, any definition by which a child might know the meaning of the word.

I remain,

Right Reverend Sir,

Yours, and so forth, B. C.

LETTER VII.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Sept. 1, 1828.

To the Right Reverend Doctor Bowen, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of South Carolina, and so forth.

Right Reverend Sir:—We come now to a topic which is indeed important, for if Roman Catholics are such incorrigible dolts as to be guilty of deliberate contradiction to their senses and to reason, it is out of the question that they can be classed amongst rational beings. Indeed, sir, the vast numbers of enlightened men and women who during several ages in all civilized nations have believed and do still believe in the doctrine of transubstantiation in the Eucharist, ought to induce wise men to pause and inquire before they would pronounce a finding of idiotism against more than five-sixths of the Christian world: for, sir, you know that not only the Roman Catholics, but the Russian, the schismatical Greek, and all the Eastern sects believe in the truth of this doctrine: and a sweeping charge of the most debasing imbecility of mind is made against us all in this little book. Sir, I do not enter upon the proof of the truth of that doctrine, but I enter upon an examination of the reasonableness and consistency of the accusation made upon us; and I do it briefly. I do not attack your meaning, for I do not understand it, and cannot therefore judge of what I cannot understand: nor do I adduce arguments in favour of those churches which your *Catechism* designates in no very flattering terms. I take up your assertions.

21. page 12. Q. 59. What then do the Protestants mean, when they say in their catechism, "The body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper?"

A. They only mean, that such persons as worthily partake of the Lord's Supper do, spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood; and do actually receive those spiritual benefits which Christ purchased for mankind, when he gave his body to be broken, and his blood to be shed upon the cross.

I should not, sir, have noticed this but that, as I stated, it is connected with some questions and answers that exhibit Roman Catholics as contradicting senses and reason. It is not my concern to interfere with the opinion of others, provided they leave me undisturbed; but when they exhibit me as wearing a fool's coat, "contradicting senses and reason," I might be fairly allowed to examine the foundation of their own meaning. Now, sir, I shall not assert that you do not know the meaning of this answer, but I assure you it is unintelligible to me.

If an object is present which is eatable, I can easily conceive how it might be eaten or drank, for eating and drinking is taking it into the mouth and conveying what is so taken in the usual manner into the stomach. My difficulty is, how to understand the manner in which what is not present can be so taken and conveyed: and again, to know what is the meaning of "eating spiritually." I really have during a number of years read extensively and conversed much with several respectable and intelligent Protestants, upon this subject, in order to try if I could get an idea of what was meant, or if they would show me that they had a clear and distinct notion of what the phrase was intended to convey. But all to no purpose. I could clearly understand how a Roman Catholic or a schismatical Greek could eat the body which was really present, though under the appearance of another and a different substance which was as absent therefrom as the substance of a human body was from where its appearance covered an angelic substance. I can clearly understand a Lutheran when he tells me that he eats the body which is present together with and under the appearance of the bread and occupying the same space. I can understand the Zuinglian when he tells me that he eats bread which is present, and does not eat a body which is absent; but for you and your companions was reserved that perfection of mystifying phraseology by which you declare that you eat what is absent, and that the manner of eating is spiritual, and thus that eating is spiritual belief, so that to eat and to believe are synonymous. Now, sir, if your little book had used the word *or* instead of *and* in the joint of this proposition, it would have left room for retreat into the intelligible Zuinglian doctrine, but this proposition is, unfortunately, copulative, and asserts that besides eating and drinking what you have not present to eat or drink, and in a mode which is neither eating or drinking, you also receive spiritual benefits: this still keeps you to the assertion which I cannot understand, that you eat what you have not, and drink what is not there. Would it not be well in the next edition to make this a disjunctive proposition, and thus you would leave a choice of doctrine, and he who could not understand how it was possible for you to eat what you had not, might be told that he could take the substitute and believe with Zuinglius, if he could not with the English Protestant Church.

I trust, sir, that I am not disrespectful in being plain. Your church is evidently upon this point in a difficulty arising from the peculiarity of her circumstances. She finds that the Scripture and the ancient authors uniformly and continually use the expression—eating and drinking flesh and blood, or in the body and blood of the Saviour in the Eu-

charist; most of her divines no not believe that the body and blood are really present, yet she does not wish to give up expressions which are palpably at variance with her general belief, and it is therefore matter of little astonishment that in attempting to reconcile conradictions she should utter what is unintelligible.

I stated that I could not understand how persons can eat what they have not present, but that I could fully understand the doctrine of Zuinglius who taught that the communicant ate nothing more than bread, and drank nothing more than wine: but that participating of this bread and wine with a belief of what God has taught, and with hope in the merits of Christ, together with repentance of sins, he was made a partaker of the grace of God. Thus, according to the Zuinglians, the worthy partaking of consecrated bread and wine produces the grace of God in the soul: but surely unless what is so eaten and drunk be really the body and blood of Christ, no one could imagine that any person who used the common forms of language would say that this grace was procured by eating that body and blood which are not present; but by eating bread and wine which are really there and consumed. If such be your meaning, would it not be well to do as Zuinglius did; to use plain words? That such is your view if you have approved of the *Catechism* is I think pretty clear.

22. page 13. Q. 62. How do you understand these words, "This is my body?"

A. In the same sense as circumcision is called the covenant, and the Lamb is called the passover, although they are not the passover and the covenant, but the signs of them. (*Gen.* xvii. 10, 11; *Exod.* xii. 11). So likewise the bread and wine in the sacrament do but represent Christ's body, and are a memorial of it to us. For which reason he adds, "Do this in remembrance of me." (*Luke* xxii. 19). Now, sir, you believe the Scripture. I take your own version. (*Gen.* xvii. 7, and so forth).

"And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee. And I will give unto thee and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession; and I will be, their God.

"And God said to Abraham, Thou shalt keep my covenant therefore, thou, and thy seed after thee in their generations.

"10. This is my covenant which ye shall keep, between me and you and thy seed after thee; Every man among you shall be circumcised. 11. And ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin, and it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and you."

Nor, sir, in this verse 11, God declares circumcision to be *a token of* the covenant, and your little *Catechism* tells us it is called the covenant. Christ says This is my body, and the little book would translate it, This is *a token of* my body. Pardon me, Right Reverend Sir, if I remark that it is a strange mode of picking three words out of a text in *Genesis* xvii. to squeeze them into *Matthew* xxvi. in order to establish an analogy which does not exist. Did your approbation extend to this? The plain meaning of the text is, That a covenant was made between two parties:—to be kept on the part of God by insuring possession of the country to the people: to be kept on their side, by observing the rite of circumcision, which was at the same time not only a substantial part of the covenant but also its token. I shall not object to your saying if you please, that the sacrament of the Eucharist is to us a token of the body of Christ which it substantially contains, and a token also of our redemption by means of that body which we eat, as the Paschal Lamb was to the Israelite a token of redemption by the blood of that Lamb whose flesh he also ate.

Now, as to the Lamb being called the Passover in this place specified, I beg leave to differ from the compilers of the little book. In *Exodus* xii. 3 [we read]:

"3. Speak ye unto all the congregation of Israel, saying, in the tenth day of this month they shall take to them every man a lamb, according to the house of their fathers, a lamb for an house: 4. And if the household be too little for the lamb, let him and his neighbour next unto his house take it according to the number of the souls; every man according to his eating shall make your count for the lamb. 5. Your lamb shall be without blemish, a male of the first year: ye shall take it out from the sheep, or from the goats: 6. And ye shall keep it up until the fourteenth day of the same month: and the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it in the evening. 7. And they shall take of the blood, and strike it on the two side-posts and on the upper door-post of the houses, wherein they shall eat it. 8. And they shall eat the flesh in that night, roast with fire, and unleavened bread; and with bitter herbs they shall eat it. 9. Eat not of it raw, nor sodden at all with water, but roast with fire; his head with his legs, and with the purtenance thereof. 10. And ye shall let nothing remain of it until the morning; and that which remaineth of it until the morning ye shall burn with fire. 11. And thus shall ye eat it; with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and ye shall eat it in haste: it is the Lord's Passover."

The question which presents itself here is whether the word *it* has for its antecedent the lamb or the entire description of the observance. But a previous question ought to be settled, viz., whether the word *it* should be admitted into the context in both places of the second part of verse 11. In the original Hebrew the reading is "and you shall eat hastily, for it is the Passover of the Lord." The Vulgate agrees with

this reading. The Septuagint "You shall eat him with haste: it is the Pasch of the Lord." The Chaldaic paraphrase, "You shall eat him hastily; for it is the Passover." The Syriac, "And eat him hastily; it is a Pasch of the Lord." The Arabic, "Eat him with swiftness: for he is a Pasch to God." The Samaritan, "For you shall eat him with haste, this is a Pasch to the Lord." We have here two words, *Passover* and *Pasch*; by the word Passover is generally understood the whole observance, and occasionally the time of the observance, and in two or three places the victim of the observance: by the word *Pasch* is generally meant the victim: that is, the lamb, usually called "the Paschal Lamb." Now, sir, your translation assumes to be taken immediately from the Hebrew and the Greek. Yet the first evidently refers the *it* to the whole observance of which the hasty eating was but a portion; and the Greek evidently cannot refer the neuter it to the masculine him "the Lamb." I observe the same of the Chaldaic. The Syriac is susceptible of being translated either he or it, but the word Pasch and not the word passover is used. The Arabic and Samaritan refer to the Lamb, but they call him Pasch. And your translation differs from every one of them, yet it can be easily reconciled to them all if by the word passover, you mean the victim of the Passover, or what we call the Pasch or Paschal Lamb. And that such ought to be its natural meaning in your own version appears from considering that in several other places such is its meaning. I shall mention a few: in verse 21, of the same, "Then Moses called for all the elders of Israel, and said to them, Draw out and take you a lamb according to your families, and kill the passover:" clearly they were to kill not what was signified by the lamb, but the real lamb. In verse 43, "This is the ordinance of the Passover: There shall no stranger eat thereof." The passover which they were to eat was clearly not the thing signified by the lamb but the victim itself. In *Matthew* xxvi. 17, "Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the Passover." 19. "And they made ready the Passover." In those places, it is evidently the lamb and not anything signified by the lamb. (*Mark* xiv. 14), "Where is the guest chamber, where I shall eat the Passover with my disciples." (*Luke* xxii. 11), the same. 15. "With desire have I desired to eat this Passover with you." (*John* xviii), "but that they might eat the Passover." I need not quote more passages to show that by the word passover your version continually means the lamb. Is it not rather curious then that your little *Catechism* should assert the lamb is not the passover? In truth, sir, nothing is more evident than the fact that the lamb was not a sign of the observance which we call the passover in our version, but was the Pasch or the victim of that ob-

servance, as you will see in verse 27 of *Exodus*, chapter xii.: and as you have chosen to call that victim the Passover itself, I shall not dispute about words, but merely request that you will always give to the same word the same meaning. In this case, sir, the word in your version will have the lamb for its antecedent, and that lamb will be the passover and not its sign. But, sir, if some amongst us tell you that the name of the victim was the Pasch, and the observance was the Passover, in this view the relative *it* will have the whole description for its antecedent, so that in neither case will it be true to state that the lamb which is only a sign of the Passover is called the Passover which it but represents.

It might not be amiss here to remark that the word passover is a pure English word conveying pretty accurately the meaning of the original word *pasch*, which underwent several changes according to the mode of pronunciation of the Hebrews, Syrians and Chaldeans, and was translated at first *phasec* and latterly *pashca* by the Greeks, whether because this latter which is a Chaldaic word was substituted for the Hebrew upon the return from Babylon, or to suit the more refined ear of the polished Greek.

I shall now present you with the history of the origin of that explanation given in your Catechism, and which I submit is at variance with your own Bible, and which was introduced for the very purpose of rejecting your own expressions of receiving the body and blood of Christ, as well as the Lutheran tenet of the real presence. The quotation is made from an old translation of Bishop Bossuet's *History of the Variation of the Protestant churches.* Part i. book ii. sec. xxv. xxvi. and xxvii.

"xxv.—After the Sacramentarian quarrel had been stirred up in the manner we have seen, Carlostadius dispersed about little tracts against the Real Presence; and though, on all hands, they were allowed wholly to abound with ignorance, nevertheless they were relished by the people already charmed with novelty.[51] Zuinglius and Oecolampadius wrote in defence of this new doctrine: the first with a great deal of wit and vehemence; the other with much learning, and so sweet an eloquence, that, "were it possible," says Erasmus,[52] "and would God have permitted it, 'twere capable of seducing even the elect." God put them to this trial: but his promises and truth upheld the simplicity of the Church's faith against human reasoning.[53] A little after Carlostadius reconciled himself with Luther, and appeased him with his assurance that what he taught upon the Eucharist, was rather by way of proposing and examining, than decision. This man's life was one uninterrupted scene of feuds: and the Swiss, who received him a second time, never could prevail to calm his turbulent temper.

[51] Erasm. lib. xix. Ep. 113, xxxi. 59, p. 2106.
[52] Lib. xviii. Ep. 9.
[53] Hosp. 2. part. ad. An. 1525, f. 40.

"His doctrine spread more and more, but on more plausible interpretations of our Saviour's words, than what he had furnished. Zuinglius said, the good man saw plain enough, there was some hidden sense in these divine words, but could never find out what it was. He and Oecolampadius, with somewhat different expressions, agreed in the main, that these words, this is my body were figurative: Is, said Zuinglius, is as much as to say, signifies; Body, said Oecolampadius, is the sign of the body. Their leaders, Bucer and Capito, became zealous defenders of the figurative sense. The Reformation divided itself; and those who embraced this new party were called Sacramentarians. They were also named Zuinglians, either because Zuinglius had first supported Carlostadius, or because his authority prevailed in the minds of the people, who were led away by his vehemence.

"xxvi.—We must not wonder, that an opinion so favourable to human senses became so much in vogue. Zuinglius said positively, there was no miracle in the Eucharist, or anything incomprehensible; that the Bread broken represented to us the Body sacrificed; and the Wine, the Blood shed; that Jesus Christ, at the institution of these sacred signs, had given them the name of the thing itself; that it was not however a simple spectacle, nor signs wholly naked, for as much as the remembrance of, and faith in the Body sacrificed and the Blood shed, supported our Souls; [54] that the Holy Ghost, meanwhile, sealed in our hearts the remission of sins; and therein consisted the whole Mystery. Human reason and sense had nothing to suffer from this explication. The Scripture was all the difficulty: but when one side opposed, This is my body, the other answered, I am the vine, I am the door, the rock was Christ. True it is, these examples came not up to the point. It was not in proposing a parable, nor in explaining an allegory, that Jesus Christ said, This is my body, This is my blood. These words wholly detached from the context carried their full meaning in themselves. A new institution was in hand, which ought to be made in simple terms, and as yet, no place in Scripture had been found, where the sign of the institution received the name of the thing itself the moment it was instituted, and without any preparation.

"xxvii.—This argument put Zuinglius on the tenters: he sought day and night for a solution. In the mean time, however, Mass was abolished, notwithstanding all the Town-Secretary could do the contrary, who disputed strenuously for Catholic Doctrine and the Real Presence. Twelve days after, Zuinglius had this dream, which he and his disciples have been so much upbraided with, wherein, says he, imagining he was disputing against the Town-Secretary, who pushed him home; on a sudden, he saw a Phantom white or black, appear before him, who spoke to him these words: Coward, why answerest thou not what is written in Exodus, The Lamb is the Passover? [55] intimating it was the sign; this is the famous passage so often repeated in the writings of the Sacramentarians, in which they thought to have found the name of the thing given to the sign, and in the very institution of the sign; and thus it came into Zuinglius's head who first made use of it. Now his disciples will have it, when he said, he knew not whether he who put this into his head was white or black, he meant only that it was an unknown person, and the Latin terms it's true, will bear this explication. But, besides that the hiding himself so as to do nothing that might discover what he was, is the natural character of an evil spirit, Zuinglius was mani-

[54] Zuing. *Confess. Fid. ad. Fran.* I. Ep. ad. ar. v. and so forth.
[55] Hosp. 2. p. 25, 26, *Exod.* xii. 11.

festly in the wrong.[56] These words, The Lamb is the Passover, by no means signify it was the figure of the Passover. It is a common Hebraism where the word Sacrifice is understood. So, sin, is nothing but the sacrifice for sin; and barely Passover is the sacrifice for the Passover: which the Scripture itself explains a little farther on, where it says at full length, not that the Lamb was the Passover, but the sacrifice of the Lord's Passover.[57] This most certainly was the sense of that part in *Exodus*. Other examples were after produced, which we shall see in due time; but this was the first. There was nothing in it, as we see, that should much comfort the mind of Zuinglius, or that showed him the sign, at the very institution, received the name of first. He awaked notwithstanding at this new explication of his unknown friend, read the place of *Exodus*, and went to preach what he had discovered in his dream. Men were too well prepared not to believe him: the mists, which, till then, had remained on their minds, cleared up immediately."

It is not true then that the Lamb was only the sign of the Passover. But it is a clear fact that he was the substantial victim whose blood after he had been slain without breaking a bone in his body, was the means of salvation to the Israelite, and whose flesh the people destined for protection were commanded to eat. Thus neither the text in Genesis nor that in Exodus adduced in the little Catechism is of any aid to exclude the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. I am one of those who believe they rather tend to confirm the doctrine.

We now come to the parity, or analogy—"So likewise the bread and wine in the sacrament do but represent Christ's body." The analogy fails, because God calls circumcision a token, and he does not so call what he gives in the sacrament. There Christ says, This is my body, not this is the token of my body. It fails because even if the analogy existed it is pressed too far, for although circumcision was a token of the covenant, it was more than a mere representation, for it was also a substantial part thereof, and therefore it is not true to say that it but represented it. The analogy fails, because in the verse cited, the lamb is not called the passover, but the whole observance is so called, and though the lamb should have been so called as in verse 21, yet it is not true that the lamb was but representing the observance; for he was its substantial and real victim; as is also exhibited in verse 27, and as much so as Christ is our Passover, our victim, (*I Cor.* v. 7). "And are a memorial of it to us." A mere representation, and a substantial memorial are very different things: for instance the circumcision of any Israelite was more than a mere sign or representation of the covenant, it was a substantial memorial; it was on the part of that individual as substantial and real a portion of the original covenant as it was on the part of his progenitor Abraham. "This is my covenant, which ye shall keep,

[56] *Exod.* xii. 11.
[57] *Ibid.* 27.

between me and you and thy seed after thee. Every male child shall be circumcised." If it was omitted in any case, it would not be the mere neglect of a sign or representation, but an actual violation of the covenant itself. The same might be said as to the Paschal rite.

Now when we say that the Saviour has left to us really and substantially his body and blood under the sacramental appearances, we do not deny that it is a "substantial memorial," but we say it is more than a sign or representation, because it contains the victim slain for us, the lamb in whom there was no stain, who took away the sins of the world, being put to death, without breaking a bone in his body, whose blood is our only protection against the desolating angel, and whose flesh we are commanded to eat: it is then our real victim and our substantial memorial of redemption.

I now come to consider the latter words, "Do this in remembrance of me." I always liked to have the entire text before me.

"And he took bread and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me."

In this we have the relation of a fact. Christ did something, and said something, and the passage states what he did and what he said. What he did may be described as taking bread, and giving thanks, or blessing it, and distributing it to his disciples. What he said may be described as informing them of the nature of what he gave or distributed, telling them to do what he did, and informing them for what end or purpose they were to do so. Clearly what he did was not the purpose for which they were to do what he desired. His act preceded the purpose of theirs, and even their commission. The end to be attained by their act, was to follow its performance. Christ had finished his own act before he even told them to do what he did. Let us suppose he never told them to do it, we could from the relation learn what he had done himself, and we must see what that was which he did, before we can understand what he desired them to do, or for what purpose. He did something to or with the bread, then he declared that what he gave them was his body. If therefore he had the power, he changed the substance by placing the substance of his own body under the appearance of the bread. Having thus changed the bread into his body, and given the sacrament to them, his act was perfect and complete; this is what he did. He then tells them to do what he did, that is to change by consecration bread into his body. For what purpose? "In remembrance of me." To state the object for which an act is done does not change the nature of the act itself: thus the act would be transubstantiation, and the object commemoration. This, sir, during several cen-

turies before the birth of Zuinglius, was the explanation of the text: this, sir, agrees with the object stated by St. Paul even in your little Catechism, "to show forth the Lord's death till he comes." If it was "but a mere representation" of Christ's death, a figure, or sign thereof, the Passover in the old law would have been a better sign or representation, contrary to the great principle which pervades the writings of St. Paul, that all these were but figures and types of better institutions in the new law.

Thus, Right Reverend Sir, I apprehend it is a great inconsistency to assert that this answer is logically or critically or theologically accurate.

I remain, Right Reverend Sir,

Yours, and so forth, B. C.

LETTER VIII.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Sept. 8, 1828.

To the Right Reverend Doctor Bowen, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of South Carolina, and so forth.

Right Reverend Sir:—I continue to examine the questions and answers of the Catechism respecting the Eucharist, in order to exhibit their inconsistency and their accuracy.

23. page 12. Q. 61. Is this doctrine supported by Scripture?

No: for Christ himself, after consecration, calls the wine the "Fruit of the vine," (*Matt.* xxvi. 29), and St. Paul calls what each communicant receives by the same name as before consecration: "As often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come." (*I Cor.* xi. 23).

I should greatly doubt that you would have approved of the assertion, that this expression, regarding the fruit of the vine, was used after the consecration. You need not be informed, sir, that no one of the Evangelists has undertaken to give us an accurate history of all the things which Jesus said or did; nor to place even what he does relate in the exact order of their occurrence; nor even to relate the facts of any single occurrence in the precise order of their succession. If any one of them appeared to have made such an undertaking, we should select St. Luke, from his expression in verse 3, of chap. i. "It seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the first, to write to thee in order, most excellent Theophilus." Now, in his gospel, he places those words as spoken before and not after the consecration. But this is not the sole ground upon which I rely in stating

that, probably, when you reflect and examine, I do not presume to say that you have not done so, but I wish to excite others to the same, you will conclude that the words were spoken before and not after the consecration: and that the "fruit of the vine" meant that wine which was drunk with the Paschal lamb, and not that which was consecrated and then described by the Saviour as his blood.

The words are related by Matthew, Mark, and Luke to have been used; the two former relate the expression after they mention his words regarding the chalice which he had consecrated. St. Luke states the expression before he narrates the consecration of either the bread or the chalice. Neither of the first two mentions anything which could lead us to a reason for the use of the expression after the solemn blessing, but they appear to have introduced it to supply a previous omission. Such is the impression which arises from reading St. Luke; because, according to the context of that Evangelist, there is plain reason for its previous use. Let us observe the facts in order. The supper of the Paschal lamb, which was a figure of the Eucharist, preceded the institution of this holy Sacrament, and on this night, after abrogating this figure, the reality was to be substituted therefor. Christ was to be slain upon the cross next day, or, indeed, upon that same Judaic day, which commenced at sunset, in the perfection of his age, without a stain of sin; and no bone was to be broken in the body of this lamb of God, by whose blood his people were to be saved and redeemed; and they who were so redeemed, and their successors, were to eat the flesh of that lamb by whose blood this salvation was attained. Christ having loved his own to the end, now sat down with them to conclude by its last prophetic celebration the rite of the typical observance, and after it, to give to them the flesh of the true lamb. This Judaic rite it is well known was always concluded by drinking wine after eating the victim.

"*Luke* xxii. 14, and so forth. And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the twelve Apostles with him. And he said unto them, With desire have I desired to eat this Passover (in the original Greek this Pasch) with you before I suffer: for I say unto you, I will not any more eat thereof until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God."

The meaning of this passage, you know, Right Reverend Sir, is the expression of the Saviour's desire to fulfil in reality the prophetic figure and emblematic type which represented the Eucharist. Hence he tells them that this is the last celebration of the ancient Paschal rite of the Israelites by him, and that he will substitute the new observance of the kingdom of God, or of the religion of his Father which he was about to establish, and he will not any more join in the celebration,

until he shall fulfil that new institution of his Father's kingdom. Henceforth, the observance of the law is to be the oblation of the eucharistic, and not of the figurative sacrifice of the Mosaic dispensation. Such has been the meaning always understood as contained in this passage. St. Matthew and St. Mark, and St. Paul, in *I Cor.* xi. 25, inform us that after supper, whilst they were yet at table, the Saviour instituted the Sacrament; St. Luke proceeds to inform us of the previous conclusion of that Paschal supper.

"Verse 17. And he took the cup and gave thanks, and said, Take this, and divide it amongst yourselves; 18, for I say to you, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God shall come."

This exactly corresponds with his former expression, and shows that he told them to divide between them the libation of the Mosaic rite, for he would not take any until the new institution should be established. The expression thus refers to the wine of the old law, not to the Sacrament of the new law which had not yet been instituted. St. Luke then proceeds to inform us of the new institution.

"19. And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me. 20. Likewise, also, the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you."

There is an evident distinction between the wine mentioned in verses 17 and 18, and the cup mentioned in verse 20. The first was before the consecration of the bread, and the other after it, and after the supper, which preceded it.

Thus it has always been understood, that at the last supper there was the wine by which the Paschal observance was uniformly concluded, and of which the Evangelist treats in verse 18, and concerning which is the expression in *Matthew* xxvi. 29, copied by *Mark* xiv. 25: this was drank before the institution of the Eucharist: and after this was concluded, the Saviour instituted the Sacrament of the new law, fulfilling the ancient figure in the kingdom of his Father; and hence, then, Christ does not use the expression, as the little book says he does, in reference to what he had declared to be his blood. v. 20; though, even if he did, there would be no difficulty therein. To adduce the other text from St. Paul upon the subject is quite unmeaning, for the Apostle writes to persons who had been well instructed in the nature of the contents of the cup both before and after its consecration; and he followed the discipline which lasted for some centuries subsequent, of using upon the subject expressions which could be understood easily by the instructed, but gave to the unbeliever and scoffer no opportunity for blasphemous scurrility if the writing should fall into their hands. As to the

Eucharist being called bread after the consecration, we who plainly declare our belief of transubstantiation, do also frequently call it bread, but such as the Saviour describes in *John*, vi. 51. "The bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world;" and 55, "for my flesh is meat indeed."

Allow me to remark that it is, then, rather a novel mode of proving that Scripture does not support the doctrine of transubstantiation, to produce a text which relates to the wine of the Judaic Paschal observance, and one in which the contents of the cup are not described, and in which the bread of which mention is made is the same that our blessed Redeemer declared was his flesh, which he would give for the life of the world. And no notice whatever is taken of those various parts of the Scripture of the old and of the new law which Catholics adduce in support of their doctrine.

24. page 13. Q. 63. Doth the doctrine of transubstantiation contradict the evidence of our senses?

A. Our sight, our taste, and our smell, all inform us, that the bread and wine remain after consecration exactly what they were before.

Upon this I shall remark that, whether it be owing to my lack of judgment, my prejudice, or the correctness of the views which I have received, I look upon this to be one of the most illogical and unphilosophical answers that ever fell under my observation. Allow me to state the grounds of my assertion. I take the question to be not concerning what is the appearance of the Sacrament, for upon the fact of the unchanged appearance there is complete agreement between us: but the question is concerning the nature of the substance contained under those unchanged appearances, and the answer assumes that it is by the senses we receive evidence of this nature. This I am by no means prepared to admit. I differ very widely from our modern philosophers upon the value and extent of this species of testimony. But suppose the senses here described to be what the Catechism assumes they are, the witnesses of the nature of substances; still the conclusion which it draws will be illogical, for it asserts that universally, without a single exception, the nature of the substance must correspond with the exhibition of the appearance. If I can prove a single case of exception the assertion will be untrue, and the consequence will not exist. I should prove my case by giving evidence of a solitary instance where one description of substance had all the appearance to the senses of a substance of a totally dissimilar nature. I could adduce many instances in nature, but I prefer going at once to an analogous Scriptural case; and

I shall easily prove many such instances, where the true nature of the contained substance was learned only from revelation, the senses testifying truly to the appearances of a different nature. In *Genesis* xviii. we read of Abraham,

"Verse 2. And he lifted up his eyes and looked, and, lo, three men stood by him: and when he saw them, he ran to meet them from the tent door, and bowed himself towards the ground, and said, My Lord, if I have now found favour in thy sight, pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant. 4. Let a little water, I pray you, be fetched, and wash your feet, and rest yourselves under the tree. 5. And I will fetch a morsel of bread, and comfort ye your hearts; after that ye shall pass on: for therefore are ye come to your servant. And they said, So do, as thou hast said. . . . . And he stood by them under the tree, and they did eat. . . . . 16. And the men rose up from thence, and looked towards Sodom: and Abraham went with them to bring them on the way. . . . . And the men turned their faces from thence and went towards Sodom: but Abraham stood yet before the Lord."

I believe, sir, there is no doubt upon your mind of two facts; first, that those were angels; next, that the angelic substance had to the senses of Abraham the human appearance. Let us go to the next chapter, *Genisis* xix. In verse 1, we are told of the visit of the angels to Lot, after departing from Abraham: the subsequent verses show that they had the appearance of men: such was the testimony of their senses to the people of Sodom as well as to Lot. See verses 5, 8, 10, 12, 16. Need I go farther, sir, to show from the Scriptures, that, even supposing the truth of the assumed principle, that it is from the senses we learn the nature of substances, still there are [instances], where the senses tell us one thing, and God, who can clothe any substance with what appearance he pleases, reveals to us [that these are] special cases of exception? Admitting, then, for the moment, that principle which the answer assumes, that the senses are the witnesses of the nature of substance, I would only have to prove that God made the case of the Eucharist an exception, and that his declaration is the evidence thereof. I believe, sir, this sort of reasoning would be conclusive. If, then, the words "this is my body" were intended by the Saviour to mean that what had the appearance of bread had the nature of his body, we should have a case perfectly analogous to that which I have adduced; we would learn the nature of the substance from the testimony of God, and not from the appearance; and we would say that the exception which existed was not a destruction of the rule: and that the ground of the exception was very solid, being no less than the testimony of God. In *Joshua*, verse 13 we read that there appeared to this leader a man with a sword drawn in his hand, and yet the mistake of the senses was corrected by the testimony of revelation, verse 14—this too was an ex-

ception to the general rule: surely, sir, you believe the truth of the exception equally as you believe the truth of the rule. You would, therefore, act more rationally than does the compiler of the little book; for you would allow us to believe that when Christ says "This is my body," he did not mean "this is not my body;" and that when the appearance was that of bread, it was by him indicated to be an exception, because you know that it is in the power of the Creator to give to one substance the appearance of a different one. You will not deny that he could as easily give to the body of Christ the appearance of bread, as he could give to the substance of an angel the appearance of a human body. Now, sir, we believe it to be more rational to say that Jesus Christ meant what he expressed when the declaration is that he will do what is possible, than to assert that he said the very contradictory of what he intended. This is so simple and so plain, that it wins our assent.

Allow me now to state that I altogether dissent from the principle that the senses are the witnesses of the nature of substances. I prefer, a million times over, the philosophical accuracy of the ancient school, which is the jest of the gentry who do not understand it, to the vapid substitute which they have adopted. It may, sir, be weakness, it may be fanaticism, it may be what you please, but so it is. I am one of those who think very poorly of what is called the progress of the human mind upon the subject of metaphysics, or as it is fashionable to call it "mental philosopsy," as if there could be "corporeal philosophy." Neither shall I quarrel with those who may be pleased to think that my opinion itself is poor, and my information on the subject, very limited. Upon this it does not become me to form a disquisition. I shall only state to you what I have imbibed along with the dust of old books, written ages before our modern improvements. First: that the senses take cognizance of appearances and of nothing more: by appearances I mean taste, colour, smell, sound, and what affects feeling; secondly, that we know little, if anything, of the nature of bodies; to know the nature of a body is to know the original materials of its constitution and the mode of their combination, and those materials should be known in their primitive or most simple state, and the knowledge of the combination should include all the intermediate process in all its details, from that primitive element to the actual existing state in which the body is found. I shall leave to chemists to say how far their knowledge of the nature of any one substance extends. I cannot, at this moment, point out a single substance whose nature I know. Thirdly, that what we generally call the nature of a body is only a general notion of its

properties: that is, we say we know the nature of a substance when we are aware of several of the uses to which it might be applied, and the consequences of such application in a larger or smaller quantity, simply or in the combination, or variously modified. Fourthly: that we know those properties from observation, reflection, and testimony, that is, by experience and judgment, not by our senses only. Fifthly, that from experience and judgment we have discovered that generally speaking similar substances have similar appearances. Thus we reason by analogy, that where the properties are similar, and where the appearances are similar the substances are similar: but this is not an universal rule, it is only general as every accurate philosopher will admit. Hence it is not true that the senses are our witnesses to give evidence of the nature of substances, for we know very little of their nature; and what we do know is founded by the judgment upon analogy and experience and testimony combined. The question before us is not whether our senses are contradicted; we say they are not; for they testify to us that there do exist the appearances of bread and wine, which testimony we acknowledge to be correct; but the question is, "Do bread and wine always exist where their appearance is exhibited?" We say it is a general rule that they do: but it is not an universal rule, for there might be an exception: and we do know that God can give to one substance the appearance of another, and if he declares what is the nature of the substance, his positive testimony is far better than our imperfect opinion. In the case of the Eucharist, his declaration that it is the body of Christ is true, the testimony of the senses that the appearance is that of bread, is also true. Here is no contradiction to the senses, but there is a correction of the judgment by the evidence that this special case is an exception to the general rule. The correction is found in the plain declaration of an Almighty God, who can neither err nor deceive.

I know that where no exception exists the general rule holds good, and my judgment and belief are regulated by this principle. My senses always testify to me that the appearances of bread and wine exist, that testimony is always true, the result is, that by the general rule I conclude; if this be not a case within the exception the substance is that of bread and wine. But I do sometimes receive evidence that the case is within the exception, and not within the rule, because I witness the consecration, or I find the appearances in that place, and kept in a manner which only happens when the case is an exception and not within the rule: it will be now as great a deviation from sound logic and common sense for me to say that it is only bread, as it would be for me, where I had no evidence of the exception, to take it from under the rule

and to assert that bread is the body of Christ. I submit then, Right Reverend Sir, that the doctrine of transubstantiation does not contradict the senses, because they only testify to the existence of appearances which do continue to exist; for the process of transubstantiation changes the substance without affecting the appearance.

25. page 13. Q. 64. What will be the consequence, if our sense constantly deceive us, in the plainest cases?

A. The consequences will be very bad; for our Saviour proved his doctrine, by the miracles which he wrought before men's eyes; but, if men's senses may deceive them in the plainest cases, there is an end of all miracles at once, and this great proof of the truth of Christianity is quite taken away.

After my remarks upon the former question and answer, this sophism is easily disposed of. Our senses do not deceive us in the case of the Eucharist: this answer has then no basis to rest upon; but, independently of that, suppose the senses had been deceived, which is the expression that ought to be substituted for "our senses deceive us," it would not be constantly, but in a single instance, that of the Eucharist; and it would not be in the plainest case, but in a case where Jesus Christ had used an expression which, according to millions, meant that the senses were deceived, and according to myriads, had no such meaning. Hence this wretched sophistry is upset, upon three grounds. It assumes an analogy, where none exists; it assumes that a rule is of no value, because there exists an exception which, by unerring evidence, God's declaration, is plainly specified in a single case to be taken from under its operation, whereas all men of common sense tell us that the exception confirms the rule itself; it assumes that the senses are the witnesses of the nature, whereas they only are witnesses of the appearance of the body. I apprehend, sir, that it would much more tend to take away all the proofs of the truth of Christianity to say, that Christ speaks the contradictory to what he intends to teach: so that when he said, "This is my body," he meant "This is not my body." This is not the only case, sir, in which Christianity has been undermined, by taking away the great doctrines which the Catholic Church has received from the Saviour. The Unitarians will ask, what is to be thought of the value of your senses in proving miracles, if their testimony is not also to be trusted, in ascertaining the nature of Jesus Christ; he had only the appearance of a man: therefore, say they, he was only a man. You will proclaim that this case was an exception, and that the testimony of God informs you that his nature was not that of a mere man, but of a God-man. I have only to request you will be good

enough to admit the principle to be at my service, as much as at yours: it is our common property; and it is my answer to this little sophism. I need not tell you the use that Voltaire, Hume, Rousseau, and so many other enlightened philosophers, made of your principle, that the senses were the first and best source of evidence. I rest in hopes, Right Reverend Sir, that you will prove your regard for preserving even the name of Christianity, by rejecting the delusive and unreal mockery which our modern men of mind have thought proper to substitute for the good old metaphysics and logic of a more wise and less boastful age. There is, sir, a luxurious period of learning, as of nations, in which fastidious folly depraves the taste, and enervates the mind. I apprehend that infidel Europe has commenced this vicious era, and nothing is better calculated to produce infidelity, than the philosophism of infidels.

26. page 13. Q. 65. Doth the doctrine of transubstantiation contradict our reason?

A. Yes: for our reason assures us, that it is impossible for the same body to be in different places at the same time.

What if there be in this answer, as connected with the question, a very serious mistake? What if it be that sophism which logicians call *transitus a genere ad genus*? that is, a syllogism of four terms? I shall simplify it. The premises are: "A body, in its natural state or mode of existence, cannot be in more than one place at the same time." The conclusion drawn is: "Therefore a body, in a supernatural state of existence, cannot be in more than one place at the same time?" Will Bishop Bowen say that a body in its natural mode of existence, and a body in its supernatural mode of existence, are the same in all respects, and have the same properties? I apprehend he will draw as wide a distinction between them, as St. Paul did, when he wrote to the people of Corinth, (*I Ep.* c. xv. 42, 43, 44.) "So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption: it is sown in dishonour; it is raised in glory: it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power: it is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body." Thus the body of Christ, in its state after the resurrection, that is, in its spiritual state, if I may use the apostolic expression, is as real a body as it was in its previous natural state, but is in a different mode of existence; and we are taught that the body of Christ is in this supernatural state in the Eucharist, not in its natural mode of mortal existence, but in its spiritualized state of immortal existence, such as it is after its resurrection. The law which asserts that one body cannot be in more than

one place at one time, is in fact applicable only to bodies in their natural state of existence. Hence, to apply it to a body, in a supernatural or spiritualized state of existence, is anything but correct reasoning, and on this ground, the compilers and approvers of the little book have made a most egregious philosophical blunder. The law which you apply to the Eucharist, regards only bodies in their natural state, the body contained in the Eucharist is not in its natural state. This application, then, is evidently that sophism which I described.

But, sir, you perhaps do not recollect, though it is altogether unnecessary for our present purpose, that some very respectable philosophers have questioned the universal application of the law to bodies even in their natural state, and of course you know that the only bodies of which natural philosophers treat are geometrical, which this certainly is not, and physical, in the definition of which they are not agreed, for a very obvious reason, because no person can accurately define that object, whose nature he does not know; and it is on all hands agreed, that though we do know several of the properties of various bodies, yet we do not know their nature: and the laws which we at present admit, are merely the results of observation and reflection, so that in fact, they might be rather called theories than laws. Many persons, even now, believe the Peripatetic definition to be better than the Newtonian: nor can it be shown that the Epicurean is not the mode of linking monods, so as to form larger bodies; the Cartesian is certainly more simple: my only remark would be, that in this state of imperfect knowledge, I cannot help regarding the person who would tell me that he knows in what the essence of body consists, as more than man, or less than a philosopher: and I range myself under the standard of those who say, that very little being known upon the subject, we might greatly err, from want of knowing more; and we should be very cautious of giving the result of our observations a range beyond the actual observations themselves. We have observed bodies only in their natural state of existence: we must confine our results to that state. We have never had a body in the supernatural state, such as it is described by the Apostle, under our observation: we ought not, therefore, to extend the result to that. That such bodies do exist, we must believe, or else we must reject his testimony; if we reject his testimony, all revealed religion goes by the board, so that we are confined in this dilemma—There do exist bodies in a state which is incorruptible and spiritual, or else revealed religion is a delusion. From this, I proceed to say, that no body which the laws of natural philosophy regard, is incorruptible or spiritual. The doctrine of transubstantiation teaches, that the body of

Christ in the Eucharist, is of that description to which those laws are not applicable: so that, in this view, it is anything but philosophic to assert that the doctrine of transubstantiation contradicts our reason.

I trust, sir, you will excuse me for expressing an opinion, which some few years of close and not very confined observation have fully established in my mind, viz., that the great cause of religious error is generally to be found in this same sophism: trying the truth or falsehood of revealed facts which have never come under our observation, not by examining the competency of the testimony which gives us the information; but by examining whether the fact accords with our own observation in a totally distinct province; i. e., testing supernatural objects by natural laws. You charge it upon those who try the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation by the rule which you apply to the Eucharist; the Unitarian charges it upon the infidel who denies the existence of miracles, and of revelation. I believe, sir, the rule is good to its whole extent or it is totally false: I reject it altogether. I test natural facts by the laws of nature, and I test supernatural facts by examining whether the witness is credible and competent, and then receiving his testimony. You would smile at the simplicity of the Eastern monarch who treated the Dutch ambassador as a knave, because he ventured to assert that in cold weather the surface of the water became frozen in Holland. "You have told me several strange things," said the Asiatic, "and hitherto I believed, though reluctantly, but you have presumed too much upon my credulity, by supposing I could believe what contradicts reason itself, that water which is only a liquid, could become so hard and consistent by the mere operation of cold, or what you call freezing, as to bear several persons upon its surface. Begone! and recollect that it is to my clemency alone, you owe that life which you have justly forfeited by your audacity." Alas! Right Reverend Sir! how many of us resemble this sovereign?—Mites upon the surface of one of the smallest globes of the millions which harmoniously revolve around the throne of the Eternal; we would bring down the elevation of his wisdom to the minute speck of our grasp, we would measure the vast compass of his work in our almost viewless span, and we would excite the pitying smile of angels by summoning the Creator of the cherubim before the tribunal of our reason!!—We live; can we comprehend what is life? We die: can we understand the nature of death? What is the nature of that link which binds the soul to the body? In what does the dissolution of their union consist? What is the nature of spirit? What is the nature of body? How is that body to arise from the dead? My reason is bewildered in all this; perhaps

yours can elucidate what to me is dark, shadowy, and impalpable. Excuse me, sir, when from my own experience, I confess my own folly. I once looked upon my reason as the great source of knowledge, and the arbitress of truth; my opinion is changed, and I am either nearer to wisdom, or deeply deluded; because I am far from estimating my reason as highly as I used; and I avow, that if I was not taught by it to listen to the oracles of God without testing their truth at its tribunal, I am certain that I would not believe in the exisence of the Deity himself, and I doubt if I would believe in my own. In calm sincerity, I assure you that I have endeavoured dispassionately to examine the correct results of the principle laid down in the little Catechism, and by merely following whither it led, I became convinced that the disciples of Pyrrho reasoned fairly from an erroneous principle. This, sir, has been with me no hasty result; during years it has been the theme of my close investigation. I believe myself to be immortal, and that when this transient twilight of my present life shall have passed away, the more important period of my existence will commence with the beaming of eternity above my horizon. I desire to be happy, and I feel that the knowledge of truth and practical adherence thereto form the foundation of happiness: to seek after it was my daily occupation, and the labour of my night, and I am unconscious of having omitted any means within my reach. I will not presume, however, to assert that you have not been equally industrious and more successful. But I appeal to your experience, and I confidently ask, as you have risen in knowledge, and your eye has taken in a more enlarged circumference, have you not found increasing evidence of the insufficiency of your reason, in the multiplication of objects which surpass your comprehension: and are you not more firmly convinced of the ignorance under which we labour regarding the objects with which we are most familiar: and do you know anything more common than four persons to charge each other with acting unreasonably in cases which they have imperfectly, if at all examined? I do not know of any case which is to me a stronger exemplication of this than the assertion that the doctrine of transubstantiation contradicts reason.

As this is a topic upon which we are said to be most unreasonable, I have taken the liberty of entering much more largely upon it than upon any other, and at the expense not only of your patience in reading what I have put together, but also of the space usually occupied by other subjects in the *Miscellany*. I shall therefore present to you and to my readers another view of this question.

Several Protestant writers have quoted against our doctrine, texts

which Calvin has adduced to prove that Christ is in heaven and is not to leave it until the day of judgment. They are the following:

"*Mark* xvi. 19. So after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God.

"*Acts* i. 9. And when he had spoken these things, while they beheld, he was taken up; and a cloud received him out of their sight.

"*Acts* iii. 20, 21. And he shall send Jesus Christ, which before was preached unto you: whom the heavens must receive until the time of the restitution of all things.

"*Philippians* iii. 20. For our conversation is in heaven; from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ."

Upon which Calvin remarks,

"The Scripture testifies that Christ, so far as regards his human nature, has ascended into heaven; and is there to remain until the day of judgment; and then at length, and not previously, is to return to this lower world; it is not therefore true that he frequently descends for the purpose of being in the Eucharist, as the papists would have it."

Now our church distinctly agrees with the writers who reason thus; first, that Christ ascended into heaven with his human body and soul: next, that he as man is at the right hand of God; and lastly, that from the moment of his ascension he was to continue there to the day of judgment. But we contend that unless he was really and bodily present, upon earth also, at a time within that period, St. Paul has stated a distinct and deliberate falsehood, and so also has St. Luke; and if Christ was bodily present at the same time at the right hand of his Father in heaven, at the moment that he was bodily present upon the earth, it is a fact that such a body as he has, can be in different places at the same time, and if the fact be so, it is not contradictory to reason, because no fact can contradict reason. As both sides are agreed that he always continued to be really and bodily present in heaven, it only remains for me to show that he was also really and bodily present upon earth at the same time.

"*Acts* ix. 3. And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus: and suddenly there shined round about him, a light from heaven: 4. And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? 5. And he said, Who art thou Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. . . . . 7. And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing a voice but seeing no man."

In this place a distinction is drawn between Saul who did see Jesus, though the fact be not distinctly revealed here, but only alluded to, and the companions who only heard the voice, but saw no man. Saul rose up blind, but he saw Jesus before the blindness came upon him; for in verse 22, we read,

"And Ananias went his way, and entered into the house; and putting his hands on him, said, Brother Saul, the Lord even Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the way

as thou camest, hath sent me that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost.''

This is unequivocal evidence of the fact that Jesus appeared to him, as well as spoke to him, and the text draws a manifest distinction between this bodily appearance and the visionary appearance to Ananias himself, revealed in verse 10.

''And there was a certain disciple at Damascus, named Ananias; and to him said the Lord in a vision, Ananias, And he said, Behold, I am here, Lord.''

And between his bodily appearance and the vision of Saul himself, related in verse 11 and 12.

''Inquire in the house of Judas for one called Saul of Tarsus: for behold he prayeth, and hath seen in a vision a man named Ananias,'' and so forth.

We find the evidence still confirmed in *Acts* xxii. verse 14, by the relation of Paul himself, repeating the words of Ananias, upon that occasion.

''And he said, The God of our fathers hath chosen thee that thou shouldst know his will, and see that Just One, and shoudst hear the voice of his mouth. 15. For thou shalt be his witness unto all men, of what thou hast seen and heard.''

We have again in chapter xxvi. the account given by St. Paul to Agrippa of the same occurrence, where he states the word of the Lord Jesus to him, verse 16.

''But rise and stand upon thy feet; for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of those things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee.''

Thus, sir, I believe it is very evident that St. Paul saw the Lord Jesus really and bodily upon earth, and not in a vision, nor in heaven. Perhaps a few observations more of St. Paul, will make this if possible more plain. When in his first Epistle to the Corinthians he is showing that he has equal authority with those who were first chosen to the apostleship: in order to meet the possible cavil that they at least were more favoured in having spoken and lived with Jesus, he asks in chap. xix. verse 1, this question, ''Have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord?'' and in chapter xv., his object being to prove the resurrection of the body of Christ, he enumerates the witnesses who saw him in his true and real body after that great event.

''4. And that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the Scriptures: 5. And that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve: 6. After that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once: of whom the greater part remain until this present, but some are fallen asleep: 7. After that he was seen of James: then of all the Apostles: 8. And last of all, he was seen of me also, as of one born out of time.''

I have been perhaps unnecessarily tedious on this topic; but it is here very manifest that unless the witnesses saw the real body of Christ

after his resurrection their testimony would be unavailing, and St. Paul states that he was a witness equally competent as the others, and must therefore have seen the real and substantial body of Christ on his way to Damascus, which proves clearly, if the Scripture be true, that his body was then in different places at the same time.

But sir, this should cause no wonder, for we have also manifest scriptural evidence that this same body was in other instances as little under the influence of other laws by which we believe bodies in their natural state to be regulated and controlled. Thus, not to delay with the specifications of the proof, I shall only advert to the law and the facts. One law is that two bodies cannot occupy the same space at the same time. Yet, sir, you who believe, if I am correctly informed, in the inviolate and integral virginity of his mother, must believe that in coming forth from her womb this law was not observed: if you believe with all the ancient fathers as to the manner of the resurrection you will believe that he carried that body through the sepulchral stone, before the angel rolled it away. You will also find the violation of that law by that body, in *John* xx. 19, and again in the same, chapter 26. One remark more, sir, and I have done. If that body be spiritual, as St. Paul says of arisen bodies, it must have the properties of spirit, one of which, as far as we can understand, is, not to be circumscribed by material boundaries, not to correspond with the extension of space, and yet to exist in place, and to be whole and entire in many places at the same time. Will you bind spiritual or spiritualized substance by the laws of mere matter? I address you, sir, with unfeigned respect and not in the language of incivility when I state that our knowledge of things is generally more limited than we imagine: we too often mistake sounds for sense: and estimate our own reason more highly than it deserves. I fervently desire that you and the good ladies, who under your sanction have so thoughtlessly charged us with the contradiction of senses and reason, may reflect better upon the subject, and see that the simple declaration of the Son of God is better evidence of the truth of supernatural facts, than all the powerful investigation of the laws of nature by our feeble reason: allow me besides to indulge the hope that you might be induced also to admit that amongst the myriads who believe in transubstantiation, there are many who know how to make a proper use of their senses and their reason, whilst they bow with humility to the revelation of a God of truth and power.

I remain,

Right Reverend Sir,

Yours, and so forth, B. C.

LETTER IX.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Sept. 16, 1828.

To the Right Reverend Doctor Bowen, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of South Carolina, and so forth.

Right Reverend Sir:—My last communication was so very long that I shall endeavour to make amends by having the present very short. However, the subject of which I treated in my preceding letter required to be disposed of as a whole, and therefore I preferred being tedious to being more obscure. I continue my examination of inconsistencies.

27. page 13. Q. 66. Doth not that doctrine betray men into idolatry?

A. Yes; for as there is no change made by consecration in the nature of the bread or the wine, the worship that is paid to them is the grossest idolatry.

This is easily disposed of. Idolatry is an act of the will deliberately formed, whereby the homage due to the eternal God alone, is given to a creature. Roman Catholics believe Christ, who is the eternal God, to be really present in the sacrament of the Eucharist, and they do not worship bread and wine, but only Christ, whether present or absent. If they believed that only bread and wine were there, they would not worship those substances; hence there is no deliberate act of the will to give the creature the worship due to the Creator, and hence there is no idolatry. The compiler of the Catechism has made so many gross mistakes, that it will be no novelty for him to learn that this is a new one. And one would only ask where he learned that no change was made in the nature of the bread and wine? Surely he will not learn it from unchanged appearances, when our Saviour tells him that the nature is changed. "This is my body," is a sufficient testimony that this is a case of exception from the general rule.

28. page 14. Q. 74. Is the absolution of a priest necessary?

A. No; for in Scripture forgiveness of sins is promised without any other condition than sincere repentance and amendment:—"Repent and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out." (*Acts* iii. 19).

Now, sir, upon the principle here laid down, I could prove that going to communion is not necessary; I could prove that baptism is not necessary; I could prove that the existence of a Church is not necessary; that the belief of the articles of religion is not necessary; I could prove that going to hear the minister preach or pray is unnecessary; I could prove that ordination and a ministry are unnecessary. Because all that we need is forgiveness of sins, which according to your explanation of

the text above cited, may be obtained without recourse to, or use of any of those conditions. Surely, sir, you are not prepared for this result, and you cannot therefore have approved the principle of which it is a necessary consequence.

I must beg to state here that what we call the sacrament of penance consists of a sincere sorrow for past sin, joined with a love of God, a firm purpose of amendment, and a detestation of sin and its occasions and causes; next of a confession of those sins for the purposes of Christ's institution; and a determination to do what we can, in union with the all-sufficient satisfaction of the Redeemer, not to supply any defect of his satisfaction, but to entitle ourselves to his mercy by having the spirit of satisfying, as well as to make satisfaction to our neighbours for any injury done to their property, their character, or their feelings: the absolution given in this case makes the sacrament of penance. The virtue of penance comprises the disposition above recited, and I have to complain that in the questions and answers, 74, 75, 76, 77 and 78, our doctrine is by no means exhibited correctly; it is worse than caricatured.

29. page 15. Q. 79. Is extreme unction a sacrament?

A. It is so far from being a sacrament, that it is not once mentioned in the New Testament: the anointing there recommended, being for the recovery of a sick person (*James* v. 14); whereas extreme unction is applied with quite a different design; viz., to prepare him for the other world.

This answer is not only an incorrect representation of our doctrine, but is also inconsistent with your own version of the Bible.

Our doctrine is, that extreme unction has been instituted by the Saviour for the strength and comfort of persons in danger of death by sickness; that strength and comfort regard both worlds. Its principal effect is removal of sins or the remains of sin if they as yet exist in the person. Next, its solacing the sick person or raising him up with spiritual strength, and thus if it be the will of God to summon him to another world, he is prepared therefor. But should the Lord yet spare him on earth, besides raising up by spiritual solace, the Roman Catholic Church teaches that frequently he is more speedily and effectually restored to health, by the prayer of faith and the unction of the Lord. The inconsistency of the answer with the Bible is at once perceived by the simple view of the answer and the text.

"*James* v. 14. Is any sick amongst you? Let him call the elders, (πρεσβυτερος priests) of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. 15. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the

Lord shall raise him up. And if he have committed (if he be in) sins, they shall be forgiven him.''

The Church of England, even when it became Protestant, was very reluctant to give up this Sacrament. She first reduced the number of places to which the oil was to be applied; she next left the use of the oil to the option of the patient, (''if the sick person desires to be anointed,'') and then omitted the anointing, retaining the prayer; which was at length also laid aside.

29. page 15. Q. 80. Are holy orders a sacrament?

A. Holy orders are the solemn appointment of certain persons to the ministry; which, though according to Christ's command, is not a sacrament; not being necessary for all to receive.

Upon the same principle the Eucharist would not be a sacrament, for ''not being necessary for all to receive.'' I was not before aware that ''being necessary for all to receive,'' entered into the definition of a sacrament. The usual definition which I found in your Catechism and other works, only gave two requisites. 1. ''An outward and visible sign. 2. Of an inward and spiritual grace''—and it has sometimes been added, ''instituted by Christ.'' But I was not led to believe, nor am I as yet under the belief that, ''necessary for all to receive'' is essential to the notion of a sacrament according to your doctrines. Indeed I think I see the contrary in *The Familiar Exposition*, page 40, part v. section 1, A. 2.

30. page 15. Q. 81. Is matrimony a sacrament?

A. Matronimy is a holy and honourable state of life, and was ordained by God between our first parents, in the time of our innocency; but being so long before Christ, cannot be deemed a sacrament of his church.

I am of opinion, sir, that this is a very insufficient reason, because an outward and visible sign which existed before Christ, might by his institution be enriched with grace which it previously had not, and thus become what it had not previously been, viz., a sacrament. For instance, baptism, or the ceremony of washing, existed long before Christ, yet he constituted baptism to be a sacrament; so therefore might he constitute matrimony. And if your little book gives a sufficient reason for making it impossible that matrimony could be made a sacrament, can we consistently say that he could make baptism a sacrament? I believe, sir, the Israelites had also a sort of family communion in bread and wine, and the custom still subsists amongst them in some families even in this city; it is derived from a period long before the Christian era; will it then be consistent, if this principle be correct, to say that Christ made bread and

wine a sacrament? I should hope, therefore, that you did not approve of this answer.

31. page 15. Q. 82. What do you think of the obligation which the clergy, and all the nuns and friars, and others of the Church of Rome are under not to marry?

A. It is so far from being commanded by God, that forbidding to marry (*I Tim.* iv. 3) is set down as one of the marks of them who depart from the faith; and is often found to be a dreadful snare to the conscience, and an inlet to the most abominable wickedness.

You might without inconsistency approve of this answer. But, sir, was it not very strange that it should be given in a country where the statutes of several of the colleges lay an obligation upon the officers not to marry? Nor are these, sir, the statutes of Roman Catholics in every instance. They are those of Queen Elizabeth, the great foundress of the Protestant Church in Great Britain; and the Parliament has in several instances declined repealing them, and thus this great Protestant Council forbids to marry. Was it not something more than strange for the English compiler to act as he has done?

32. page 15. Q. 83. Why is the distinction of meats, as practised in the Church of Rome, unlawful and superstitious?

A. To abstain from meats is another of the marks of them that depart from the faith (*I Tim.* iv. 3). The practice hath, in fact, destroyed the moral use of fasting, by teaching that luxury and drunkenness are consistent with fasting, provided particuliar meats are abstained from.

Still more extraordinary is this answer from a member of the Church of England, whose Common Prayer-book contains *Tables and rules for the movable and immovable feasts, together with the days of fasting or abstinence throughout the whole year.* You, too, sir, have such a prayer in your Common Prayer-book, with this difference, that therein the designation is days of fasting and abstinence. And you have considerably diminished the number of days. Your American Table also states, after specifying two fast days, viz., Ash-Wednesday, and Good-Friday, "other Days of Fasting: on which the church requires such a measure of abstinence, as is more especially suited to extraordinary acts and exercises of devotion." It then enumerates for us, 1st. The season of Lent. 2d. The Ember days. 3d. Rogation days. 4th. All the Fridays in the year, except Christmas-day. And in fact, several pious members of your church do even now observe several of those days by abstaining from meat as your "church requires." The practice was much more general amongst them fifty years ago, and still it is religiously observed

by great numbers at the other side of the Atlantic. Good sir, if "to abstain from meats is another of the marks of them that depart from the faith," how deplorable is the situation of the most pious portion of your flock? They who despise the requisition of your church, have kept the faith: they who obey it, have departed from the faith!! I recollect the difficulty of a young gentleman who declared that abstinence from sin and not from meats was the intent of the Rubric, upon being asked by a lady. "Then sir, am I to understand that the church to which you belong, commands a total abstinence from sin on Ash-Wednesday and Good-Friday, permits a more moderate indulgence in sin during the season of Lent, on Ember and Rogation days, and Fridays, but sets no limit to crime on the other days of the year?" It was an annoying repartee; but God forbid that such a calumny should be seriously uttered against your church, even by one who is accused of trafficking in licenses to commit sin. No, sir: your church, whatever her doctrinal errors might be, teaches a high morality, and does not grant a license to sin.

I shall conclude this letter and my enumeration of the inconsistencies with the following extract from the second part of the *Homily on Fasting*, book ii. pages 240, and so forth.

"For the better understanding of this question, it is necessary that we make a difference between the policies of princes, made for the ordering of their common weals, in provision of things serving to the most sure defence of their subjects and countries, and between ecclesiastical policies, in prescribing such works, by which, as by secondary means, God's wrath may be pacified, and his mercy purchased. Positive laws made by princes, for conservation of their policy, not repugnant unto God's law, ought of all Christian subjects with reverence of the magistrate to be obeyed, not only for fear of punishment, but also, as the Apostle saith, for conscience sake. Conscience, I say, not of the thing, which of its own nature is indifferent, but of our obedience, which by the law of God we owe unto the magistrate, as unto God's minister. By which positive laws, though we subjects, for certain times and days appointed, be restrained from some kinds of meats and drink, which God by his holy word hath left free to be taken and used of all men, with thanksgiving, in all places, and at all times; yet for that such laws of princes and other magistrates are not made to put holiness in one kind of meat and drink more than another, to make one day more holy than another, but are grounded merely upon policy, all subjects are bound in conscience to keep them by God's commandment, who by the Apostle willeth all, without exception, to submit themselves unto the authority of the higher powers. And in this point, concerning our duties, which be here dwelling in England, environed with the sea, as we be, we have great occasion in reason to take the commodities of the water, which Almighty God, by his divine Providence, hath laid so nigh unto us, whereby the increase of victuals upon the land may the better be spared and cherished, to the sooner reducing of victuals to a more moderate price, to the better sustenance of the poor. And doubtless he seemeth to be too dainty an Englishman, who, considering the great commodities which may ensue, will not for-

bear some piece of his licentious appetite upon the ordinance of his prince, with the consent of the wise of the realm. What good English heart would not wish that the old ancient glory should return to the realm, wherein it hath with great commendations excelled before our days, in the furniture of the navy of the same? What will more daunt the hearts of the adversaries, than to see us well fenced and armed on the sea, as we be reported to be on the land? If the prince requested our obedience to forbear one day from flesh more than we do, and to be contented with one meal in the same day, should not our own commodity thereby persuade us to subjection? But now that two meals be permitted on that day to be used, which sometime our elders in very great numbers in the realm did use with one only spare meal, and that is fish only; shall we think it so great a burthen that is prescribed?

"Furthermore, consider the decay of the towns nigh the seas, which should be most ready by the number of the people there to repulse the enemy; and we which dwell further off upon the land, having them as our buckler to defend us, should be more in safety. If they be our neighbours, why should we not wish them to prosper? If they be our defence, as nighest at hand to repel the enemy, to keep out the rage of the seas, which else would break in upon our fair pastures, why should we not cherish them? Neither do we urge that in the ecclesiastical policy, prescribing a form of fasting, to humble ourselves in the sight of Almighty God, and that order, which was used among the Jews, and practised by Christ's Apostles after his ascension, is of such force and necessity, that that only ought to be used among Christians, and none other; for that were to bind God's people unto the yoke and burthen of Moses' policy; yea, it were the very way to bring us, which are set at liberty by the freedom of Christ's Gospel, into the bondage of the Law again, which God forbid that any man should attempt or purpose. But to this end it serveth, to show how far the order of fasting now used in the church at this day differeth from that which was then used. God's church ought not, neither may it be so tied to that or any other order now made, or hereafter to be made and devised by the authority of man, but it may lawfully, for just causes, alter, change, or mitigate these ecclesiastical decrees and orders, yea, recede wholly from them, and break them, when they tend either to superstition, or to impiety; when they draw the people from God, rather than work any edification in them. This authority Christ himself used, and left it to his church. He used it, I say, for the order or decree made by the elders for washing oft times, which was diligently observed of the Jews; yet tending to superstition, our Saviour Christ altered and changed the same in his church, into a profitable sacrament of our regeneration, or new birth. This authority to mitigate laws and decrees ecclesiastical, the Apostles practised, when they, writing from Jerusalem unto the congregation that was at Antioch, signified unto them, that they would not lay any further burthen upon them, but these necessaries: that is, that they should absain from things offered unto idols, from blood, from that which is strangled, and from fornication, notwithstanding that Moses' law required many other observances. This authority to change the orders, decrees, and constitutions of the church, was after the Apostles' time used of the fathers about the manner of fasting, as it appeareth in the Tripartite History, where it is thus written—'Touching fasting, we find that it was diversely used in divers places, by divers men. For they at Rome fast three weeks together before Easter, saving upon the Saturdays and Sundays, which fast they call Lent.' And after a few lines in the same place it followeth: 'They have not all one uniform order in fasting. For some do fast and abstain from both fish and flesh: Some, when

they fast, eat nothing but fish. Others there are, which, when they fast, eat of all water-fowls, as well as of fish, grounding themselves upon Moses, that such fowls have their substance of the water, as the fishes have. Some others, when they fast will neither eat herbs nor eggs. Some fasters there are, that eat nothing but dry bread. Others, when they fast, eat nothing at all, no, not so much as dry bread. Some fast from all manner of food till night, and then eat, without making any choice or difference of meats.' And a thousand such like divers kind of fasting may be fround in divers places of the world, of divers men diversely used. And for all this great diversity in fasting, yet charity, the very true bond of Christian peace, was not broken, neither did the diversity of fasting break at any time their agreement and concord in faith. To abstain sometimes from certain meats, not because the meats are evil, but because they are not necessary, this abstinence, saith St. Augustine, is not evil. And to restrain the use of meat when necessity and time shall require, this, saith he, doth properly pertain to Christian men.

"Thus ye have heard, good people, first that Christian subjects are bound even in conscience to obey princes' laws, which are not repugnant to the laws of God. Ye have also heard that Christ's church is not so bound to observe any order, law, or decree made by man, to prescribe a form in religion, but that the church hath full power and authority from God to change and alter the same, when need shall require; which hath been shown you by the example of our Saviour Christ, by the practice of the Apostles, and of the fathers since that time."

This contains a curious specimen of the principle upon which the first Protestants of the Church of England were encouraged to abstain from meats, and also shows that it was an ancient Christian custom. The text does not regard our abstinence, but that of the Gnostics, Manicheans, and others.

I shall take another view of this little book. I remain, Right Reverend Sir,

Yours, and so forth, B. C.

LETTER X.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Sept. 22, 1828.

To the Right Reverend Doctor Bowen, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of South Carolina, and so forth, and so forth, and so forth.

Right Reverend Sir:—I shall take two more views of the little publication, before I close this series of letters. The first will be to examine the truth of its historical statements.

1. page 3. Q. 15. How do you prove that none of these are infallible?
   A. From many great errors into which several Popes and councils have fallen, and from the contradiction of their decrees: one Pope condemning what his predecessor had approved, and one council rejecting the decrees of another council.

It would have been as well to state what those errors and contradictions are. Indeed, sir, the simple statement would at once silence Roman Catholics. How stands the case? We say, that though the Pope might in his soul be an heretic or an infidel, though he as an individual, or even in his official capacity, might teach error or heresy, still the church, which is not represented by the Pope alone, but by the Pope and a general council united, will infallibly teach us the true doctrine of Christ. Now, sir, in this point of fact, it is untrue that any Pope and general council conjointly have taught any error. This is the first historical mistake.

2. It is not historically true that any one general council contradicted any doctrinal decree or any other general council.

3. It is not historically true that any one general council rejected any doctrinal decree of any other general council. If my assertions are not correct, you can easily show their falsehood by producing the contradictory facts together with their proof; you have my pledge, which I here renew, that if you adduce such proof, I shall renounce at once the communion of the Roman Catholic Church, and immediately avow that it is erroneous.

I am not required by my principles to hold that the Pope is infallible, and will not volunteer to wage an unnecessary war; but, Right Reverend Sir, I believe it would be a task not easily performed, did you undertake to prove that one Pope condemned a doctrine which his predecessor had approved.

The original Catechism has by the kindness of the editor some notes added, and amongst them is one which asserts that some Popes have been heretical, and to support the assertion he makes two statements.

4. That Pope Liberius in the fourth century joined the Arians.

If by this the editor intends to assert that he joined in their heresy, I beg leave distinctly to deny it, and to state that however culpable this persecuted and almost martyred exile might have been for having weakly consented to the condemnation of Athanasius, not for his doctrines, but for the crimes which were falsely and maliciously imputed to him, yet he never joined the Arians in their heresy.

5. That Pope Liberius subscribed an heretical creed.

That this has been frequently asserted and falsely asserted, I admit: but I distinctly deny that it is a fact. You, Right Reverend Sir, and perhaps some of the good ladies who publish this statement, will admit that a creed is not heretical merely because the word ὁμουσιον is omitted, and if you will have the goodness to examine the testimony a little closely, you will perceive that before he left Sirmium this Pontiff pub-

lished a distinct and precise condemnation of the Arians. Indeed, sir, though I might not expect from the ladies a full investigation of the testimonies of SS. Athanasius, Jerome, Ambrose, Basil, and Epiphanius, as well as those of Ammianus, Marcellinus, Ruffinus, Sulpitius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Nicephorus upon those subjects, still I must suppose you to be acquainted with them, and therefore incapable of approving the above assertion as historically correct. I have not just now at hand the Centuriators of Magdeburg, but I believe even they do not attempt to hazard their reputation, such as it is, by making any such assertion. This, sir, is the fifth historical blunder in eight lines.

The editor next very sapiently tells us that "at times there have been two and three claimants of the papacy, each of whom had the support of no small portion of the Christian world." I admit the fact, and draw from it the same conclusion that I would from one of daily occurrence: that "at times there have been two and three claimants of an estate, each of whom had either a good title or a specious pretext." My conclusion is, that the estate probably belongs to one of them, and the proper tribunal will decide who is the true owner. The great body of the Church, whether assembled in Council, or scattered through the world, have decided which was the true Pope and which was the usurper; but the office continues, and now we all agree that Hannibal della Genga, commonly known as Leo XII, is lawfully and validly and rightfully the unquestioned incumbent.

6. No general council was held during the first three centuries, says our editor, in page 4, note—though the Catechism tells in A. 19 of the same page, that St. James presided at the general council of Jerusalem in the first century. So much for the historical value of the sixth blunder. I did hope that you had not concurred in it: nor in the next.

7. Three general councils were held in the fourth century, as the editor informs us. You of course call that held at Nice, in 325, and that held at Constantinople, in 381, general councils: they make two; but I suspect you will be equally at a loss as I am, to find another in that same century. Thus my respect for your information upon a subject which must be familiar with every tyro in theology, led me to doubt that you had approved of what Bishop White had sanctioned.

8. The Bishops of Rome did not call those three councils in the fourth century, says your editor.

I very willingly allow that they did not call three, for they called only two general councils in that century. The first, that of Nice, was called by Pope Sylvester, who having given his authority, the summonses

were sent and the expenses paid by Constantine the Emperor, in fulfilment of Sylvester's desire. I should hope, sir, that you would not be disposed to question this fact, and therefore I do not enter into proofs, which are, I believe, quite abundant, and shall be at your service if desirable. In like manner, sir, Theodosius the Emperor sent the letters of indiction issued by Pope Damasus to the bishops who assembled at the second at Constantinople; and that they assembled by the call of the Pope, is the acknowledgment of those bishops themselves.

9. The Bishops of Rome did not preside in either of those councils, we are told. It is quite true, sir, that the Bishop of Rome was not personally present; but it is equally true that he did preside at Nice by his deputies, who were Osius, Bishop of Cordova, in Spain, who certainly could not in his own right take precedence of older bishops, of the metropolitans and patriarchs who sat under him, and not only under him, but also under his two associates, who were not even bishops, Vitus and Vincent, priests of the diocess of Rome. Thus Sylvester presided at Nice, not in person, but by his legates.

By looking to the history, the special fact regarding the Council of Constantinople will sufficiently explain why the Pope did not preside. The bishops of the east were to have preceeded in a body from Constantinople to Rome, in which city they were to join the bishops of the West, and then sit together, with Damasus, the Bishop of Rome, at the head of both; but when they met at Constantinople, they proceeded, under the presidency of Nectarius, to examine the business for which they were assembled. They found the decision easy, and sent their proceedings to the Pope, together with a request that the would excuse them from the journey to Italy, for several causes which he judged to be sufficient, and he complied with their request: and the Western bishops, having received and confirmed their decrees, and they having been acquiesced in by the Pope, they had the full sanction of the whole church, of which Damasus, Bishop of Rome, was the head, and over whose councils he presided. Of the facts here stated there exist abundant proofs, so that in five lines more the editor has committed four new historical blunders.

10. page 4. Q. 17. On what pretence does the Pope claim to be supreme head of the church?

A. As successor to St. Peter, whom their new creed asserts to have been Bishop of Rome.

Upon this the note-maker again hangs his appendage. "During 600 years the Bishop of Rome did not claim jurisdiction over the Christian world." To meet this, it is altogether unnecessary that I should prove that within that period the Popes had this jurisdiction; it would

suffice for me to show that it was claimed by any one of them. I shall, in a very few instances, show its claim and its exercise.

Now, sir, I shall state why I do not adduce the claims of any of the Bishops of Rome during the first three centuries, such as Clement, Anacletus, Evaristus, Alexander, Pius, Victor, and so many others, which are full and to my purpose. I originally stated that I did not wish these letters to be controversial; and a very short mode having been taken by gentlemen on your side of the question to extricate themselves from the unpleasant situation in which they would be placed by those early witnesses, by denying the authenticity of their works, I would now prefer giving up a vast fund of documents, which I could prove to be genuine, rather than enter into any controversy. I therefore shall content myself with the production of a few of a later period.

Pope St. Julius I. sat from 337 to 352. In his epistle to the Eastern bishops, quoted in the 2d apology of St. Athanasius, was the following passage:—

"Are you ignorant that it is the custom, that we should be first written to, in order that hence you might have the definition of what was just? Wherefore if any such suspicion regarding a bishop had occurred there, it ought to have been referred hither to our church. . . .

"Wherefore we make known to you those things which we have received from the blessed Peter the Apostle; not otherwise disposed to write those things which we suppose you to know; but because the things which had been done had disturbed us."

This was in the case of passing judgment upon a patriarch of Alexandria; and at the very time it was distinctly known that, properly and correctly, no bishop could or ought to be condemned in any place save by the judgment of the Bishop of Rome; and that not by concession or regulation, but by a right derived by St. Peter.

Pope Damasus sat from 366 to 384. Theodoret has a letter of his to all the Eastern bishops, which contains the following expression.

"Since your charity hath given to the Apostolic See the due reverence, by you, dearly beloved children, as much as possible hath been given."

In his fourth epistle to the bishops of Numidia, we read:

"You ought not to desist from sending to us the head, according to what hath always been the custom, those matters which might create any doubt."

Pope Siricius sat from 385 to 398. In his epistle to Himericus, Bishop of Tarragona, in Spain, he writes thus:

"Because of our office we have no liberty to dissemble nor to be silent, for upon us lies a greater care of the Christian religion than upon all others. We bear the burthens of all who are loaded: or rather in us they are borne by the blessed Peter the Apostle, who we trust protects and guards us, his heirs in all the matters of his administration."

In another place:

"We think, most dear brother, that we have explained all those things which have been lodged in the complaint: and all the causes which thou hast brought before us and the Roman church, as the head of your body, by our son, Bassanius the priest."

The epistle then directs the Bishop of Tarragona to make known the decision to the other bishops.

Pope Zozimus sat from 417 during one year. In his letter to Heschius, Bishop of Salonita, which he orders him to extend to his other brethren, he says:

"Be it known, that whosoever, disregarding the authority of the fathers and of the Apostolic See, shall have neglected those things, will be very strictly punished by us: as that he shall be in no doubt of the loss of his place, if he thinks those things can be attempted after so many prohibitions."

Innocent the First, his predecessor, had written in his 22d letter to the bishops of Macedonia—

"I have perceived that an injury was done to the Apostolic See, to which, as the head of churches, the relation had been sent."

In his epistle to the Council of Milevi, which is found [as the] 93d amongst those of St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo.

"Diligently and properly have you consulted for the Apostolic honour. For the honour of him upon whom, besides those things that are without, rests the solicitude of all the churches. You have thus followed the form of the ancient rule, which you know, equally as I do, was always observed by the whole world."

In his epistle to the Council of Carthage, he reminds them that the Roman Church was the fountain and head of all other Churches.

Indeed, sir, you or any other person versed in the ancient documents of Christianity, must know that proofs that the Bishops of Rome claimed such jurisdiction, whether well or ill founded matters not for my present purpose, are to be found in the greatest abundance at the periods now under consideration. I shall give one or two more, which will show not only its claim, but its exercise. Pope St. Leo I. presided over the Church from 440 to 461, a period of twenty-one years. In his 84th epistle we find what was the ground of the extraordinary authority sometimes exercised by distant prelates over their neighbours. The epistle is to Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica, and gives to him a delegation of power, that is, makes him a papal legate.

"As my predecessors have acted towards those who preceded you, so I, following the example of those who went before me, have delegated to you, beloved, my vicarial power of regulation, that being made the imitator of our mildness, you might aid us in the care which, chiefly through divine institution, we owe to all the churches, and that you might in some manner thus make us present for the visitation of those provinces which lie distant from the Apostolic See. . . . . Thus we have given to your charity our vicarial trust, that you might be called to a part of our care, not into the fulness of our power."

In the latter part of the epistle, having remarked upon the existence of Bishops, Archbishops, and Prelates, he says—

"Through whom the care of the universal church might flow to the one See of Peter, and no difference might separate anything from the head."

In his 46th, he issues his directions to Anatolius, Bishop of Constantinople; and in his 62d, to Maximus, Patriarch of Antioch—he directs him to make frequent reports of the state of his churches to Rome: and he states the appeal of the Patriarch of Alexandria to himself, requesting that he would not assent to the elevation of Juvenal to the primacy of Palestine, which was in the Patriarchate of Antioch. In his 81st epistle he gives directions to Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria; in his 87th, to the Bishops of Africa, with a threat of censures; and in his discourse on the festivals of the Apostles, we read the following passage apostrophizing the city of Rome:

"Being made the head of the world by the holy seat of St. Peter, you have a more extensive presidency by heavenly religion, than from earthly dominion: for, although enlarged by many victories, you have extended your dominion by sea and by land, still, that which warlike labour has subjected to you is less extensive than what Christian peace has caused to submit."

Pope Gelasius sat from 492 to 496. In his epistle to the Bishops of Dardania he states—

"The whole church throughout the world knows that the See of St. Peter the Apostle hath the right and power of releasing from the effects of the sentences of any Bishop, since it hath the right of judging the things done in any church, and no one hath lawful power to sit in judgment upon its judgments."

Thus, Right Reverend Sir, the editor who stated that, during the first 600 years, the Bishops of Rome did not claim jurisdiction over the Christian world, wrote very inconsiderately; and stated that thing which is not.

Not only did they claim it, but the claim was admitted and supported, and was yielded to by such men as Ignatius, Irenæus, Epiphanius, Athanasius, Basil, and St. John Chrysostom, in the East; by Cyprian, Optatus, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Prosper, Victor of Utica, and Vincent of Lerins, in the West. I shall here close my remarks upon historical inaccuracies for today, though I had indulged the hope that I might in one letter, have disposed of them; but, sir, like other topics of the *Catechism*, the work grew insensibly under my pen, and I fear I shall have to troubble you with two or three epistles more: meantime

I remain,

Right Reverend Sir,

Yours, and so forth,

B. C.

LETTER XI.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Sept. 29, 1828.

To the Right Reverend Doctor Bowen, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of South Carolina, and so forth.

Right Reverend Sir:—I continue my remarks upon the historical inaccuracy of the American editor who "appended to the *Catechism* notes which are additions to the original publication."

11. page 5. Note.—For a long time their authority (i. e. the Bishops of Rome) was bounded by the suburban cities of Italy.

It is much to be regretted that the editor specified neither the length of time, nor the extent of the territory. There is one description of suburbicarian cities over which the Bishops of Rome to-day have jurisdiction, and beyond which their jurisdiction certainly does not extend, viz., to all the cities in the world; because they are all *sub urbe*, or under the city. St. Peter had jurisdiction beyond Italy, and therefore, at the beginning, the Bishop of Rome had authority beyond the suburban cities of Italy.

The assertion of the note is vague and indistinct, and therefore the more difficult to refute. I shall, however, state the case more fully.

An attempt was made to prove that the authority of Rome was over a limited district, amongst other grounds, upon the authority of the sixth Canon of the First Council of Nice, held in 325. The version of the Canon upon which such stress was laid, was taken from the historian Rufinus. The extract from that writer is the following: "Decreed also, that the ancient customs be preserved at Alexandria and in the city of Rome, that as well the former person have the charge of the churches of Egypt as the latter of the churches which are suburbicarian." This is a garbled and deceitful extract, and not a correct version. Socrates, the historian, mentions in his second book, that, in compiling his work, he relied upon the authority of this Rufinus, until, after consulting the original documents, he discovered such gross errors, that he had to write his book over again. I shall quote from a very erudite scholar the history of this suburbican invention: writing of the above quotation, he says,

"If any meaning can be collected out of this ungrammatical and incoherent phrase, does it not assert, that it was decreed at Nicea, that some person in Rome should continue to hold the charge of those suburbicarian churches? Now, what does the Greek text, as read at Chalcedon, declare? 'Let the immemorial usages prevail, which exist in Egypt; so that the Bishop of Alexandria shall have general authority there, because such is the usage with the Bishop of Rome.' To this enactment the Greek adds a decree concerning Antioch, which is entirely left out by Rufinus; and

another of the necessary consent of each metropolitan to the ordination of bishops within his province, which Rufinus has parcelled out between his fourth and seventh canons.

"From the Greek it appears, first that no confirmation was given, at Nicea, to the usage of the Church of Rome: that, on the contrary, the usage of Alexandria was confirmed, because it had the authority of Roman usage. Secondly, it is equally plain, that no boundaries are either marked, or alluded to, within which the Roman bishop exercised that general authority which the fathers had in view. Therefore the version of Rufinus as to the former of these points is fallacious; and in the latter is arbitrary, if *suburbicarian* have been used by him to define a certain space; if by that certain space was intended a circle described at the distance of one hundred miles, the version would be not only false, but ridiculous, or merit, perhaps, a harsher epithet.

"Is it true, however, that *suburbicarian* churches were the churches within the limits of the civil jurisdiction of the *vicarius urbicus*, 'which are defined by the *Notitia*, and of which the limits may be circumscribed by a radius of one hundred miles?' I fear some little mistake has crept in here also. The *proefectus urbi*, we all know, had not any power of cognizance beyond that distance, as appears from Ulpian on the appointment of Chilo by Septimius Severus. As to the *vicarius urbicus*, it appears from this very *notitia*, that his jurisdiction extended over Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia, as well as the southern extremities of Italy. By what authority the writer has made the prefect and the vicarius interchange their powers, I dare not ask. But I would consider it unfair to charge upon Rufinus a blunder, of which he could not possibly have been guilty.

"It is somewhat curious to observe, how this piece of bad Latin has been worked up, and cried up, in order to vex the Pope of Rome. Gothofred, who first broached this suburbicarian discovery, took some pains to assure the learned world, that Rufinus was a perfect master of the most elegant Latin; though Rufinus himself acknowledges, and his works bear ample testimony to his confession, that his stock was poor enough. After his encomium of Rufinus, Gothofred proceeded to argue, that suburbicarian was elegantly used by Rufinus to denote the district of the city prefect; then, it being undoubted that the city prefecture did not trespass beyond one hundred miles from Rome, it was evident, from the authority of Rufinus, that, in the fourth century, the Pope's jurisdiction had the very same limits. Sirmond, in answer to this charlatan, demonstrated, that the term *suburbicarian* was introduced when the office of *vicarius urbicus* was created, and was applied to quite other districts than those of the city prefecture. Saumaise came to the aid of Gothofred, but without doing him service. He boldly maintained that the Bishop of Milan was a patriarch; that the Bishop of *Justiniana Prima* was another patriarch; was scandalized, that Sirmond should employ the authority of Greek schismatics to establish the patriarchate of the West, whereas the Bishop of Rome was head of the Catholic Church; and said nothing more to the purpose. Neither of these writers, however, had the presence of mind of our new author to allow, that *suburbicarian* alluded to the territory of the *vicarius urbicus*, and, in the same breath, to maintain that this jurisdiction was circumscribed by a radius of one hundred miles; much less to cite the *notitia* as favouring that paradox.

"Our author, you will grant, has argued inconsistently; but you will expect, that, after showing the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome to have extended beyond that of

the prefect; that besides proving it to have reached the islands, as did that of the *Vicarius*, I should over and above make it palpable, that *suburbicarian* churches, in the meaning of Rufinus, were not the churches situated within the precincts of vicarial authority.

"As to that point, it shall be settled at once. The Nicene canon wills, that immemorial usages be guarded: it vindicates, as such, the prerogatives of Alexandria: and by what test does it examine those prerogatives? By the usage of the see of Rome. Consequently the usage of this latter was for the Nicene fathers, immemorial, beyond all exception. Now, when was the office of the *vicarius urbicus* instituted and by whom? In that very fourth century, and by the very Constantine who was present in the Nicene Council. It was Constantine who created deputies in Italy, for the office of the *Proefectus Proetorio*, the deputy in the capital or *vicarius urbicus*; the other for the northern parts of Italy, and called the *vicarius Italiae*. Therefore, either the immemorial usage of the Bishops of Rome, with regard to suburbicarian churches, is not to be explained according to the novel division of Italy by Constantine: or, if it is, the consequence will be, that the Emperor was so devout as to model the temporal administration of Italy according to the old usages of the Roman Church, in propagating and settling the Christian faith. This latter alternative is tolerably ridiculous.

"The term, *suburbicarian*, did not at any time directly mean subject to the *vicarius urbicus*: it meant, generally, subordinate to a jurisdiction residing in Rome, which jurisdiction was exercised, in fact, by the *vicarius* living there. What then does *suburbicarian* church signify? Plainly, a church subject to a jurisdiction existing in Rome, and the version of Rufinus amounts, after all, but to this: let the Bishop of Alexandria continue to hold the superintendence of the Egyptian churches, and the Bishop of Rome that of those churches which immemorially have acknowledged his jurisdiction, as deriving Christianity from the see in that capital. Even in this unfair version, by Rufinus, no new right, no additional jurisdiction is pretended to be granted either to Alexandria or to Rome in the council."

12. page 5. Note.—In process of time the authority of the Bishops of Rome reached from the suburban cities of Italy over the western parts of Europe.

I shall not enter into any lengthened dissertation, to prove what is manifest, that it is historically untrue that the suburban cities of Italy, such as they were constituted by Constantine, are those which were generally known by that name; and that before the period of his existence and of their being so named, it is historically true that the Bishops of Rome exercised authority in other parts of the West, which authority was admitted. I might content myself with the evidence of St. Cyprian, the Bishop of Carthage, even at the very moment that he was questioning the propriety of the mode in which that authority was used. In his epistle to Quintus he states, that when Peter was reproved by Paul he did not answer the latter "that he held the primacy and should be obeyed:" thus testifying that the primacy existed in Cornelius the Bishop of Rome, who had used the expression to Cyprian. That St. Cyprian

acknowledged the primacy of Peter and of Cornelius, St. Augustin testifies in explaining this very passage in two parts of his second book on Baptism; and Cyprian himself in his epistle to Jubaianus says. "We hold the head and root of one church;" and in his book on the unity of the church, he says that Peter is the root and head and foundation of the whole church.

In his book, *II Ep.* 10, writing to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, he says,

"We had lately sent our colleagues to bring back to the unity of the Catholic Church, the members of the torn body, but the inflexible and obstinate pertinacity of the adverse party, refused not only to enter into the bosom and embrace of the root and matrice, but even made an adulterous and contradictory being without the church."

In his book *I Ep.* 3, to the people, he says,

"There is one God, one Christ, and one Church, and one chair founded by the voice of our Lord upon Peter; no other altar can be made nor new priesthood created but the one altar and the one priesthood. Whoso collecteth elsewhere scattereth."

The first Nicene Council in its sixth canon as read in the Council of Chalcedon asserts "The Roman Church has always held the primacy."

The depositions, the decisions and the appeals from periods anterior to the creation of the suburban district are irrefragable monuments to prove the historical untruth of this assertion.

13. page 5. Note.—In their authority over the western parts of Europe the Bishops of Rome were only co-ordinate with the Bishops of Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria.

The historical untruth of this is manifest from what I have previously exhibited. Constantinople, which is here placed first, was but a bishopric suffragan to the metropolitan of Heraclea in Thrace, who was himself subject to the visitation of the Pope's legate at Thessalonica. The history of the various attempts and artifices by which Constantinople rose to a metropolitical see are matters easily found in antiquity. No writer who has paid any attention to even the outline of church history would venture to assert that at any period during the first six ages of Christianity, this see was even for a moment considered co-ordinate to Rome: or that at any period it was considered by any person who was in the communion of the universal church. You would not, sir, undertake to assert what you know is not tenable, and it is therefore that I could not well imagine how your name could be used to sanction this assertion of the note-maker. Antioch, derived her dignity from the circumstance of having been the first see in which Peter presided, and though upon his removing to Rome his ancient residence lost her prim-

atial rights, still the Bishops of Rome continued to those of Antioch the precedence over all the Asiatic churches, even over those of Palestine, and the Bishop of Antioch was viewed not as the co-ordinate, but as the deputy of the Bishop of Rome. Alexandria was created by St. Peter himself a Patriarchate when he sent St. Mark thither as his deputy, and the successors of Mark paid to those of Peter the homage due to their principal, from whom they derived the right of superintending Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis. The multiplicity of mistakes in this note then exceed the lines which make it out.

14. page 5. Note.—To this day the authority of the Bishops of Rome is disallowed in widely extended churches of the East.

No wonder that the compiler of the note should err regarding the facts of ancient history when he thus makes sweeping assertions of the most glaring untruth respecting the present times. To-day the churches in Asia and Africa which are in our communion, are far more numerous and more extended than they were when Cardinal Bellarmine wrote the following passage upon the subject:—

"If we sail along the coast of Africa, if we penetrate Arabia, if we examine near the Persian gulph, if we traverse India, if we wander through the Molucca islands, in the golden Chersonesus, through the districts of China, amongst the Japanese where neither the name of Luther or of Calvin has as yet found its way, we shall find numerous and excellent Christians who adhere to Christ in the obedience of the Roman Pontiff. . . . . I shall say nothing of the multitude of Armenians and Maronites in our communion, who amidst so many sects of heresy and nations of pagans and infidels, firmly retain the faith of the church and adhere to the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome."

I appeal, sir, to the reports of the persons who send over their missionary accounts to the Evangelical Churches of America. Do they not declaim in strong terms against those Roman Catholics whom they find in every region of the East? I have lying before me twenty good volumes of documents written by Roman Catholic Missionaries in Asia, during the last century. I have within my reach the list of the bishops and the numbers of the colleges and of the priests, all in the communion and under the authority of the Bishop of Rome, in the widely extended oriental churches, and give me leave, sir, to assure you, that desolate as those regions are, and persecuted as our brethren may be in several places, we have in Asia, alone, probably at least four times as many Catholics as there are members of your church and of that which is established in Great Britain, through the whole world. Is it not then, sir, a very unpleasant circumstance for us to see those manifestly untrue

statements placed as religious instruction in the hands of the rising generation? I now come back from the note to the text of the *Catechism.*

15. page 4. Q. 18. Was St. Peter Bishop of Rome?

A. It does not appear from Scripture that he was; and it is very doubtful, from other history, whether he was or was not.

This, in each of its parts, is, from an Episcopalian, a most extraordinary assertion. Why, Doctor Bowen, in the catalogue of Bishops of Rome, given in the *Gospel Messenger*, in this city, the name of St. Peter stands the first! What are the ladies to say, when they take up your catalogue and your catechism, and find them so discrepant? Your most learned divines in England have stoutly maintained that Peter was at Rome; and such is the persuasion of every scholar and of every antiquarian.

As to the Scriptures, though I shall not insist upon it, I would suggest that they really do make it appear that St. Peter was at Rome. St. Peter, at the close of his first epistle, states: "The church, which is gathered in Babylon, salutes you; and Mark, my son, salutes you." That by Babylon, in this place, is meant Rome, we have the authority of old Papias, the disciple of the Apostles, which you know is given by Eusebius, in chapter xv. of his first book: as also that of St. Jerome, in his book of illustrious men, writing of Mark: in like manner Orosius, the venerable Bede, and indeed all the early commentators. You know also, sir, that St. John, in his book of Revelations, means Rome by Babylon; hence your friend, Martin Luther, inscribed his book against us, *Of the Babylonish Captivity*; and the good Centuriators of Magdeburg avow, that their chief reason for admitting the book, is the many fine things which it contains against Rome, under the name of Babylon, which they declare to be the city whence Peter wrote his first epistle.

As to the other part, respecting "other history," I should suppose, that if even the historian Eusebius Pamphilus, had omitted the fourteenth chapter of his second book, we would find evidence enough to remove the doubt, in the testimony of Irenæus, of Arnobius, of Epiphanius, of St. John Chrysostom, of Paulus Orosius, of St. Leo, of Theodoret, of the Emperor Theodosius, of Denis of Corinth, of Hegesippus, of Athanasius, of Origen, of Tertullian, of St. Ambrose, of St. Jerome, of Eutropius, and some couple of dozen others, who are completely at your service, and only waiting your commands to give their depositions to the facts, of St. Peter having been at Rome, of his having been bishop of that see, of his having died there, of his having been bishop thereof, at the time of his death, and of his authority having descended to the bishops

who were to succeed him. Bishop Bowen is too well versed in antiquity, to call these facts seriously into question. [58]

16. page 4. Q. 19. Had St. Peter any supremacy or power over the rest of the Apostles?

A. None at all. The Apostles at Jerusalem, appointed Peter to go to Samaria, (*Acts* viii. 14); they likewise call him to account for his behaviour, which they could not have done, if he had been their superior, (*Acts* xi. 2). And St. Paul, speaking of himself, says: "he was in nothing behind the very chieftest of the Apostles; and that he withstood Peter to his face, because he was to be blamed," (*II Cor.* xii. 11; *Gal.* ii. 11;) and in the council of the Apostles, held at Jerusalem, it was not St. Peter, but St. James that presided. (*Acts* xv. 19).

This being a question of controversy, I shall not enter upon its merits at any length, since, to do so, would be incompatible with the object of these letters. I shall merely remark, that I admit the truth of all the facts, except the last: but I submit that their truth does not imply the correctness of the reasoning. It is not however true that James, and not Peter, presided at the council of Jerusalem; the text informs us of what James said, and that the others concurred in his judgment. Now, sir, it not unfrequently happens, that where a full bench is assembled to give a decision, the junior, and not the president, gives the decision in the first instance. St. Jerome, in an epistle to St. Augustine, which is the eleventh in the works of the latter, and Theodoret, in his epistle to Leo, informs us, however, that Peter gave his judgment first, which was acquiesced in by James and the others; when the text is read as it stands in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, I am inclined to believe that such will appear to be the correct view of the case.

The *Catechism* refers us to the 19th verse of chapter xv. of the Acts: but why, I would ask, does not its compiler refer us first to the 7th verse and then to the 14th? Why lead us to the 19th, without giving us a view of the previous history? The mode of ascertaining a fact correctly, is to see the entire case. St. John Chrysostom, and others of the early writers state, that very properly the motion for making up the judgment, ought to have been made by James, who was bishop of the church in which the assembly was held: but his pronouncing that judgment, is by no means evidence of his presidency.

If the Pope should do anything worthily of reprehension to-day, the other bishops would reprehend him, as Paul reprehended Peter: but such

[58] See the *Letters* on this subject.

remonstrance would not imply that he had no supremacy; it would prove only that he was not a lawless despot. Such occurrences have taken place; and they who have acknowledged the supremacy, have also deposed the individual who abused the office.

I am sorry, sir, that I cannot sooner conclude, but the matter is superabundant.

I remain, Right Reverend Sir,

Yours, B. C.

LETTER XII.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Oct. 6, 1828.

To the Right Reverend Doctor Bowen, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of South Carolina, and so forth.

Right Reverend Sir:—I know not whether it would be more correct, on my part, to class the following note taken from page 5, and which is an addition of the American editor, under the head of misrepresentation, mistake, or historical untruth; for, if the writer expressed his notions fairly and honestly, and by opinion meant doctrine, as is usual with Protestant writers, he made a very serious mistake; if he knew the truth, he was guilty of a wilful misrepresentation; at all events, the passage contains at least three historical untruths. First: that in the Roman Catholic Church, before and during the sitting of the Council of Trent, there was an immensity of erroneous doctrine. Second: that the decisions of the council still, notwithstanding, there exists doctrinal difference in the Roman Catholic Church. Third: that there is as great a difference between the Jesuits and the Dominicans upon the doctrine of the divine decrees, as there is between the Arminians and the Calvinists. The following is the note:—

"In order to be satisfied of the vast variety of opinion in the Church of Rome, it is but to read any history of the Council of Trent. On many important questions, the jarring sentiments were not of any two parties, but of sub-divisions without end. Had all this ceased with the rising of the council: yet, what an immensity of error must have been afloat, previously to the bringing of the jarring opinions into contact! But, did the discrepancy cease with the determinations of the council? Far from it; while they were yet sitting, the opposing parties, in some instances, continued their contentions; each side construing the decisions in its favour. Neither has this been put a stop to since; for instance, the question of the divine decrees has been as keenly argued between the Jesuits and the Dominicans, as between the Calvinists and the Arminians among Protestants."

Now, sir, in the first place, I object altogether to the authority of Fra Paolo's *History of the Council of Trent*. I call it a libel, and not

a history. But, suppose I admitted its accuracy and justice, still it would not support the propositions which I have marked above, nor either of them. I shall state succinctly the meaning of the words doctrine and opinion, that I might be more clearly understood.

Doctrine is a truth revealed by God, and testified by the church. The unity of belief which the Roman Catholic Church requires, regards doctrine, and only doctrine. We do not acknowledge as belonging to our communion, any person who differs from the church upon a point of doctrine; and we assert that there is no difference of doctrine between our councils, our nations, our provinces, or our diocesses, nor between our religious orders. If, sir, you or your note-maker will show that there is, or was any doctrinal difference tolerated, or now existing in our church, I shall yield the palm, and be silent. The decisions of our general councils on points of belief, regard doctrine; but, sir, the previous debates which occur during the examination of the evidence, no more form a part of those decisions, than do the arguments of counsel, or the discussions of the judges, form a portion of the final decision of one of our courts of law, or of equity.

Opinion is the judgment of one or more human beings upon those grounds which do not create certainty, however high the probability might be raised. What God has revealed is matter of certain truth, not of probable truth, therefore not matter of opinion but matter of doctrine. God has vouchsafed to lead us by certainty, in a way in which even fools cannot err: where he teaches, we are bound to believe, where he does not teach we are at liberty to form our own opinions: and the church having only authority for her judicial testimony, to teach us the doctrines, has no power to bind us to adopt opinions. Hence Roman Catholic nations, provinces, diocesses, or individuals, may form for themselves as many opinions as they please upon any subject they think proper, provided that no doctrine is thereby impugned. The diversity of those opinions is no evidence of diversity of doctrine. Thus it is a doctrine which is held equally by the Greek and by the Latin, that Christ whole and entire, a true sacrament, is received under the appearance of bread alone or of wine alone; but it is the opinion of the Greek division that it is a better discipline to give communion under both kinds, it is the opinion of the Latin division that it is better to give it only under one kind. They both believe that there is a purgatory, and that the souls therein detained are aided by the suffrages of the faithful: this is doctrine, and revealed by God; but though he has revealed these two facts, they do not find that he revealed the nature or the duration of the punishment to be undergone; each forms his

opinions upon those latter subjects, which he has a full right to do, since there is no evidence that God has restricted that right by the revelation of the fact: thus the majority of the Latins are of opinion that the punishment is by fire, and the majority of the Greeks suppose it is by darkness.

Having thus seen the difference between Doctrine and Opinion, I may say that no difference of doctrine did or does exist in the Roman Catholic Church, though there does exist a great variety of opinion; and although the church has the commission to teach the doctrine, she has no power to dictate opinions. Hence the efforts of an individual or of a body to construe a decision in favour of its opinion is evidence of its adherence to the decision itself and of its adoption of the doctrine which that decision expresses. In the Council of Trent, as in all other councils properly conducted, there was not only permitted but invited, the most full, free, and liberal expression of opinion, as well in the first place to find evidence of what was doctrine, as in the next place, so accurately to express the doctrine as to leave the greatest freedom of opinion. The fallacy of which I have generally to complain in writers like the note compiler, is either the disingenuity or the want of information which confounds two distinct things, doctrine and opinion, and thus argues a contradiction of doctrine from the existence of a diversity of opinion.

Now, sir, the Jesuites and the Dominicans fully agree in doctrine, but they differ in opinion. They agree that there exists no divine decree predestining any man to damnation: but they differ in their opinion as to whether God made his decrees together with, (if I may use the expression,) the existence of his prescience, from all eternity, or whether what is called, a moment of reason gave to the prescience an order of pre-existence to the decree. I suspect, sir, neither you nor I can settle this question, and as they believe that God has given no revelation upon the subject it cannot with either of them be a matter of doctrine. They may be better able than I am to form opinions upon a topic regarding which I am totally in the dark. I however agree in their doctrine, which is, that howsoever the decree be made, man is not predestined for damnation, but is a free agent, and receives from God sufficient grace to obtain heaven through the merits of Jesus Christ, and will be saved if he will co-operate therewith, and therefore, if he be lost, his damnation is imputable to himself.

I need not, Right Reverend Sir, inform either you or the good ladies who have sent out this *Catechism* that between the Supralapsarian and the Infralapsarian Calvinists who became united under the title of Gomarists one one side, and the Arminians on the other, there exists a

contradiction upon at least five doctrines of revelation: the first, respecting predestination to hell by an eternal absolute irrevocable decree: the second; regarding Christ's dying for the elect only: the third and fourth; regarding the power and sufficiency of grace and the freedom of agency: fifth; regarding the inamissibility of grace. Hence it is manifest that this note contains at least three historical untruths, which added to the sixteen former make nineteen.

In page 6, our American friend has also given some *additions* to history.

"In order to establish the papal claim of jurisdiction of the Church of England, there has been urged the propagation of the Christian religion in that country by Augustine and his associates, under the auspices of Pope Gregory the First, in the beginning of the seventh century. The submission of the English church at that period, was to Gregory not as universal bishop, but as exercising jurisdiction in a particular portion of Christendom. Besides, it was not to the Roman missionaries that the whole kingdom was indebted for the gift of the gospel, the population of Wales being confessedly already Christian, Northumberland, and some other kingdoms of the heptarchy, receiving instruction from the Scotch divines under the episcopacy of three successive bishops of the old British church; and there being an attachment in the mass of the population of all those kingdoms, who, although in subjection to the idolatrous Anglo-Saxons, could not have entirely forgotten the faith of their ancestors. In addition to all these considerations, it should be remembered, that some of the worst of the errors of the Roman Catholic Church were as yet unknown in her."

20. The submission of the English Church to Gregory was not to him as universal Bishop, but as exercising jurisdiction in a particular portion of Christendom.

To write of the submission of the English church to any person supposes the existence of that church. You will not, sir, I presume, assert that the English Church existed at the period of the preaching of Augustine at the close of the sixth and the opening of the seventh century. That there were previously some Bishops and several Christians in Britain I freely admit, but that a regular hierarchy, separate from Rome, at any time previous could be found, or then existed and submitted to Gregory as to a person to whom they were not previously subject, I am very far from conceding; or that the Bishops and flocks then existing formed what could be called "The English Church." I have lying before me Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae.* Printed in the Savoy in London, MDCCXVI. He marks for the year 596.

"ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.—"Augustine is allowed by all to have been the first, and that he landed in the year 596, and finding kind reception, thought fit to step back into France for consecration, which he obtained at the hands of Etherius, Archbishop of Arles; returning in the year 598, he settled his see at Canterbury, where he sat about sixteen years, and died, and was buried in the porch of the church

which was afterwards called by his name, Godwin, pages 40, 48, English Edition. Battely's edit. of Somner, page 116."

I need not go beyond this authority, but if it were necessary, several ancient documents in Wilkins and Spelman, would lead to the same conclusion. I shall produce one passage from Rapin, also a Protestant. After referring to Bede and Gildas to show that there had been many churches and bishops in Britain down to the time of St. Germanus of Auxerre in 430, he continues in vol. i. b. i.

"From this time to the arrival of the Saxons we knew but little of the affairs of the English church. No doubt, the frequent wars with the Picts and Scots, by destroying their churches, and what is worse introducing a corruption of manners amongst the clergy and laity, were very prejudicial to the Christians."

After several struggles the Britons retired to Cambria or Wales, they having been much wasted by war and famine: this occurred in 584, twelve years before the arrival of Augustine. England was then occupied by the pagan Saxons, so that upon the arrival of Augustine there was not in England, that is in the Heptarchy, any Christian Hierarchy to submit or to resist. I do not quote from Catholic writers, and therefore I again refer to Rapin, second division of Book III., where he shows that Augustine converted a nation of idolaters; which is a very different thing from procuring the submission of a Christian church. Thus I state the assertion of the submission of the "Church of England" to Gregory, to be the twentieth historical untruth, because England had no church at the time, but was composed of seven idolatrous kingdoms.

21. Gregory was submitted to, not as universal Bishop, but as exercising jurisdiction in a particular portion of Christendom.

Is not this note-maker very unfortunate? He tells us in p. 4, that during 600 years the Pope did not claim jurisdiction over the Christian world; evidently meaning that it was at this period the claim commenced; and now when we arrive at the precise date which he has himself fixed, he turns round and tells us that Gregory in the beginning of the seventh century made no such claim. However, we shall take Gregory's own word for it in preference to the contradictions of this most erudite antiquarian.

I might easily produce a considerable number of passages from his writings. I shall content myself with one. In his Epistle 64 to John, the Bishop of Syracuse—

"For as he says that he is subject to the Apostolic See, if any fault be found with the bishops, I do not know any bishop who is not subject to it."

Thus it is clear that Gregory who sent Augustine and whose doctrine was the model of that taught by Augustine, asserted his jurisdiction not only over the Bishop of Constantinople, respecting whom he wrote, but

also over every single bishop in the known world. This makes it plain that his missionaries made their English converts look upon him as the head of the whole church; and as such their descendants considered his successors during nine hundred and thirty years from that period. When your Philadelphian note-maker will vouchsafe to be more distinct, I shall be more explicit. I now proceed to the twenty-second historical untruth.

22. Note.—Besides it was not to the Roman missionaries that the whole kingdom was indebted for the gift of the Gospel, the whole population of Wales being confessedly already Christian.

The whole population of Wales was not Christian; but as an erroneous statement of this description is of so little consequence amidst such a mass of blunders, I shall not take the trouble of exposing its untruth. The object is to show that perhaps the Anglo-Saxons were converted by the British in Wales as well as by St. Augustine. We have already seen from Rapin who the Christians in Wales were. That they did not aid in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons is manifest, even from the scandalously incorrect account which Rapin himself gives in vol. i. book iii, year 602, of the meeting at Ausric, which is an abbreviation of Augustine's ric or country:—hence it is equally ridiculous in the note-maker to pretend that they who refused to preach to the Anglo-Saxons upon the invitation of Augustine, were their teachers, as it is to affect that their faith was not the same, since Augustine would certainly not have sought for coadjutors amongst such as he should, according to Rapin, have considered heretics. But whence did they receive the Gospel? From those who had been taught by Roman Catholic missionaries in previous times: from the successors of Fugatius and Damianus, called in the Welsh language Fagan and Dwywan, sent by Pope Eleutherius towards the close of the second century, more than four hundred years before the time of St. Augustine, as testified by Bede, Tertullian, Harpsfield, and Usher. They died within the precincts of the present diocess of Llandaff, and some Welsh churches are dedicated under their invocation. In 314, three of those bishops who resided at London, Colchester and York, were present at the Council of Arles, and subject to the Pope in like manner as were the other prelates of that Synod.

If I then grant that in the time of the Heptarchy, Northumberland and some other kingdoms received instruction from Scotch divines under the episcopacy of three successive bishops of the old British church, I still find that their doctrine and authority emanated from Rome. The Bishop of Rome, nearly two centuries before, had sent Palladius to Scotland, and those Scotch divines, if such these were, had been instructed

and governed by those who derived from Rome their doctrine and their jurisdiction. But the fact is, sir, that what is due to Irishmen is given by the Philadelphian to Scotch, and St. Patrick unquestionably had his mission and his doctrine from Rome. So that let the note-maker wriggle as he pleases, he is still, no doubt greatly to his own mortification, hemmed in by Rome. Rapin indeed did as much as he could to break down this inclosure; but, sir, history is a most unaccommodating opponent; and though hired scribes may for a time under the patronage and in the employment of the most powerful and unprincipled band of churchmen and statesmen leagued together, put fable in her place, history will finally vindicate her right by ejecting her opponent and exposing her usurpations. When men like him who made *additions* to the *Catechism* come forward they greatly aid the cause of truth.

23. Note.—In addition to all these considerations, it should be remembered, that some of the worst of the errors of the Roman Catholic Church were as yet unknown in her.

Pity, that the erudite antiquarian has not condescended to enter into particulars! If he means by this passage to assert that the doctrines now taught in the Roman Catholic Church were not then taught in the British Church, I must request leave to deny its truth. Until he shall have stated the doctrine I cannot disprove.

I now turn from the note to the context.

24. page 7. Q. 34. How have the Roman Catholics been guilty in this respect?

A. It is well known that liberty of conscience is denied in all the Roman Catholic countries, and that generally wherever the Roman Catholic religion prevails, they endeavour to root out all who differ from them by fire and sword.

I pray you, good sir, to say whether it be possible that you gave the sanction of your name to this. Will Bishop Bowen assert that liberty of conscience is denied in France? Will he assert that liberty of conscience is denied in Hungary, in Austria, in Sicily, in Naples, in the Catholic portion of Switzerland, in Germany, in Italy? Surely, sir, you cannot be ignorant that in the Papal dominions liberty of conscience is not denied: neither does the Pope himself in the selection of his consuls and other officers in this or other countries look to their religion. The Catholics of Maryland first gave to our country the blessings of freedom of conscience when the Puritans of New England were persecuting the Episcopalians and hanging the priests: when the Episcopalians of Virginia were persecuting the Puritans and massacring the Catholics: and prudence, if not even a love of truth, should cause a delicate

forbearance on the part of Protestants in this country: because we might tell a shameful history of Protestant misconduct to the generous Catholics who became the victims of their own love of religious liberty. The Catholic, sir, is disposed to cast the mantle of charitable oblivion on the foul blot which stains the page of the history of Protestant Maryland. Neither shall I, sir, go to the glorious exhibition of that act by which the Catholic Hungarian Diet shames the Protestant British Parliament. I shall not contrast the noble liberality of Catholic Bavaria, with the illiberal monopoly and trick of Protestant Geneva: I conjure you as you love peace and Christian affection, to restrain as far as you can, this disposition to misrepresent facts, which manifests itself in several publications against us. We know the stores which are contained in the arsenal of history, and we intreat you not to drive us to their use. Look, sir, to your boasted and boasting England, ponder upon the atrocious penal code; recollect nearly three centuries of cold-blooded persecution: visit the Star-chamber; stoop over the *Scavenger's daughter*: pore upon the deeds of the Court of High Commission: listen to the voice of nations, and save the name of Bishop Bowen from the consequences of asserting in the year 1828, "That it is well known that liberty of conscience is denied in all the Roman Catholic countries, and that generally where the Roman Catholic religion prevails, they endeavour to root out all who differ from them *by fire and sword*!! Where are the fires kindled? Where is the sword drawn? Should any defender of this Catechism enter into enumeration of facts to uphold its statements, I pledge myself to meet him, and to show that they who make those charges are the most guilty. But instead of descending to details, they usually dwell upon general declamation and vague assertion. I now come to examine the few facts with which we are furnished.

page 7. Q. 35. What instances can you give of this?

A. The murder of many godly bishops and others in England, in the reign of the bloody Queen Mary, and the cruel massacre of an immense number of Protestants in Ireland, in the year 1641, besides many severe persecutions in France and other countries.

I shall here advert to the three special facts adduced. First, the murder of many godly bishops in England in the reign of the bloody Queen Mary. We find the number to be three: Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, each of whom was guilty of several overt acts of treason, and would have been upon this ground justly liable to death, by the laws of nations. I am far from justifying their execution upon the score of religion; but be it remembered that they suffered by the operation of laws which they had themselves prepared in the reign of Edward VI.

to be executed upon Catholics. Many others! The whole number of others did not amount to two hundred; one individual would have been too many. But how many plots and insurrections existed in this reign against Mary, because she was a Catholic? How many priests were assailed in the peaceful discharge of their duty? Besides, sir, you know that these executions are not, as your next answer asserts, commanded or countenanced by the Catholic religion. Alphonsus de Castro, a Spanish friar, preached against this persecution in London before the queen and her court, and it was suspended during fifteen days, until after serious deliberation, the privy council, not the church, recommenced the execution of the laws which Protestants under Edward meant to operate against Catholics. This, sir, then, adds one other historical untruth.

It was wise, sir, in the American editor, to substitute "an immense number" for the "about 100,000" Protestants slain in Ireland in 1641. I would advise you, sir, to read upon this subject the *Vindiciae Hibernicae* of Matthew Carey of Philadelphia; you will then perceive that the comparatively small number of Protestants slain, lost their lives in an effort of defence and retaliation made by the most oppressed Catholic people upon earth, against the most cruel and heartless Protestant plunderers. You will find the Turks out-turked; Herod out-heroded: and if you have a tear to shed over a tale of wo, you may be prepared to shed it. We do not charge against your religion the crimes of men who made its profession the pretext for the indulgence of their passions. We ask you to treat us upon the same principle. In 1641 the account is dreadfully against you, but our catechisms do not mark it for your reproach. We do not scare our children with wooden prints to excite their hatred against Protestants. If ever there was fatuity or daring, it is one or the other to adduce Ireland in 1641, to show Catholics as persecutors.

As to France and other countries, when the specifications are produced they shall be met—but, sir, I trust in God that you and I shall never have to enter upon so unpleasant a topic. I have only touched the tumour, but a period may arrive, and circumstances might exist which would make it wisdom and mercy to use the knife with vigour, and however disgusting the contents might be, to lay open the inflamed protuberance, and even by cutting to the quick and cauterising, if necessary, to allay the fever by the rejection of the slough. For the present, sir, I am content to leave the subject of Popish and Protestant persecutions in oblivion; but I cannot consent to have a long list of atrocities placed to my account without entering into an examination of the items,

and placing my own charges as a set off. It will tend more, sir, to the establishment of charity and the benefit of religion, to abstain from those irritating topics. I would recommend to you, if your religion be better than mine, to set the example. Can you produce a Catholic Catechism which treats Protestants as yours does the members of a Church more sinned against than sinning?

I remain,
Right Reverend Sir,
Yours, and so forth, B. C.

LETTER XIII.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Oct. 14, 1828.

To the Right Reverend Doctor Bowen, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of South Carolina, and so forth.

Right Reverend Sir:—I shall in this my farewell make some remarks upon the general tone of the little production which has called forth these letters. It is, I believe, well suited for the class of persons for whom the work was originally intended. If I recollect well, this *Catechism* was compiled for the Charter Schools of Ireland. As you are not perhaps aware of the nature of those institutions, a word of description may be necessary.

It is more than a century since the conviction was impressed upon the rulers of that country, that neither by persuasion nor persecution could they succeed in changing the religion of the Irish people; means were therefore devised to provide for the gradual increase of Protestants by an extensive system of lures and baits to the more grown, and of education for the younger Papists as they were called. Schools were established in various places under the charge of a large chartered society, who received copious funds from the public purse and by private donations. The children of the poor Papists were received into those schools, their names changed, and transfers made of the new scions of the new Church from one part of the island to another, so that the tie of kindred should be forgotten, lest those dearly purchased converts should be, when released from their bondage, seduced to relapse into Popery; after having been fed and taught and clothed, during some years, they were bound apprentices to Protestant freemen in cities and towns corporate, and thus admitted to the enjoyment of franchises to which Catholics could never attain. Generally, they could not trace their kindred, but more than once has the evidence shocked even the most debased of those degraded, that they were living, as in matrimony,

with their mothers or their sisters. Another portion of those freemen arose from the foundlings of Hospitals, and not unfrequently were the children of those latter institutions, the offspring of unknown and unmarried parents brigaded into the Charter Schools; whilst a third supply was furnished from the Charity Schools of the corporations themselves. The children thus educated not only form the great bulk of the poorer Protestant population of the cities and towns corporate in Ireland, but several of them have by their creditable industry risen to opulence, and many of the Irish Knights and Baronets, and not a few of the modern Peers are in the persons of their fathers or grandfathers indebted to those institutions. The walls of St. Stephen's chapel re-echo to the harangues of some Senators of this description, whilst the O'Conor Don, whose ancestors swayed the sceptre of the island for centuries, cannot, because of his creed, be admitted within that sanctuary whence, too, the British Howards and Talbots are excluded.

The *Catechism* which has been published by the ladies under your auspices, was compiled for those Charter Schools, to inspire the young gentlemen and ladies who were to prop the Protestant ascendency in Ireland, betimes, with a holy hatred of Popery, and to give its full tint to the orange hue, with which it was deemed right to imbue them. To create horror and detestation of their Popish neighbours in the minds of those children of the Church and State, was the great end for which the publication was set forth; and indeed it is well calculated to procure this end. Was such the object of its republication at this side of the Atlantic? Is it possible that such is the end desired to be here attained? I should hope not.

But let us see how the object was to be compassed. In the first place, by that pride with which the little chartered Orangeist is at all times taught to elevate itself above nearly two hundred millions of its fellow-beings, amongst whom are to be found the great bulk of the best and wisest of the human race, in the ratio of their numbers.—P. 1. A. 3. "I thank God, I am a Protestant." But it would not be right to allow this to pass without a reference; and as the words are not to be found in the sacred volume, a parallel will answer. "God I thank thee, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, and adulterous, or even as this publican." (*Luke*, xvii. 11). See also page 17.

92. Q. What think you of those who live in the communion of so corrupt a church?

A. That they are under a most grievous bondage; and therefore I heartily pity them, and pray for their conversion.

Besides which, in Q. 29, it despises our conduct. With a mind thus

prepared by pride and mockery of piety, and contempt, the little creature is brought to view as our doctrine the mass of mistakes, misrepresentations, inconsistencies, contradictions, and historical blunders, of which the compilation is made up. In the fourth question a protestation is made against the errors of the Roman Catholic religion, which phrase the American editor has substituted for "Popery" in the original! In Q. 8, it is taught that our conduct is not only unreasonable, but exceedingly wicked. In Q. and A. 22, the little creature is told that our church is extremely corrupt in doctrine, worship, and practice. In Q. and A. 24, we are proved to it to be guilty of presumption and uncharitableness. In Q. 26, we have corrupted the purity and perfection of religion. In Q. 30, we are exhibited as not to be bound in allegiance by our oaths; we are faith-breakers, and persecutors, and perjurers. In QQ. 34, 35, and 36, as endeavouring to root out all who differ from us by fire and sword: our religion is said to countenance and *command* murder, massacre, and persecution, and to be *abhorred* by all good men, as contrary to true religion.

Allow me, Right Reverend Sir, to pause for a moment. Do, I entreat of you, give yourself the pain to look over my last paragraph. Do not turn from the expressions which are taken from a book published by your own authority as descriptive of my religion. I know you have a heart of sensibility, and can feel for others: it is, therefore, I press you to look at those expressions, and ask, what would you feel if the Roman Catholics of this city should so describe your religion? Think you not that they have feelings as keen as yours? What have they done to provoke you? I am no enemy of yours; my feelings towards you are kind and respectful; and it is because I believe you to be possessed of a good heart, I am convinced that the most effectual mode of creating in you a determination to comply with my request, is to show you the wounds which you have unnecessarily inflicted. Upon this ground I shall continue, and exhibit some other complimentary phrases of the Catechism.

In Q. 38 we are told, in the usual manner, that our doctrines are contrary to the Scripture: in Q. 39 that our practice is sinful, and is direct idolatry: in Q. 42 that it is downright idolatry: in 45 and 46 that, because we are sensible of our practice being contrary to the second commandment, we omit that precept, and split the tenth into two, to make up the number. I ask you, sir, if this charge were true, would we not be the most nefarious criminals, who, being sensible of the contradiction of our conduct to the divine law, would rather maliciously pervert the law than amend our conduct?—Is it charitable to impute such motives to us for an act where all the evidence of the early church

is in favour of our practice, and where the sense which our opponents would give to what they call a commandment, would exhibit God as contradicting himself? But, sir, I interrupt my progress. In Q. 65 we are exhibited as contradicting reason—as in 63 we contradict the senses. After contradicting God's law, our own senses and reason, what is to be the estimate of our character, especially when we are sensible of the criminality of our conduct, and deliberate in our delinquency? Was any body of people ever more insulted than we are by the use of such language as this? I am aware, sir, why gentlemen and ladies are not immediately shocked at such expressions. There is an old observation, that "custom reconciles." No other cause could have produced the phenomenon that the most polished ladies in America, with the sanction of their Bishop, should have published against their unoffending fellow-citizens such a book as this. Do not take it amiss, that I endeavor to break through that custom, and use my humble efforts to bring up your own good feelings to restrain you, henceforth, from such unbecoming phraseology.

In Q. 66 we are again betrayed into idolatry; and in 78 we are indulged with leave to sin for many years, nay during our whole life; licenses for sin are publicly sold for money in our church, and sinners are allowed to get other persons to do penance for them. In 83 we are superstitious in our distinction of meats, as in 47 we were guilty of groundless superstition, which gives occasion to fraud and imposture; and in 48 our frequent crossings were vain and superstitutions, we idolatrously worshipped a cross, and prayed to a cross, which was gross and intolerable corruption. In 49 we are guilty of a practice inconsistent with reason; in 50 we violate the scriptural injunction, and are mad; in 52 we administer baptism with many superstitious ceremonies, and in 53 we violate the express command of Christ in the administration of the Eucharist. We have the marks of those who depart from the faith; we have destroyed the moral use of fasting, by teaching that luxury and drunkenness are not only lawful, but consistent with fasting itself; we promote superstition and idolatry by pilgrimages, and teach that persons may be delivered from purgatory for money, for which we sell the prayers of the church. Our doctrine offends the purity and holiness of God, dishonours Christ, nourishes spiritual pride in some, and *encourageth all manner of vice* in others.

Allow me to ask, is this the manner in which you describe the religion of thousands of your fellow-citizens in Charleston? Is this the character of the religion of the surviving father of your country, the venerable Charles Carroll of Carrolton? Is this the true expression

of that faith which Xavier spread through India and Fenelon preached in France?—No, worse than this, you say, for the greatest errors and the worst corruptions still remain.

91. Q. Can you name any other errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome?

A. Several others might be named, but those already mentioned are abundantly sufficient, to show that the Church of Rome hath, in a great measure, changed the pure and holy religion of Christ into a most wretched and dangerous superstition.

93. Q. What do you think then of those who separate themselves from the Church of Rome? May they do it lawfully?

A. They not only may, but are indispensably obliged by God's commands to renounce all such idolatrous worship and sinful practices, and may rest assured of his favour in so doing. "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, and touch not *the unclean thing*; and I will receive you, and ye shall be my sons and my daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." (*II Cor.* vi. 17).

This indeed is truly the language of the embryo Irish corporators; this is the declamation of the aspirant to Orange celebrity in that land which God has blessed and man has cursed. But shall this be the language of the free and enlightened, of the liberal American? Shall this be the first lesson of religion which the amiable matron of Carolina is to teach her lisping child? And is this tissue of foul abuse to be taught by the recommendation of the venerable Bishop Bowen?—With you, sir, it remains to solve that question.

In closing this series of letters, sir, I am overwhelmed with shame: I have avoided as long as I could what yet remains, and what nothing but a strong sense of duty compels me even now to approach. Did you, sir, advise the ladies of Charleston to teach their children in the following words?

82. Q. What do you think of the obligation which the clergy and all the nuns and friars, and others of the Church of Rome, are under not to marry?

A. It is so far from being commanded by God, that forbidding to marry (*I Tim.* iv. 3) is set down as one of the marks of them who departed from the faith; and is often found to be a dreadful snare to the conscience, and an inlet to the most abominable wickedness.

I have with feelings which I shall not describe read ten times over, the names of the ladies on your list of subscribers, and asked whether it was possible they could have published this. They are modest and pure. There are at least ten virtuous women, unmarried and consid-

erably discreet, upon that list. Did they reflect upon the abominable retort, to which they expose themselves? To their honour, to their virtue, to their experience I commit the defence of the useful, virtuous and religious women whom this shameful and wicked paragraph traduces. Other aged ladies may be as pure in body and in mind as an unmarried, aged member of the *Female Episcopal, Bible, Prayer-book and Tract Society of Charleston* certainly is: in the purity of the Protestant I find the defence of the Catholic. She forgets the protection of her own character when she assails the virtues of the Nun.

But what, sir, shall I say to you? You! a Bishop! Have you ever known a Friar? Have you ever seen a Nun? Do you know a delinquent of either order? Upon what evidence do you condemn? I have known very many of both orders, and though I have known hundreds of the most truly religious men of the one description, the number was very small indeed of whom even suspicion whispered; and of the other sex, amongst hundreds and hundreds, not even the voice of calmuny ever, to my knowledge, gave even one name to rumour. It is a delicate subject, not because of the semblance of truth in the foul insinuation, but because of the nature of the subject itself. I repeat, sir, what I have before written.—Your Church teaches a high morality. But I would state that upon the topic of which we now treat, I could, if driven to the necessity of proof, take the British newspapers for the last twenty years, and leave to you all the other special proofs which you could collect from the whole Catholic world, and notwithstanding the vast disparity of numbers between the married and the unmarried clergy, I would abide the issue of bringing case for case. But God forbid, sir, that I should ever find the cause of my religion so bad as to be obliged to grope in the sewers of your Church to drag for the vindication of my own. When I look to your religion, sir, I look to its tenets and not to its offscourings, and neither your Church nor mine teaches immorality, nor does either encourage it; though reprobates are to be found in the society, and perhaps in the ministry of each.

Sir, I have done—my object was to show you the impropriety of placing in the hands of children, as a book of religious instruction, a work which contains so many misrepresentations, inconsistencies, contradictions, historical untruths, foul insinuations, and [so much] vulgar abuse of the great body of the Church of the Christian world; and having done so I leave it to you, and to the ladies who sent out this work, to act according to your own impressions. To me, sir, it was a painful and trying task. As I began with feelings of charity and respect, so I

conclude, and again beg leave to apologize and to retract if any unkind or disrespectful expression has escaped from my pen.

I remain,

Right Reverend Sir,

Yours, and so forth, B. C.

DEFENCE OF PRECEDING SECTION

[A little libel on the Catholic religion, miscalled a *Catechism*, was published in Charleston. B. C. undertook to show that it was a misrepresentation, and requested of Bishop Bowen to have it withdrawn: that prelate probably felt, as did several other highly respectable Protestants, that it was a scandalous little book, which did not express their convictions or feelings. The book was withdrawn. Here all might have rested in charity; but a writer, "Protestant Catholic," undertook to prove the truth of the little libel. B. C. felt this to be an aggression on himself, as well as on truth, and in the midst of many heavy duties, found himself called upon for a defence, for which purpose he wrote the following Letters. They are necessarily imperfect. He had no leisure to look to style or ornament. But he is certain they contain no untruth, and he hopes that they are not offensive.—I. A. R.]

LETTER I.

Nec sum adeo informis: nuper me in litore vidi,
Cum placidum ventis staret mare, non ego Daphnin
Judice te metuam, si numquam fallit imago.

VIRG. *Eclog. II.*

Nor am I so deform'd; for late I stood
Upon the margin of the briny flood;
The winds were still, and if the glass be true,
With Daphnis I may vie, though judged by you.

DRYDEN'S *Translation.*

CHARLESTON, S. C., June 1, 1829.

To the Editors of the Gospel Messenger and Southern Episcopal Register, and so forth.

Gentlemen:—I have ventured, though perhaps, as a correspondent of yours asserts, indelicately,[59] to expostulate with Bishop Bowen regard-

[59] "Of Bishop Bowen's responsibility for its being put among the tracts distributed by this Society, I say nothing, because authorized to say nothing. It is probable the matter came not under his cognizance, but that of other advisers during his absence. Or he may have doubted the propriety of taking upon him to reject that which so many had approved; among whom had been the venerable Dr. White, in whose diocess it had been reprinted from an English edition, distributed by '*the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*,' and published and circulated by a Society similar in its constitution and design, to the *Charleston Protestant Episcopal Female Tract Society*. He seems to me, at least, to have been somewhat indelicately held up to the community as responsible for the offence thus given to Roman Catholics."

Note to communication No. 5, p. 178, in the *Gospel Messenger* for June, 1829.

ing the publication of a libel upon my religion, which was put forth as a *Protestant Catechism*, under the indirect sanction of his respectable name. I intended to write to that Prelate inoffensively, yet firmly, plainly, but courteously, in such a manner as that whilst I should vindicate my own wounded feelings, I would subject his to the least possible infliction. How far I have succeeded it is not for me to say. They who have read my letters will judge me. I not only declared that I would avoid entering into any polemical disquisition to prove the Catholics right and the Protestants wrong, but still farther asserted that it was neither my object nor intention to insult or to vilify the Protestant Church, nor any of its institutions or members. [60] To adhere to the former part of this resolution, I frequently avoided explanation which required polemical discussion for its perfection; and was perhaps obscure, where, by a slight deviation from my rule, I would have been more intelligible. I distinctly stated also what my object was, "to show that the church of which I am a member, has been misrepresented, vilified, and insulted, and to call upon you (Bishop Bowen) not as the person who has done the injury, but as the officer who can afford the redress, to heal those wounds by arresting the progress of the evil."

My present object is not to enter into controversy between the two churches, but to vindicate myself. This preliminary charge which I notice, is that I made Bishop Bowen responsible, and held him up as amenable for the offence given to Roman Catholics. My answer is the quotation of my own expression to Bishop Bowen, "I do not call upon you as the person who has given the offence, but as the officer who can heal the wound by arresting the progress of the evil." The writer makes me tax the prelate with wanton and calumnious aggression. I did not so tax him, for in fact I only called upon him to interpose his power as a man of peace and good will, to remove the spirit of bitter animosity. How far a writer of this description is qualified to correct misrepresentation, I shall leave to others to determine.

That my estimate of the character and influence of the respectable Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of South Carolina was not incorrect, the sequel proves, and the writer acknowledges: because the offensive little book is no longer openly advertised for sale under the prelate's sanction, and the writer himself, in his fifth essay, p. 178, for June, 1829, proceeds—"Of the necessity of its publication in your city, I should have doubted, and am not sorry to be informed that it is not now exposed for sale."

[60] *Letter I.*, p. 370.

Having thus cursorily, and I trust satisfactorily, released myself from the imputation of unkind conduct or indelicacy towards a prelate who has exhibited more prudence, magnanimity, and charity, than your correspondent appears to possess; I feel myself called upon to meet this latter, in a mode far different from that which the former was justified in expecting and entitled to demand.

I am not, I trust, habitually disposed to prejudge, but the moment the gallant knight displayed his device in the lists, a conclusion which I shall not express, irresistibly forced itself upon me. It is an undisputed prerogative of each individual belonging to that host entitled to a *nom du guerre*, that without the charge of idolatry he may take for his emblazonment the likeness of anything in the heavens, the earth, the waters, or in a word, anything in existence. In times of decent chivalry, however, the rule was most strictly adhered to, "never to go beyond what nature exhibited." Even our old heathen friend Horace—You know that brother idolaters should be more intimately acquainted than pure reformed Christians are with detestable heathens, you will, therefore, excuse me, if I sometimes quote a line from the latter. Then Horace really looked upon the above rule to be very correct.

"Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam
Jungere si velit, et varias inducere plumas .
Undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
Desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne;
Spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici?"

De Arte Poetica.

"Suppose a painter to a human head
Should join a horse's neck, and wildly spread
The various plumage of the feathered kind
O'er limbs of different beasts, absurdly join'd;
Or if he gave to view a beauteous maid
Above the waist with every charm arrayed,
Should a foul fish her lower parts unfold,
Would you not laugh such pictures to behold?"

FRANCIS'S *Translations.*

It is true this great master of the correct and tasteful admits an exception to a certain degree.

"Pictoribus atque Poetis
Quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas
Scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim:
Sed non ut placidis coeant immitia; non ut
Serpentes avibus geminentur, tigribus agni."

"Painters and poets our indulgence claim,
Their daring equal, and their art the same.
I own the indulgence—such I give and take;

But not through nature's sacred rules to break.
Monstrous! to mix the cruel and the kind,
Serpents with birds and lambs with tigers joined."

And even for poets he gives the principle which must never be swerved from.

"*Aut famam sequere, aut sibi convenientia finge, Scriptor.*"
"Or follow fame, or in the invented tale
Let seeming, well-united truth prevail."

What, then, gentlemen, must have been your feelings at the approach of a champion, whose herald, throwing down the gauntlet, proclaimed that he was not even a poet, but a sedate man who came to support truth and to confound error: what must have been your feelings, when his motto was self-contradiction; and the enunciation of his title, "Protestant Catholic," astounded the vulgar?

Whilst Olympus became convulsed from the antics of Momus, and the whole earth was silent in astonishment, a rare scene was exhibited in the regions below. There stood a thin-visaged ghost, who was said in his mortal days to have eaten abundantly whilst he declaimed against the superstition of fasting, and to have used good libations of generous wines, whilst he resolved that the less affluent should not even taste brandy; and who, after consuming as much as would have sufficed for three plump Franciscan friars, or five good-looking Carthusian monks, seemed as if he had been starved to death; this was a true ghost of the Hudibrastic school, who mistook words for things and evasion for argument; mistakes more congenial to the shades than to the regions of day! This ghostly being stood with a most seriously metaphysical aspect declaiming and distinguishing to prove that a contradiction was no contradiction, an incompatibility was no incompatibility, that modern jargon was better than ancient history, and that what were originally instituted as terms of opposition by no means designated opposed qualities. The unfortunate Aristotle endeavoured to break away from the place where he was held writhing in the agony of indignation by two ghosts of very opposite characters: the cynic Diogenes with both his arms detained the Stagyrite on the one side: with his ears the owner of the tub drank in the declamation of the shadow of the new light, his mouth moderately open showed his tongue pressed gently against the appearance of his lower teeth, and his eyes were fixed with a sort of malignant satisfaction upon his prisoner. Democritus outrageously, and perhaps for a ghost, indelicately, convulsed with laughter, confined Aristole on the other side in his locked arm, after the manner of the locking of ghosts, and pointed with the index of the other hand to the self-satisfied and inexhaustible evangelizer, whilst the satirical shade of Lucian com-

plained that the nobody of his own Cyclops had now been overshadowed by this modern Christian invention.

All this might have borne with in becoming silence, since it would be only the sneer of the enlightened heathen: yea, though the "Papists" might have united in the laugh, still even that would not have provoked to disquietude, nor ruffled the temper, because it would only be the union of idolaters as your correspondent very charitably describes Roman Catholics to be. But, good gentlemen, you have yourselves in last December adopted a principle which was rather unfortunate for your correspondent with the incompatible name.—I shall take the liberty of giving the article, copied by you.

From the *Episcopal Watchman.*

"THINGS BY THEIR RIGHT NAMES. There are some words, which people will persist in using improperly; Catholic is one of them. We profess to believe 'in the holy Catholic Church;' and pray that we may be gathered unto our fathers 'in the communion of the Catholic Church.' At the same time we hear people talking about the Catholic Church, and the Catholics, and Catholic emancipation; when it is only of the Papists, and the Church of Rome, that they would be understood to speak. In an abridgment of Church History, where at least we should look for a correct theological nomenclature, I observe the spiritual subjects of the Pope familiarly termed Catholics; and in the popular Geography of Mr. Woodbridge those countries, in which the supremacy of the Pope is acknowledged, are marked C, on the maps, to denote that the established religion is Catholic, as the key gives us to understand. The word, we know, means universal, nothing more. Do those, who apply it to the papal communion expect us to acknowledge that the Church of Rome is the universal church? Then it must be the true church—it has been unworthily slandered—our separation from it was causeless and schismatical; and we ought to renounce our Protestantism, and hasten *instanter* to kiss the Pope's toe. But if, by the Catholic Church, they intend only the Church of Rome, why will they persist in using a name which is inapplicable—a name, which the papists have always been eager to appropriate, and which we ought to be the last to yield? Again, I affirm, that it is high time to dismiss the word from our own religious formularies; or to designate the papists, when we have occasion to speak of them, by some appellative which does not convict us of schism. Besides, there is an absurdity in calling them Catholics. The Church of Rome is not the Catholic, (i. e. the universal church.) Its communion is rejected by the greater part of Christendom, and is therefore far from being universal. But if it is meant, that the true faith exists in that church only; and that it is, on that account, entitled to the appellation which so many are ready to yield—I repeat it, the sooner we hasten back into her maternal bosom, the better. Let things be called by their right names. The members of a church, of which the Pope is the head, may with propriety be termed papists; and the Papal Church, or the Church of Rome, is the proper designation of that communion. TRUTH-TELLER.

Gospel Messenger for December, 1828, pp. 373, 374.

Now the principle laid down here, and adopted by you as it seems, is that the Papal Church is the proper name of the Roman Catholic

Church, and that she ought not to be called the Catholic Church, because she is not the universal church; and that she is not the universal church, because her communion is rejected by the greater part of Christendom; that to call papists, Catholics, would therefore be an absurdity. I shall not just now touch the fact. I shall merely admit and apply the principle. By admitting, I do not mean that I allow your adoption in its full extent to be correct, but I shall use it as admitted by you.

No church can claim the name Catholic, if its communion be rejected by the greater part of Christendom. Now, good gentlemen, suppose the Papal Church in whose communion some of the Protestant authors count up one hundred millions; others, one hundred and twenty, and others, one hundred and forty millions; and we ourselves upwards of one hundred and eighty millions of souls, cannot claim the name of Catholic because of the paucity of her numbers, and her communion being rejected by the greater part of Christendom: how can your correspondent claim it for a church in whose communion there are not ten millions?

An American Protestant Episcopalian is not a member of the English Protestant Church, but I here allow all persons in all parts of the globe who follow the general outline of the doctrine and liturgy and government of the English or American Protestant Episcopalian Churches to be members of the same church, and they will not constitute an aggregate of ten millions of souls. If it be an absurdity to call a church of one hundred and eighty millions, Catholic, because of the paucity of numbers, will it not be eighteen absurdities in you to admit the incompatible name of your correspondent and my reviewer?

"But the word Protestant is not confined to Protestant Episcopalians only: and if you take all the Protestant Churches the numbers will be more than ten millions." Gentlemen, you shall not have any reason to complain. I shall be most accommodating. I give you the greatest numerical strength claimed by any of your advocates; I give you fifty millions as the number of all the professors of the various denominations of Protestants; and I will not raise a question as to how many thousand doctrinal contradictions upon what you call fundamental and essential points will be found in this assemblage; neither shall I ask by how many hundred names the jarring elements of this collection will choose to be designated. Nor shall I amuse my readers by even hinting at the ludicrous yet melancholy result of endeavouring to procure their unanimous assent to a single tenet beyond the two following: "I believe in God." "I believe in the Bible." This then must be the whole and entire dogma of this "Protestant Catholic" Church. But upon your own principle this church is not Catholic, because it is even in its ag-

gregate, a minority of Christendom. The Greeks, the Muscovites, and all the Eastern separatists to the amount of between thirty and forty millions besides the Roman Catholics,—I beg pardon, the papists,—will give a majority of seven to two at least against it, and therefore, it is not Catholic.

I shall now go farther and give you all the persons in the universe separated from Rome in communion, but professing to be Christians, and I will give you their numbers at the highest estimate, an estimate far beyond the fact. I state them to be nearly one hundred millions. To increase your advantage, I strike off one-third from what I believe to be the lowest fair estimate of those who are in the communion of the Pope: I shall have left one hundred and twenty millions of papists: then upon your own principle even in this case it would be absurd to call the whole body of separatists from the communion of the Holy See, Catholic, even if they were as united as they are opposed to each other in doctrine. What a pity, good gentlemen, that upon the receipt of the first communication of your correspondent, you did not teach him the propriety of calling things by their right names? You see upon your own principle that his very name is an absurdity!

Let me come now to the facts. The Papal Church is rejected from the communion of the greater part of Christendom!! Does the Papal Church reject her own children from their own communion? Her children form the greater part of the Christian people; her clergy form the greater portion of the Chistian ministry; her altars are reared in every Christian nation; every diversion of Christians has gone out from her bosom; every Christian nation has been converted by her missionaries. All who have been separated from her complain of her cruelty because she will not admit them to her communion. Luther, in his pamphlet "against the execrable Bull of Antichrist," gives us a specimen of their mode of rejecting the Pope's communion. In the same manner that they excommunicate me, I also excommunicate them. In fact the greater part of Christendom is in the communion of the Papal Church, and therefore, according to your own adopted principle, that church whose head resides in Rome is the Catholic Church.

I shall apply another test to show the folly of your correspondent. I will assemble all those various sects which I have even against their own will ranged under the name of Protestants. I shall leave to their joint decision the several doctrines on which they are divided amongst themselves, and will take the votes of this portion of Christendom only, without permitting a Roman Catholic to have a voice in the assembly. Let the universal vote testify the Catholic doctrines. From this as-

sembly of contradiction and chaos I will infallibly upon each single point on which they differ, get, from the majority, evidence of the truth of the tenets of the Papal Church. Allow me to exhibit but one or two instances; they shall be multiplied at your desire. Let the question be put whether Episcopacy is a divine or an ecclesiastical institution. Your church votes with all the Eastern divisions, that it is of divine origin and essential, and unalterable by ecclesiastical institution. Thus without a single papal vote, we have the majority in favour of the papal doctrine. Add the papists to this majority; and if this vote be correct, what becomes of the authority of those who form the minority? On the other hand, if the vote be erroneous, what becomes of the Catholicity of the Church of Christ? I next put the question of the real presence of the body of Christ in the Eucharist. I have all those who in the West believe the real presence by consubstantiation, and they who in the East believe the same presence by transubstantiation, without taking into account numerous instances of individuals who following their private judgment believe the doctrine; I have a majority of the separatists from the Papal Church believing in the real presence. Whoever will take the trouble carefully and candidly and patiently to examine into details and particulars, will find that although each separate division of Christians differs in some one peculiar article from the Roman Catholic Church, and is by that peculiarity distinguished from other sects also, yet when the common joint vote of all is taken upon each of those special articles, the testimony of the majority will in each particular instance be in support of the Roman Catholic doctrine. To this general rule there must obviously be two exceptions: regarding the supremacy of Rome, and the infallibility of the church; for the admission of either of these would be evidently the condemnation in every instance of the very body that gave the vote. Thus it will necessarily follow that by the votes of those separated from the Papal Church, that church herself teaches what the majority of even those Christians who oppose her avow to be the doctrine of Christ; and thus by their testimony she is Catholic. And in like manner it will be found that each separate church will be condemned upon its peculiar points of doctrinal difference with Rome, by the vote of the universal body of the co-separatists themselves. Hence, it must necessarily follow that not only the Papal is the Catholic Church, but also that any division opposed thereto is not Catholic.

I have hitherto allowed your correspondent latitude enough as to the meaning of the word Protestant. It is time that I should be more exact. The name was first given to the Lutherans, who protested against the decree of the imperial Diet of Spires, in Germany, in 1529. The

other western separatists from the Papal Church came, subsequently, under the appellation. Previously to this period, the great bulk of Christendom was in the papal communion, so much so, and so universally so, that your book of Homilies most pathetically laments. [61]

"So that laity and clergy, learned and unlearned, all ages, sects, and degrees of men, women, and children of whole Christendom [a horrible and most dreadful thing to think], have been at once drowned in abominable idolatry, of all other vices most detested of God, and most damnable to man, and that by the space of eight hundred years and more." Thus the Catholic or Universal Church is, during the eight centuries previous to the appearance of Protestants, buried in the error of idolatry. Your Catechisms all tell us that a Protestant is one who protests against the errors which existed in this Roman Catholic Church; Roman, because her visible head was Bishop of the See of Rome; Catholic, because she was universal, that is, in all parts of Christendom, and forming at all times the great bulk of Christendom. By what species of common sense will your correspondent make us understand that they who protest against the errors of the Catholic Church, and form a body apart and separate therefrom, are yet a portion of that body from which they have separated, and which they denounce? And by what still more strange process will you undertake to show that the Church which was Catholic, because of its universality before the existence of the Protestant Church, has lost this title, though it has been always, since then, the most numerous and most extensively, indeed, universally diffused? And that the title has been properly transferred to a body which is of comparatively recent origin, has always been a disunited and conflicting minority, and is comparatively restricted in the extent of country over which it has spread?

Thus, gentlemen, your correspondent has been most unfortunate in his selection of a *nom du guerre*, by assuming a ridiculous contradiction. But the consequences might prove worse than he anticipated; for, in those cases, there is frequently more than a laugh to be endured: a name has frequently done mischief to him by whom it has been unluckily borne. We are informed in the *Mercurius Rusticus*, No. 16, page 196, that the Mayor of Colchester, in the year 1643, banished one of the townsmen who was generally looked upon as a good Puritan, yet was he treated as a Malignant and a Cavalier for rejoicing in the name of Parsons! his worship, the mayor, very wisely deciding that whatever the man himself might be, the name was ominous. I could give many

[61] Third part of the *Sermon against the Peril of Idolatry*, p. 201, New York, 1815.

like instances, but I doubt me, good gentlemen, this one will at the present suffice.

I shall next proceed to examine some of the good qualities of our friend with the incompatible and ominous name; and am, gentlemen,

Your obedient, humble servant,

B. C.

LETTER II.

In other men we faults can spy,
And blame the mote that dims their eye;
Each little speck and blemish find;
To our own stronger errors blind.

. . . . . .

Ere you remark another's sin,
Bid thine own conscience look within;
Control thy more voracious bill,
Nor for a breakfast nations kill.

GAY, *Fab.* xxxviii.

CHARLESTON, S. C., June 8, 1829.

To the Editors:

Gentlemen:—I have requested the Editors of the *United States Catholic Miscellany* to print in their paper the five essays of your correspondent with the contradictory name; so that their readers, at least, might have both sides of the case fully before them. This is probably the more necessary, as you are aware of the the great efforts that are made by their clergy to keep the papists in total ignorance of what Protestants urge against their errors and corruptions. I should suppose that it is because of the extensive knowledge possessed by Protestants of Catholic doctrines and practices, that it is generally thought proper, even in this country, to avoid publishing the replies of Catholics in your newspapers. Be that as it may, at all events I have insured for the papists the full benefit of the five precious essays, which I intend to examine. And I have numbered the paragraphs for reference.

The gentleman or lady, for which the writer saith not, with the contradictory name, sets out with a promise to give something regarding Roman Catholic doctrines and pretensions. Of doctrines we have something; but what Roman Catholic pretensions means, the writer vouchsafes not to say. He, for I suppose the more worthy gender as old grammarians most ungallantly write, informs us, that to him religious controversy is distasteful, yet he gives it to others in abundance; probably because is was so unpleasant to himself. Will it not be poetical

justice to treat him plentifully with what he so generously bestows? Whether such shall be the effect in the present case, a little consideration will decide. He does not wish to involve you in controversy with Roman Catholics. But how he could insure you against this result, when he prevailed on you to publish a series of controversial attacks upon Roman Catholic doctrines, might be intelligible to himself, but to no one else. It seems, however, that in two or three lines below, the mystery is solved, for he is

> In school divinity as able
> As he that hight irrefragable.

"The statements which I shall offer, and the authorities in their favour, will scarcely admit of dispute. If disputed, I, at least, shall leave them to the defence they will have obviously carried with them."

Thus, his authorities and statements being obviously true, and not admitting any dispute, must be irrefragable, and no one can be sufficiently rash to undertake controversy with him upon the subject.

To his essay No. 2, published in your *Messenger* for March, is the following note at page 73:

"I quote as before, although it was forgotten to say so, a work recently published, which a few weeks since fell accidentally in my way, and which thus states the 'misrepresentations' which Protestants had published of the religion of the Roman Catholics."

The quotations are from my letters to Bishop Bowen. The object of the essays appears to be, first to show that I wrote what was not true, in asserting that the *Catechism* of which I complained was a misrepresentation of our tenets; and next, to try and prove in several instances that our tenets are erroneous.

He says in his introductory paragraph,

"I shall confine myself to that only which is necessary to substantiate the claim of Protestants to be acquitted of the reproach of palpable and wilful misrepresentation of the religion of Roman Catholics."

In the next paragraph, after quoting the first four propositions which in my first letter I ranged under the head of misrepresentations, he adds,—

"The imputation of these things is rejected as unfounded, as well as malicious."

In the penultimate paragraph of this same article, No. 1, is the following passage. We are said to

"Reject the imputation of rendering undue honour to the undeniably worthy object of our fervent meditation as a false and malignant misrepresentation of our religious conduct."

In the first paragraph of the essay No. 2, in the *Messenger* for March, page 72, the writer states,—

"Having shown that Protestants are not guilty of the perverse and groundless misrepresentation of the religion of Roman Catholics with which they have been boldly charged."

In the *Messenger* for April, essay No. 3, the writer states respecting Protestants, page 109:

"Roman Catholics must admit, that they do not wilfully misrepresent them in saying that they worship bread and wine in the Eucharist."

Again in the last paragraph of the same essay, in page 112, we read,—

"As my object is not so much to show that Protestants are faultlessly right in their doctrines and phrases, as that they are not so shockingly wrong as they are said to be in their representation of the religion of the Roman Catholics," and so forth.

In the essay No. 4, contained in the *Messenger* for May, we read in the first paragraph, page 143:

"Let not Protestants, however, be reproached with wilful misrepresentation, when they point out to each other the faults of the Roman Catholic Church, as especially and conspicuously, and scandalously great."

In the fifth essay, in the *Messenger* for June, page 167, we read,—

"There is an admirably sensitive and conscientious regard for truth in not permitting so defective a statement to be considered in any other light than that of wilful, wicked misrepresentation! . . Protestants shamefully misrepresent matters."

The first point to which I will draw your attention, gentlemen, is the true state of the question between your correspondent and myself. I wrote a series of letters in which I asserted that the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church was misrepresented in a little Catechism. I made my complaint to the proper officer, stating that my religion was misrepresented by the compilers and publishers of that *Catechism*. Your correspondent charges me for reproaching Protestants with what I stated as applicable only to the compilers of this book and its publishers. I complain of this charge, for I did not assume as a fact what I knew to be untrue, viz., that the great body of Protestants were identified with the compilers and publishers: I had and still have the testimony of many of the most respectable Protestant Episcopalians of the South, and of several highly respectable members of other Protestant Churches, to show that not only they, but the larger number of their friends and acquaintances of the same churches disapproved and disavowed the book. I be-

lieve then it is clear that the "Protestant Catholic" has been himself guilty of misrepresenting me when he exhibited me as charging Bishop Bowen with offending and insulting Roman Catholics; and again when he exhibits me as accusing the Protestant body of being guilty of the faults of the compilers and publishers of the *Catechism.*

Now, good gentlemen, I acknowledge that a misrepresentation must of its own nature be groundless, and I acknowledge that sometimes it will be palpable: although I am not aware of having used either of those expressions regarding the statements of the *Catechism,* still I should not complain of your correspondent for imputing them to me; though he, of all other writers that ever gave their productions to a printer, has least claim to be allowed any latitude of expression: and he was altogether unjustifiable in extending in the least degree the meaning of my expressions. A man who complains of another, should not commit the fault which he censures. Mark how he has treated me.

In the second essay, (*Messenger* for March, page 73,) is the following passage.

"It has been called a misrepresentation of the religion of Roman Catholics, to say that 'they worship images, or pictures of the Virgin Mary, and other saints; that they violate the second of God's commandments, (as relating to image and idol worship) without scruple; that sensible, notwithstanding, that their practice is contrary to said second commandment they have, in several of their Catechisms, left out the second commandment, and split the tenth into two; that Roman Catholics in excusing themselves idolatry in their image worship, say no more for their exculpation, than the heathens said for themselves, and that, therefore, Catholics are equally idolatrous as the heathens are, or were.'

"Here the impression which generally obtains among Protestants on this subject, is stated more strongly than it needs be; and as if to give it the character of the utmost possible offence against charity, other language than their own is added to that, which they, correctly enough, in general, are represented to have used. It may be true, that some Protestants, in an intemperate zeal of dissent from Popery, have considered Roman Catholics equally as idolatrous as the heathens either are or were."

In this passage he imputes to me the addition of other language than that which is correctly used by the Protestants, but he cannot deny that I use the expressions found in the *Catechism.* In my letter I made distinct reference to the following question and answer of the little work.

"Q. Do they not declare, that they do not direct their worship to the

images themselves, but pray to Christ and his saints, through the images?

"A. That indeed is said by some of them, but it is no more than the heathens said for themselves, and cannot excuse them from the sin of idolatry: for the word of God is express, 'Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image. Thou shalt not bow down to them. Neither shalt thou set thee up any image, which the Lord thy God hateth.'" (*Deut.* xvi. 22).

The conclusion, "Therefore Roman Catholics are equally idolatrous as the heathens are or were," was clearly my own inference, which I believed to be contained in the premises and inevitably to flow from them; it was distinctly marked as such; and yet this writer complains of me for having added those expressions. Why then did he add to my expressions, the words groundless and palpable? Why did he add the word false, which generally implies an intention to deceive, and which intention I did not impute? Why did he add the word wilful, which I never insinuated? Why did he add the word shameful, which I did not use? Why did he add the word shocking? Why the word wicked? Why did he add perverse? Why did he assert that I charged malicious misrepresentation? Why had he the hardihood to assert that I charged malignant misrepresentation? Is either of those phrases or any word than can convey a similar meaning to be found in my production, such as it is? Yet this is the champion of truth who is to correct my aberrations! who is to vindicate the compilers of the little book from misrepresentation!

"Why seeth thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye: and the beam that is in thy own eye thou seest not." (*Matt.* vii. 3).

Now, gentlemen, you must yourselves be fully aware that I never boldly charged Protestants with being guilty of perverse and groundless misrepresentations of the religion of Roman Catholics: and therefore the writer who makes the assertion states that which is not the fact.

But I now arraign him upon a more weighty charge. In his first essay, he lays the ground of our criminality in giving to creatures the worship due to God alone, upon assumption among others, viz., that we call upon the Saints to be merciful to us, in the same manner as we call upon God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, and so forth. His words are these, in the sixth paragraph of the essay:

"Here, after the invocation of God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, the Holy Trinity, prayer is offered to Angels and Saints, to pray for those thus praying to them, to intercede for them, and be merciful to them."

In the preceding paragraph he attempts to show the truth of the

assumption by quoting the Litany of the Saints from the *Roman Missal*: the latter part of the paragraph as given by him is thus:

"St. Mary Magdalen, St. Agatha, St. Lucy, St. Agnes, St. Catharine, St. Anastasia, St. Bridget, all ye Holy Virgins and Widows—Pray for us. All ye men and women, Saints of God, make intercession for us. Be merciful unto us." (pp. 263-4 of the *Missal.*)

The whole of these words it is true are found in the *Missal* in the place referred to; and yet the assertion which he makes is not true. A Roman Catholic will immediately perceive what credit is due to such a writer, but as some members of other communions might read this letter, is it necessary for me to enable them to form a just estimate of the value of this writer's testimony.

The book from which he quotes has the Litanies arranged in the following order: it commences with an invocation to God "for mercy."

"Lord, have mercy on us. Christ, have mercy on us., Lord, have mercy on us. Christ, hear us. Christ, graciously hear us.

"God the Father of Heaven! Have mercy on us.

"God the Son, Redeemer of the world! Have mercy on us.

"God the Holy Ghost! Have mercy on us.

"Holy Trinity, One God! Have mercy on us."

Then follows the invocation of the Saints, in which the address is altogether different; as they are only addressed as co-worshippers of God with us, and asked to "Pray for us," or intercede for us.

"Holy Mary,
Holy Mother of God, and so forth,
St. Catharine,
St. Anastasia,
St. Bridget,
} *Pray for us.*

"All ye men and women, saints of God, make intercession for us."

This closes the invocation of the saints, in which they certainly are called upon to pray for us, and to make intercession for us. After which, in a distinct clause, follows another invocation in the following words:

"Be merciful unto us. *Spare us, O Lord!*
Be merciful unto us. *Graciously hear us, O Lord!*

From all evil,
From all sin,
From thy wrath, and so forth,
Through the mystery of thy holy Incarnation,
Through thy coming, and so forth,
} *O Lord! deliver us.*

We sinners, *Do beseech thee to hear us.*
That thou spare us,
That thou vouchsafe to govern and preserve thy holy Church, and so forth.
That thou vouchsafe to confirm and preserve us in thy holy service, and so forth."
} *We beseech thee to hear us.*

It is here manifest, that all those latter invocations are addressed to our Lord Jesus Christ, and not to angels or saints. It is manifest that the phrase, Be merciful to us, which he applies to the saints, is by Catholics addressed to their only Lord and Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, to whom the subsequent addresses also are made.

The misrepresentation of the fact, of which your correspondent is here guilty, is one which no honourable man would stoop to commit; it is one, respecting which no conscientious man could deliberate: nothing could prompt to its perpetuation but a consciousness of a desperate cause, and a determined obstinacy to hold to that cause, right or wrong. I do not accuse the writer with the contradictory name, of this depraved disposition; but I can give him no alternative but gross inadvertence, to which he is welcome as a protection if he feels that he deserves it. Here then in the very outset is the man who denies that our tenets have been misrepresented in the little book, detected himself in such a misrepresentation as must be under any circumstances characterized as groundless, palpable, and false; for aught that I know, where the writer had the whole Litany before him, and cut a line into two portions, so as to add the first half to that with which it had no connexion, and to suppress the latter half, it would deserve the other epithets which he appears so anxious to introduce. He is welcome to them if he thinks proper. Good gentlemen, I believe this witness is now fairly disposed of. His incompetency is manifest. A writer who garbles a document in the manner which he has done, would not be admitted in any court of justice in the universe. But your correspondent is by no means singular in this; he has only done that which has been usually performed by those of his class and party.

Of what value then is that part of his conclusion which in the following passage is predicated on this assumed fact, if such predication was therein intended.

"Then must the honour due to Christ be impaired by any Christian worship that supplicates blessing or mercy through any meditation or intercession, either besides, or to the exclusion of his. That they who use such worship as that of

which I have adduced the several specimens selected, give to the creatures the worship due to God alone, will not at first view, admit of question; nor is it easy, even on a closer consideration of the matter, to separate the reproach of direct idolatry from prayer addressed in the same Litany to God, and the many canonized saints, arbitrarily determined to be capable of hearing and answering prayer; and as arbitrarily pronounced to be the blessed attendants of the divine presence.''

Then it is not a fact that Roman Catholics ask the saints or angels to ''have mercy on them,'' in the same manner that they ask God to have mercy on them, nor at all in the Litany; and hence, so far as this expression goes, I feel the question to be concluded.

Before I enter upon the other divisions of the subject, I shall briefly notice the assertion of the writer in paragraph 9, ''the many canonized saints arbitrarily pronounced to be blessed attendants of the Divine presence.'' As I know not what is the precise meaning attached to the phrase the many canonized saints, I shall for the moment suppose it to be restricted to those enumerated in the quotation from the Litany, and upon the application of the principle I will here use, I shall be ready to take up the whole Roman Calendar should your correspondent prefer it.

I shall only suppose that the writer is a Protestant Episcopalian, which is an intelligible and appropriate name of a very respectable class of Americans; and next suppose that he believes and will admit, that the Liturgy of his Church contains nothing censurable and implies nothing erroneous. The writer counts up the names of three angels, and fifty-one saints upon our Litany. Amongst the changes effected by the American Church in the revision of the English Liturgy was the omission of several saints' days; still a number of those days are observed, and the collects are retained. Nineteen of our fifty-one saints, are specially named: and a festival is celebrated for All Saints; one of the angels is specially designated, and all the angels are joined with him.

I should hope that I do not misrepresent the fact when I state my impression, that although the American Church thought proper to curtail the number of saints' days to be observed as festivals, she does not condemn the English Protestant Church, from which she sprung, for retaining a greater number of those days; and hence I may fairly assume, that she does not think it criminal in the Archbishop of Canterbury to believe that an individual named on his calendar is a canonized saint, even though he should be omitted upon the American calendar. Now the English Protestant calendar contains those nineteen names of saints which are found upon that of the American Church, and seventeen others of those invoked in the above Litany: so that we have thirty-

six of our number pronounced by the English Church to be attendants of the Divine presence: and she also has the names of forty other saints not in the above Litany, nor on the calendar of the American Church, amongst whom is King Charles the Martyr, who was beheaded by order of the Reformers of the Church and State of Great Britain. Besides this, the Church of England has the festival of All Saints, and the festival of the Holy Innocents, in like manner as our Episcopal brethren in this Union celebrate them, as also the festival of St. Michael and all Angels. One of the many inconsistencies then of the English Protestant Church is, that although she gives us between seventy and eighty saints in her calendar, yet in the admonition to the reader, in *Praeces Privatae*, printed by authority in 1573, it is stated, not that we repute them all for saints or holy men: and yet they are all classed together as saints without informing us which is so reputed and which is not so reputed. Now, I would ask who classed these persons in this manner? Who declared that any one of them was a saint? Has the American Church power to do so? Has the English Church power to do so? And if so, why will not the Roman Catholic Church have at least equal power? Why then does the writer, with the contradictory name, complain of the Roman Catholic Church as arbitrary in pronouncing upon what she conceives to be sufficient evidence, that those whom she calls saints are blessed attendants upon the Divine presence, whilst he acquits his own churches? Or if he condemns us, why not condemn them? The principle is the same whether the number be great or small. It certainly is no very enviable state, for the English and American Churches to find themselves pressed on one side by the charge of assuming to declare some who are saints, and with those titles of their churches, those festivals in their Liturgy and those names upon their calendar, to be found proclaiming that they know not whether they are saints or not: and still further, should they admit that a few whom they designate are known to be inhabitants of heaven, to be perplexed in the effort to confine to that few the application of a principle which might be fairly extended to several others. This is a result of their deviation from principle. The Presbyterians and Baptists are released from this difficulty by boldly rejecting the principle at once, they have at least no self-contradiction on this point, nor are they compelled as Protestant Episcopalians are, to make an arbitrary distinction. The Catholics do not act arbitrarily, but upon principle; they have a rule by which they are led, and they acknowledge as saints all to whom the rule applies. There is nothing arbitrary in this. The Protestant may, if he will, assert that Catholics have no sufficient rule by which to ascertain that any

particular individual has been admitted to the divine presence; but then the asserter himself must, if he will be consistent, not assume for his society a prerogative which he will deny to a pre-existing, a Catholic, and an Apostolic Church. This and several other assaults upon popery, by champions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, always remind me of a story told somewhere by, I believe Sir R. L'Estrange, of a Lutheran, who declared that all Martinists were rank heretics, and erroneous in most of their tenets, as well as schismatical in their origin, when upon examination it was discovered that the Martinists were followers of Martin Luther and most steadily adhered to what they had received as his doctrine.

Having thus exhibited the character of your correspondent, I shall proceed, gentlemen, to examine his production more particularaly under the heads of what are our tenets, and what is his theology.

I remain, gentlemen,

Your obedient humble servant,

B. C.

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